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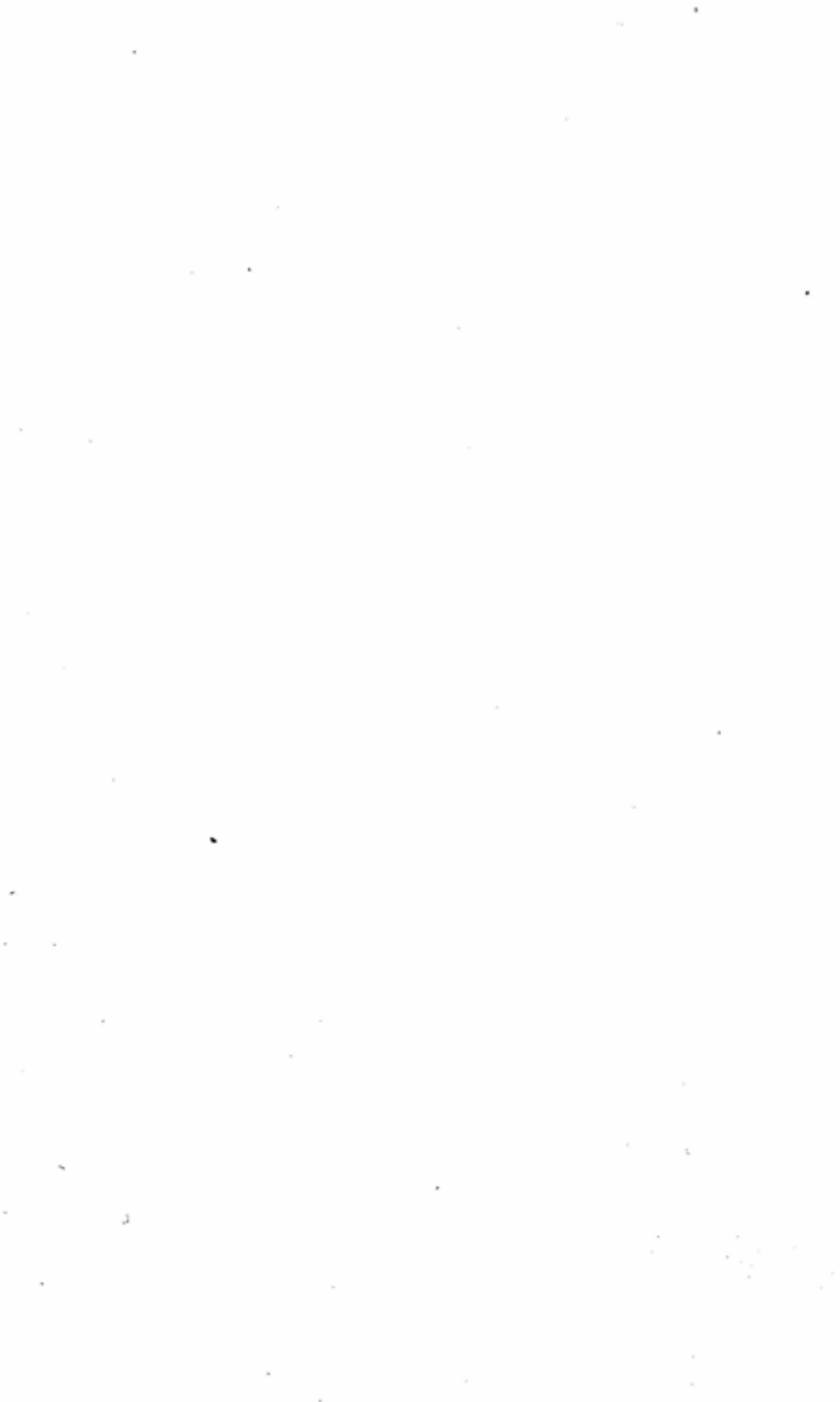
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PART I.—JANUARY

The Portuguese in India and Arabia, 1517-38

By E. DENISON ROSS

IN continuation of my previous notes on the Portuguese in India and Arabia, I propose to deal with three Muhammedan chiefs who played an important part in the history of the Portuguese between the years 1517 and 1538, namely :—

1. Salmán Ra'ís.
2. Sulaymán Pasha al-Khádím, Governor of Cairo.
3. Khwája Šafar, Khudáwánd Khán.

(1) SALMÁN RA'ÍS

Salmán Ra'ís,¹ the Turkoman, began his military career as an Ottoman subject in the service of Sultan Salím. How he first came to Egypt is accounted for in a different way by the Arabic and Portuguese writers. The former say that he was sent by Sultan Salím to help the Sultan of Egypt in the expedition he was preparing against the Portuguese in India. Goes, on the other hand, says he deserted from Salím's service to enter that of Qánšawh Ghawrí. However that may be, he

¹ Called incorrectly Soleiman Rex (see note on p. xxxvii of vol. ii *Arabic History of Gujarat*). Couto goes so far as to confuse him with Sulaymán Pasha, who will be mentioned below. See Couto, *Decada* iv, Bk. 3, chap. 6.

seems to have accompanied Amír Ḥusayn Kurdí on his first expedition to India in 1508.

Regarding the beginning of Salmán's career in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, the most authoritative account is that given by Ḥájji ad-Dabír, who tells us (p. 218) that he derived his facts from one of Salmán's captains, by name Muḥammad al-'Anasí. The Captain's story is as follows :—

"During the last days of the Circassians (i.e. the Mamlúk Dynasty in Egypt), Salmán made a reputation for himself in the Mediterranean. He possessed quantities of slaves and ships, and there gathered round him men of his kind, who brought with them ships and fought each for his own ends. Now, at this time, the Franks had made the Mediterranean dangerous, and Salmán used to visit the Mediterranean ports and the coast in ships from Cairo, Alexandria, and the Delta ports, for purpose of trade by barter ; and although he often encountered Frankish ships in his journeys they seldom outstripped him, and his wealth increased, his reputation grew, his fame was noised abroad, and his approach inspired terror.

"Now in the days of Qánawh Ghawrí, King of Egypt, Aden belonged to Melik Záfír-'Āmir, last of the Ṭáhirid kings, and from him reports came of the damage wrought by the Franks in the Indian Ocean, and on the shores of Arabia from Aden to Hormuz. The Indian Ocean ends near Aden at Bab-el-Mendeb. 'Āmir wrote to the Ghawrí explaining his fears of the Franks attacking Aden, which is the frontier of Islam for the Yaman. The Ghawrí promised to come and help him on condition that he should receive something in return. The emissary returned to the Ghawrí and announced 'Āmir's acceptance, but ere the Ghawrí had given orders for the expedition, 'Āmir had rid himself of the Frankish menace and no longer needed assistance. Immediately after this success the Egyptian emissary returned to demand what had been offered in the way of estates. But 'Āmir put him off and the emissary returned, and the Ghawrí was enraged. At that moment Salmán arrived according to his wont in

Egypt, and the Ghawrí called him up, and he had before him a folded carpet which had been given to him ; and he said to the nobles who were present, pointing to the carpet : ' Where shall it be spread ? ' and each one mentioned a suitable place. Then he said : ' No ! It shall be spread in the capital of Yaman.' Then he turned to Salmán and said to him : ' Go to the Yaman this very day, reinforcements will follow immediately.' So Salmán set out for the Yaman, and shortly after Amír Husayn arrived also and there followed what has been related above. After this Husayn returned and Salmán remained. And fate overtook the Ghawrí as it had overtaken 'Ámir, and Egypt became an Ottoman Province, and it had been the capital of the Circassians (Mamlúks)."

What happened to Salmán after the murder at sea of Amír Husayn in 1517, I have been unable to determine with any degree of certainty. According to most authorities he succeeded Husayn as Governor of Jedda, but if he did so he cannot have held the post for long ; for Quṭb ud-Dín tells us that the post was given in 1519 to a certain Amír Husayn Rúmí, a protégé of Khayr Beg, Governor of Egypt, on the death of a leading Amír of Jedda named Amír Qásim Shírwání, who had been Governor of that port.¹ Thus, between his abandonment of the siege of Aden in 1516 and his next appearance on the scene in 1520, we have no definite news of Salmán.

In 1520 he seems to have accompanied Amír Husayn Rúmí on his first expedition against the Yaman, which, with the exception of Aden, was still in the hands of the Circassians, who had been left there by Amír Husayn.

In order to understand the position of affairs in the Yaman after the conquest of Egypt by the Ottomans, it is necessary to carry back the narrative to the year 1516, when, as we have seen, Amír Husayn left one of his Circassian captains in charge

¹ Colonel Ráshid, on the authority of the *Barq al-Yamání*, says that Husayn Rúmí was appointed to Jedda after the removal of Husayn Kurdí, but this is an error:

of Zabíd. The only authority for the history of the Yaman at this period is Quṭb ud-Dín (*Kitáb al-Barq al-Yamání*), whose narrative has been followed and sometimes amplified by Munajjim Báshí.

The name of the Circassian officer left in Zabíd by Amír Husayn was Barsbái. At the beginning of 1517 Barsbái determined to extend his possessions in the Yaman. The Sultan 'Āmir, being informed of these designs, prepared to defend what was left of his kingdom, and withdrew with all his troops to Ta'izz. Barsbái reached Ta'izz in February, 1517, and took that town without a blow being struck, as 'Āmir, fearing treachery on the part of his own troops, had withdrawn to Ibb and Jebba. Barsbái thus became master of Ta'izz, which he entered with all his troops. He next seized Miqrána, a fortified town, which contained the Sultan's treasury, and this he appropriated to himself. He now encountered his first reverse, being attacked by a powerful tribe of the Baní 'Ammár in whose territory he found himself. After a severe repulse at the hands of these tribesmen, he marched against Ṣan'á, whither he was followed by the Sultan 'Āmir, and an engagement took place, in which the Sultan and his brother, 'Abd al-Malik, were killed, and his troops dispersed. Thus perished, in May, 1517, the last ruling prince of the Táhirids of Yaman.

Barsbái having spent two months in Ṣan'á, set out for Zabíd laden with such immense booty that it required, we are told, 8,000 camels to carry his own share. But on his way he was attacked by another Arab tribe called the Baní Ḥubaysh, who killed Barsbái,¹ scattered his troops, and captured all the booty. Those of his followers who reached Zabíd now set up in Barsbái's place a Circassian named Iskandar, who subsequently received letters patent from Sultan Salím appointing him Governor of the Yaman. In the meanwhile, a certain Amír Ramaẓán set himself up in Ta'izz.

¹ Some accounts say that Barsbái was killed in the engagement with the Baní 'Ammár.

In 1519 Husayn Rûmî was, as we have seen above, made Governor of Jedda in succession to Amîr Qâsim Shîrwânî; and finding in Jedda the fleet and arsenal which had formerly belonged to Amîr Husayn the Kurd, and hearing that there was no stable government in the Yaman, he conceived the idea of an expedition to that country in order to bring it all under his own control. Having obtained permission for this undertaking from Khayr Beg, the Governor of Cairo, he set out, accompanied by Salmân Ra'îs, for the Yaman, which he had hardly entered when the news arrived of the death of the Sultan Salîm (A.H. 926, A.D. 1520). He also learnt that Iskandar, refusing to recognize his supercession, intended to oppose him with a large force. In view of both these circumstances, Husayn Rûmî returned to Jedda without having accomplished anything. Shortly after this Amîr Iskandar was murdered by one of the Levanti officers, called Kemâl Beg, a *yanichari* who had entered Egypt under Sultan Salîm. He had also been in the Yaman with Salmân Ra'îs at the head of a party of Levantis, and had there risen to the rank of amîr.¹ After treacherously murdering Amîr Iskandar, Kemâl gave out that Iskandar had betrayed the Sultan and had refused to obey Amîr Husayn Rûmî, who had been sent as governor of the Yaman by Sulaymân. This was in A.H. 927 (A.D. 1520-1) and Kemâl ruled in the place of Iskandar over Zabîd and the surrounding country, and caused the Khuṭba to be read in the name of Sultan Sulaymân Khân; while Amîr Ramazân remained with his own faction in Ta'izz. Matters continued thus till A.H. 930 (A.D. 1523-4), when a party of Levantis who had grown very powerful in the Yaman determined to overthrow both these chiefs. Having killed Kemâl Beg and Amîr Ramazân, they set up in Zabîd, Iskandar Beg Qaramânî, and in Ta'izz, 'Alî Beg.

We do not hear of Salmân again until the year 1524, when, we are told, he went to Egypt to obtain permission to under-

¹ This may refer to the expedition of 1515.

take a fresh attack on the Yaman, from the newly appointed Governor of Cairo, Aḥmad Pasha. While he was in Egypt, Cairo was convulsed by what is known as "the revolt of Aḥmad Pasha". The circumstances of this revolt are of sufficient interest to be recorded here, although only indirectly connected with the story of Salmán.

Chapter viii of Quṭb ud-Dín's *History of the Yaman* bears the heading : "The revolt of Aḥmad Pasha in Egypt and the escape of Salmán in fear. Salmán's arrival in Mekka and his second expedition in company with Ḥusayn Beg against the Yaman."

Quṭb ud-Dín also gives a full account of this revolt in his *History of Mekka*. Taking the two accounts together, the story is as follows :—

When Sulaymán succeeded his father as Ottoman Sultan, he appointed as Grand Vezir his slave Ibráhím Pasha. Now, a certain Aḥmad Pasha had for a long time been in the service of Sultan Salím, and was therefore superior to Ibráhím in rank, and he refused to recognize the precedence of Ibráhím and to occupy the place of second Vezir in the Council, where his experience was of great value to the Sultan. Ibráhím complained of this, and thereupon the Sultan appointed Aḥmad Pasha to the governorship of Egypt, thus leaving the first seat in the Council free for Ibráhím.

No sooner had Aḥmad Pasha set out for Egypt than Ibráhím secretly issued Imperial orders to the officials temporarily in charge of Egypt that they should seize Aḥmad Pasha and, cutting off his head, send it to the Sublime Porte ; in the meantime, pending the arrival of the new Pasha, they were to conduct the affairs of Egypt. When the secret envoy with these orders reached Alexandria, one of Aḥmad Pasha's slaves, who was governor of that place, having learnt what orders the envoy was carrying, invited him and his companions to a repast, where he filled them with wine, and as soon as intoxication had overcome them he ransacked the envoy's belongings and seized the orders. When he learnt

their contents he forwarded them to Aḥmad Pasha in Cairo ; and as soon as Aḥmad Pasha had read them he summoned the officials who had been ordered to kill him into his presence and said he had received Imperial command to put them to death.

Having killed these men, he determined to revolt, and, laying claim to the Sultanate for himself, collected an army, caused his name to be read in the Friday prayers, and struck coins in his own name. He imprisoned many of the Sultan's officials, among them Janán al-Ḥamzawí and Muḥammad Beg, but before he was able to put them to death these men learned that the Sultan had gone to his bath ; they thereupon surrounded the bath-house, raised a standard, and called out aloud : " Let those who obey Sulaymán take their stand under this flag ! " and many of the soldiers did so. When Aḥmad Pasha heard that the bath-house was surrounded (and we are told that only one-half of his head was shaven), he scrambled on to the roof, and finally descended to the ground, where some of his slaves had a horse ready for him, and fled to the house of an Arab Sheykh.

Meanwhile the Imperial forces sacked his treasury, and set out after him. They surrounded the house of the Arab Sheykh, and by threats made him give up Aḥmad Pasha, whose head they cut off. After parading it around Cairo, they sent it to the Sublime Porte, and thus ended the revolt of Aḥmad Pasha.

In his *History of Mekka* Quṭb ud-Dín makes no allusion to Salmán, but in his *History of the Yaman* he says in conclusion :—

" Now Salmán was in Cairo at the beginning of this revolt, but became alarmed and fled away to Mekka, where he induced Ḥusayn Beg, the Governor of Jedda, to make another expedition against the Yaman.

Colonel Ráshid (op. cit., p. 50) says that when Aḥmad Pasha arrived in Egypt Salmán Ra'ís went to meet him from Jedda in order to obtain his permission to conquer the Yaman,

but that when he saw that things were going badly with the Pasha he ran away; but the permission had probably been obtained. On reaching Mekka he persuaded Husayn Beg Rûmî to make a second expedition to the Yaman. On their way thither, according to Qutb ud-Dîn, they attacked the Franks, who had established themselves in the Island of Kamarân, killing many and taking many prisoners. No allusion to this event seems to be made by the Portuguese chroniclers, but we know that the Portuguese had been cruising in the Red Sea annually since 1513. As Mr. Longworth Dames tells us on page 13: In 1523 an expedition was sent to Massowa in the Red Sea to bring back a Portuguese ambassador who had gone to Abyssinia, but it returned without effecting its purpose. In 1524 Eitor de Silveria again went to the Red Sea and also made peace with Aden . . .”

After this Salmán appears to have advanced alone with a number of troops, leaving Husayn Rûmî with the fleet. He called on Iskandar Beg Qaramânî to submit, and when he refused Salmán invited the assistance of ‘Izz ud-Dîn, Sharîf of Jázán, and certain Arabs from Yâfi’ and Mahra. As a result of the engagements which followed, Salmán found himself master of Zabîd, Iskandar Beg having been killed by the Sharîf of Jázán; Salmán made himself much hated by his cruel treatment of the inhabitants of Zabîd, who showed a marked preference for Husayn Rûmî, who had now rejoined Salmán and restored order in the country.

We next hear of Salmán in Egypt, whither he had gone to meet Ibrâhîm Pasha, who had been sent to establish order there after the disturbance caused by the revolt of Aḥmad Pasha. His chief motive in seeking out the Grand Vezir from Constantinople was to wreak his vengeance on Husayn Rûmî, who had deprived him of the fruits of his victories in the Yaman. With this object he painted Husayn Rûmî in the blackest colours to the Grand Vezir, and asked to be allowed to go and subdue the Yaman, and afterwards to

drive the Franks out of India. The Grand Vezir Ibráhím lent a willing ear to Salmán, and eventually a large army of four thousand men, Turks and Lavantis of a very poor type, was raised and placed under the command of a certain Khayr ud-Dín Hamza.¹ Salmán was appointed *gapudán*, or Admiral of the Fleet.

On reaching the Yaman they learnt that Husayn Rúmí was dead, and that Muştafa Beg had succeeded him. Salmán thereupon informed Muştafa Beg that Khayr ud-Dín had been appointed Governor of the Yaman,² and ordered him to report himself in Constantinople. Instead of obeying, Muştafa Beg had resort to arms, and at a place called as-Şalíf he suffered a total defeat at the hands of Salmán. Thus it came about that in 1527 Salmán and Khayr ud-Dín found themselves masters of the whole of the Yaman. For two years these two chiefs appear to have lived on peaceable terms, Khayr ud-Dín being Governor and Salmán commander of 4,000 troops. This state of affairs was not, however, destined to endure, and in 1529 occurred the fatal quarrel between Salmán and Khayr ud-Dín referred to on page 13 of Mr. Longworth Dames's article.

The account of this quarrel is vividly given by Hájji ad-Dabír (*Arabic History of Gujarat*). On pp. 22 seq. we read as follows :—

“ And Khayr ud-Dín set out for the Yaman. Now Salmán had already established his residence in the fort of Kamarán, and was busy building ships on the coast of as-Şalíf, which is opposite Kamarán, separated by a sea passage of less than an hour. Now Khayr ud-Dín loved independence, and he

¹ Barros tells us that Khayr ud-Dín (Haiderin) was an old man—*reedor da factura do Soldam*—and that he had orders to hand over the fleet to Salmán, but to be himself in command of the people, Salmán having made himself very unpopular. (*Dec. IV, Liv. I, Cap. VIII.*) Through a misprint this man has come down to history as Haidarin instead of Hairadin, which led to such conjectures as Haidar and Haidari.

² It would appear from this statement that the Governorship of the Yaman was included in that of Jedda.

ordered a sword bearer to bring him a drawn sword when he was at an audience given by Salmán, and this was done while Salmán was playing chess. Khayr ud-Dín said to the sword-bearer : ' How much was this sword of yours ? ' and he replied, ' So much,' and he offered it to Khayr ud-Dín, who took it from him and struck Salmán with it, so that he died ; and Salmán had only a few men with him, and they were at the time on an island near the village. And Khayr ud-Dín joined his companions, and (Salmán's) friends heard of what had happened. Amír Muṣṭafa was in Jázán and Khwája Šafar was in Kamarán. They exchanged messages and agreed to be avenged of Khayr ud-Dín. And when the opposing forces faced each other Muṣṭafa came out of the ranks and said to Khayr ud-Dín in a loud voice : ' You murdered my uncle with your own hand ; I will avenge his blood. Both armies are slaves of the Sultan. It is necessary that one of us should follow Salmán. What was your object to-day in killing an innocent man ? Come into the open field, and what God wills will happen.' Khayr ud-Dín turned to his companions, who said : ' He acts fairly to you, who stands up alone against you to avenge his uncle's death.' So Khayr ud-Dín came out, and he was among those who perish.

" Salmán was murdered in A.D. 1529 and Amír Muṣṭafa set himself up in the Amirate. And the companions of Khayr ud-Dín attached themselves to him. In the meantime, Bahrám, who was in Constantinople, wrote to his son Amír Muṣṭafa telling him that he had been deprived of his office, and ordering him to proceed to India before the arrival of the *Mutawallí* of the Yaman.¹

" So he made ready and set out with his companions, and those of Khayr ud-Dín's men who had joined him, for India ; and they strayed into ash-Shihr. This was in A.H. 937 (A.D. 1530). They emerged from the country (of ash-Shihr)

¹ Colonel Ráshid says that Muṣṭafa left a certain Aḥmad Beg as his *locum tenens* in the Yaman.

before the opening of the sea (i.e. the beginning of the monsoon) and reached Diu, which was occupied by Melik Toghan, son of Melik Ayáz, who went out to meet them and did him honour and saluted him, so that he lacked nothing—and he was in Diu and he (Toghan) wrote to the Sultan (of Gujarat) announcing (Muṣṭafa's) arrival. He had with him Kwája Šafar Salmání, a slave of his uncle's, and others who afterwards became famous in Gujarat. When the monsoon was over and Muṣṭafa was still in Diu, the Portuguese commander at Goa made an attack, and a fight took place between Toghan and the Portuguese, who had cast anchor in the *Turkish port*.¹ And he sunk many of their ships, and a battle followed, the like of which had never been seen off the coast of Diu. And they (the Portuguese) fled in disorder to the shore, near Diu Pattan, in order that they might discover whether these ships belonged to Diu or to somewhere else. And one of them who landed was told on inquiry: 'These belong to the son of Amír Salmání's sister,' and he returned with his report, and the (Portuguese) said: 'We cannot oppose him,' and they returned to Goa.

"Orders then came to the Amír Muṣṭafa, who set out for Champanir with his suite, and there he met the Sultán, who welcomed him with joy, and promoted him to a high position, whereby others of the King's servants were degraded. And (Muṣṭafa) received the title of *Rúmíkhán*, and was put in charge of the arsenal. And among the gifts bestowed on him was a cannon which Salmán had cast in honour of the Sultan of Rúm, Sulaymán, and this he called Laylà; and he cast another in the name of Bahádúr and called it Majnún.

"He chose as his fiefs Ránír and Surat and all the adjoining coast as far as Mahaim, to which was afterwards added Diu. For the Sultan showed his special appreciation by taking Diu from Toghan, and giving it to Muṣṭafa, in addition to the

¹ *Bandar al-Turk*. I have not met this name elsewhere, but it may refer to Gogala which, Castanheda tells us, was called *Villa dos Rumes* after Almeida's victory in 1509.

other fiefs. Now, among the Amirs of the kingdom there was no one with Toghan's strength, courage, appearance, and stature, nor was there among the slaves anyone who approached him, much less equalled him. So that when Toghan was removed he came to Champanir and hung about the court, and whenever he saw Rûmî Khán he could scarce contain himself; and Rûmî Khán grew suspicious for fear of Toghan's violence, and one day he complained to the Sultan, who ordered Toghan to be imprisoned, and when later the expedition was undertaken against Chitor the Sultan put Toghan to death in order to curry favour with Rûmî Khán."

Muṣṭafa Beg's father, whose name is variously given as Bayram or Bahrám, evidently held some post in Constantinople, and had married Salmán's sister. The *Baq al-Yamání* says that after avenging his uncle's death Muṣṭafa Beg proceeded to Kamarán, and remained there till the monsoon broke. That the story given by Hájji ad-Dabír is the correct one is curiously confirmed by an allusion to be found in the *Núr us-Sáfir*,¹ where under the year A.H. 937 (A.D. 1530) we read:—

"My grandfather, 'Abdullah 'Idarús, and my father were journeying to Lahj, and in that year the Turks were besieging Aden, but for some time were hindered by ships from approaching (that is, by Portuguese ships). And when my grandfather reached ash-Shiḥr, Amír Muṣṭafa Rûmî, who was wandering about ash-Shiḥr, and about to set out for India, heard of his arrival and came to visit him. And my grandfather told him he was making for Aden, and Salmán allowed him to proceed thither."

(2) SULAYMÁN PASHA AL-KHÁDIM

It is not my intention to repeat the story of Sulaymán's abortive expedition to India which is to be found in many histories, European and Oriental. I merely desire to call

¹ *An-Núr as-Sáfir 'an akhbár al-garn al-'áshir*, by 'Abdul Qádir al 'Idarús. Add. 16648, I. See Rien. *Codices Arabici*, p. 429.

attention to one or two circumstances derived from Turkish sources, which throw fresh light on the expedition.

Sulaymán al-Khádím had accompanied Sultan Salím on his expedition against Egypt in 1516-17, and in May, 1523, when he was 70 years of age he was made Beglerbeg of Egypt in succession to Ibráhím Pasha, who had held the post for only seven months. Quṭb ud-Dín tells us that Sulaymán had learnt nothing from his royal master except the needless shedding of blood. In March, 1535, he was sent on a mission to restore order in the Yaman and Aden ; at the same time he received the title of Vezir. He was absent for nearly two years, but I have been unable to find any record of his activities during that period. Indeed, this mission is generally ignored by historians of the period. Thanks, however, to a manuscript in the British Museum called *Laṭá'if Akhbár al-Uwal*¹ we are able to assign an exact date to this expedition.

From this work we learn that Sulaymán Pasha received his first appointment of the 18th Sha'ban, 931 (12th June, 1525), and that after governing Egypt for nearly eleven years he was sent to the Yaman, that is, on the 20th Ramaḍán, 941 (3rd March, 1535), when Khusraw Pasha was made acting Governor. He returned from the Yaman and began his second tenure of office in Cairo on 11th Rajab, 943 (25th December, 1536). It was on his return that he apparently began the equipment of the Grand Fleet in Suez, but he held the post of Governor down to the time of his departure for India on the 15th Muḥarram, 945 (15th June, 1538). He was succeeded in the Governorship of Egypt by Dá'úd Pasha, who held the post down to A.H. 956 (A.D. 1549).

It was no doubt the "murder" of Bahádur Sháh of Gujarat (on 3rd Ramaḍán, 943, 13th February, 1537) that finally determined Sultan Sulaymán to undertake an expedition on a larger scale against the Portuguese in India. At that date Sulaymán Pasha was absent in the Yaman, and we are told

¹ Or. 4582. See Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 357 (No. 567).

by Qutb ud-Din in his *History of Mekka* (see Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Mekka*, p. 301), that when the Sultan heard of Bahádur's death by treachery he ordered Sulaymán Pasha to return to Cairo and to equip a fleet for India.

Mr. Longworth Dames maintains that the size of the fleet and army eventually led by Sulaymán Pasha leaves little room for doubt that Sulaymán's intention was "to establish his power in India, relying at first on the support of Gujarat". In this connexion the actual instructions of the Sultan to the Pasha are of considerable interest. A Turkish manuscript in the British Museum entitled *Tarjuma Nuzhat as-Sunna*¹ purports to give the exact words employed on this occasion:—

"You who are the Beglerbeg of Egypt, Sulaymán Pasha, immediately on receipt of my orders will get ready your bag and baggage, and make preparations in Suez for a holy war, and having equipped and supplied a fleet, and collected a sufficient army, you will set out for India and capture and hold those Indian ports; cutting off the road and blocking the way to Mekka and Medina you will avert the evil deeds of the Portuguese infidels and remove their flags from the sea."

Further evidence with regard to the limited scope of Sultan Sulaymán's ambition is also afforded by a passage which occurs in the letter written from Mekka by Āṣaf Khán in A.H. 946 (A.D. 1539) to Daryá Khan, the Vezir of Sultan Maḥmúd III of Gujarat. "When Sulaymán Pasha entered Egypt on his return from Diu he gave out in the first instance that he was going to equip another expedition against Diu, thereupon news so spread abroad that the Sultan was vexed with him and he addressed him in the following terms: 'I only sent you to drive the Franks out of Diu and to help the Lord of that City, not in order that you might tyrannise over the Musulmans of India, nor in order that you might behave as you did in Zabíd, nor as you acted towards 'Āmir Ibn Dá'úd, the Lord of Aden.' It is of course still possible that he may make another expedition

¹ Add. 7846. See Rien, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts*, p. 66a.

against D'u, and he has indeed given orders for the preparation of a fleet in Egypt, but since he has obtained nothing from the Treasury he certainly will not be able to leave Egypt this year. However, it is best that you should be on your guard."¹

When Sulaymán Pasha was about to set out he announced that he was going to attack the infidel Franks, and invited all good Moslems to join him in the holy war.

Mr. Longworth Dames suggests that the appointment of this old man of 82, so inordinately fat that it took four men to lift him from his seat "may be regarded as an example of the vicious Turkish system of later days, but can hardly be considered as typical under the usually vigorous administration of Sulaymán the Magnificent". I am inclined to disagree with this criticism. Sulaymán Pasha was no doubt long past his prime, but in order to retain his high office as long as he did he must have relied on something better than the intrigues of the hareem. Moreover, other examples of vigorous old age were not wanting at the period. Qa'it Beg, the builder of the mosque which is one of the great prides of Cairo, was over 80 when he died, and Qánşawh Ghawri was 60 when he came to the throne in 1501, and in 1516 was still able to lead his troops in person against a powerful enemy.

Many accounts have come down to us of the disgraceful way in which Sulaymán Pasha treated the people of Aden. He enticed the governor, 'Āmir ibn Dā'ūd, and other leading nobles on board his ship by false pretence, and hung them at the yard arm. Now this dastardly capture of Aden is known to have taken place in July 1538, when he was on his way to India, and Quṭb ud-Dīn tells us that although Sulaymán Pasha sailed immediately after this event direct from Aden to India, news of the Pasha's cruelty in Aden "reached India before the fleet", and that consequently the Indian Moslems were alarmed when they heard of his arrival on the coast,

¹ See *Arabic History of Gujarat* vol. i, pp. 385-7.

and refused to join him against the Portuguese. It is quite clear that the Indian Moslems were prejudiced against him, as their behaviour towards him when he anchored at Muzaffarabad proves, but I think it unlikely that news of his treachery towards the nobles of Aden reached India in advance of the Pasha's fleet. It is more likely that his cruelty towards his co-religionists in the Yaman during 1535 and 1536 had become widely known in India.

The account of Sulaymán's treachery in Aden and the abrupt ending of his attack of Diu, is graphically told by the Venetian officer who was compelled to take part in the expedition. He tells us that on 20th July Sulaymán anchored at Kamarán; from this island the Pasha sent two galleys, one to the King of Zabíd, and the other to the King of Aden, commanding them to hold supplies in readiness for him for his voyage to India against the Portuguese. Aden was reached on the 3rd August, where the Pasha behaved in a most treacherous manner—sending on shore a Sanjak named Bahram Beg with 500 janisaries to occupy the town while 'Ámir bin Dá'úd was held prisoner in the Pasha's ship.

With regard to Sulaymán's arrival in India, he tells us that when they came near Diu they were met by Khwāja Šafar, a renegade of Otranto, who had come to India on a former expedition sent by the Ottoman Sultan. Khwāja Šafar had been on friendly terms with the Portuguese, but when he heard of the fleet which was being sent from Suez he attacked the Portuguese.

He reported to the Pasha that there were 500 fighting men in Diu and 300 others, and that all the help he required from the Pasha was supplies of guns and munitions. But, meanwhile, the Turks had landed on the coast and began to treat the Indians in the most brutal fashion, even sacking the house of the Gujarat Viceroy. The siege proper began in October, and ended quite suddenly on 5th November. On 31st October the last landing was made. On 2nd November all the Turkish soldiers returned to the ships, leaving their large guns on the

shore; for there was a report that a large Portuguese fleet was on its way to Diu.

On 5th November twenty Portuguese ships were seen in the offing—and thereupon the whole Turkish fleet put to sea; the Pasha commanding that three rounds be fired from each ship—and then the trumpet be sounded, and sails set and the oars got to work.

(3) KHWÁJA ŞAFAR, KHUDÁWAND KHÁN.

On page 24 Mr. Longworth Dames has been at considerable pains to unravel the confusion to which the various spellings of this man's name has given rise.

I have dealt with the matter in the introduction to the second volume of the *Arabic History of Gujarat*. Suffice it here to say that Khwája Ja'afar, Ghazanfar Aka, Suffy Agha, and Coge Cofar, all refer to one and the same man, namely Şafar Salmání, who accompanied Muştafa Rúmí Khán to Gujarat in 1532. (See above, page 11.) He afterwards became Governor of Surat, and received the title of Khudáwand Khán. This circumstance has given rise to further confusion, for, although all the variations of "Şafar" stand for one man, the title Khudáwand Khán stands for two individuals who were both Governors of Surat between 1536 and 1560.

1. *Şafar Salmání* became Governor of Surat in 1538. In 1546 he was killed by a gun shot at Diu.

2. *Rajab Salmání*, the son of Şafar, succeeded his father as Governor of Surat, and also took the title of Khudáwan Khán in 1546. He was killed by Chingiz Khán in 1560.

Thus we see that :—

1. The Khudáwand Khán killed at Diu in 1546 was Şafar Salmání.
2. That "Khwája Ja'afar" who was Governor of Surat in 1538 at the time of Sulaymán Pasha's expedition was Şafar Salmání.

3. The Khudáwand Khán governing Surat in 1554, when Sidi 'Alí Ra'ís came to India, was Rajab, the son of Şafar Salmání.
4. The Khudáwand Khán killed by Chingiz Khán at Surat in 1560 was also Rajab Salmání.

It may be mentioned that there was a third Khudáwand Khán who rose to considerable distinction at the same period, and was murdered in 1554 by the regicide Burhán. This man was Halím, the brother of the famous Āsaf Khan, who spent many years in Mekka in charge of Sultan Bahádur's hareem and treasure, and was in 1548 recalled to India by Sultan Maḥmúd III. The Sultan and the two brothers all perished together by the hand of Burhán.

In concluding these notes, which owe their origin to Mr. Longworth Dames's article, I would express a hope that I have succeeded in showing how much still remains to be done in this engrossing field of research, and how much care and labour will be required before the imperfect and often conflicting accounts of the Franks and the Moslems can be weighed in the balance and reduced to something like historical fidelity.

The Development of the Land-revenue System of the Mogul Empire

By W. H. MORELAND

THE Land-revenue system described in the *Āīn-i-Akbari* differs widely from that which British administrators took over in the eighteenth century, and students of history or economics require to know when and how the changes took place. I cannot find any literature dealing with this subject, and I attempt in this paper to estimate the changes which took place during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

Akbar's system was discussed by Mr. Yusuf Ali and myself in the *Journal* for January, 1918. I have not succeeded in tracing any relevant Persian document during the two succeeding reigns, but the system in force in Aurangzeb's early years can be understood from the two farmāns published by Professor Jadunath Sarkar in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* of Bengal for June, 1906 (pp. 223 ff.).¹ The earlier of these farmāns, addressed to Rashik Dās, came into force from the beginning of Aurangzeb's eighth year, while the second, addressed to Muhammad Hāshim, is dated A.H. 1079, which was the eleventh year; the two together may therefore be used to indicate the changes which had taken place up to the years 1665-8. Both farmāns purport to be issued by the Emperor, or in practice are the work of the revenue department at Imperial headquarters; they are thus comparable with the revenue-chapters of the *Āīn-i-Akbari*, and a comparison will show the changes in the system prescribed, though it may not always be conclusive as to its practical working. The documents appear to have been skilfully drafted, and, like the *Āīn*, they are full of technical terms,

¹ Translations of these farmāns appear in Professor Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India*, 1919. I have departed occasionally from his version of particular passages in order to bring out the use of certain terms, which I take to be technical.

some of which are obsolete, while others have, or may have, changed their meaning in the course of two centuries and a half.

The contents of the farmāns may be summarized as follows : The earlier, addressed to Rashik Dās Karori, was intended to serve as an " administrative manual " (*dastūr-ul-ʿamal*),¹ and consists of a preamble, a general order, and fifteen clauses dealing with specific points. It is clearly meant for the guidance of provincial Diwāns, and the designation of Karori must be read as a soubriquet and not as a description of the office held at the time by Rashik Dās ; an order addressed to a Karori as such would not instruct him as to the procedure he should follow in dismissing the Karori's superior officer.²

The preamble first refers to the increase of agricultural production as a necessary preliminary to enhancing the yield of revenue, and then describes the current procedure and its defects ; the general order insists on the need for action by the Diwān, and in particular calls for the supply of more detailed information to headquarters ; the clauses deal in succession with the familiar topics, development, assessment, collections, assignments, remissions, cesses and exactions, procedure on dismissal, accounts, returns, and periodical reports.

The later farmān is also clearly addressed to a provincial Diwān, and Professor Sarkar identifies the recipient as Diwān of Gujarat ; but it was intended to be of general effect, for its object is stated to be that the officers " of the Empire of Hindustan from end to end " should be guided by its

¹ In the former paper *dastūr-ul-ʿamal* was taken to indicate Akbar's schedules of assessment rates ; the argument there was directed to show that a *dastūr* was an official paper and not a local administrative area, but it would perhaps have been more correct to say that the *dastūr* contained the schedule of rates, since its scope may have been wider.

² For Karori as a soubriquet, see Rogers and Beveridge, *Tāzūk*, i, 111, where we find Ali Khān Karori as *darogha* of the Imperial drums, a post outside the revenue department. Mr. Foster (*English Factories*, 1655-60, p. 62) gives an instance of the correlative title, Amīn, being used as a soubriquet for a " Governor ".

provisions. It is less systematic and more detailed than the earlier farmān, and reads like a collection of rulings on questions which had arisen from time to time; it supplements, but does not supersede, the earlier document, and the two, when taken together, cover a large part of the revenue system. Along with this farmān Professor Sarkar printed a commentary which he found in the Berlin Royal Library; it is not dated, but its contents suggest to me that it may be considerably later in point of time than the farmān which it attempts to explain, and therefore I have not relied on it to establish the procedure under Aurangzeb.

The changes in the revenue system can best be described under three main heads, the administrative framework, the procedure of officers, and the effect on the peasant.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE FRAMEWORK

Akbar's organization of the Empire into provinces (*suba*), districts (*sarkār*), and subdivisions (*mahal* or *pargana*) reappears in these documents, but there are some changes in the designations of officers, and apparently some alterations of functions, which require to be examined.

The Province.—Akbar's designation of Sipah-sālār for the head of the province did not survive. The title used in the *Tūzuk* is Subadār; in contemporary Dutch and English correspondence we occasionally find Sāhib-Suba, but the usual expressions are Great Governor, or Viceroy.

It is clear from these farmāns that at the outset of Aurangzeb's reign the provincial Diwān had charge of the revenue administration, and that he corresponded direct with Imperial headquarters, while there is evidence that he might on occasion act independently of the Subadār,¹ so that some progress had been made towards the segregation of the revenue-administration (*diwāni*) from the general administration (*nizāmat*), which was so familiar in the

¹ See the account of the proceedings of the Diwān of Orissa in Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 221 ff.

eighteenth century. Now the *Ain* does not contain any trace of this segregation. There is no hint in it that the provincial Diwān was anything but a financial, or disbursing, officer, which is the usual signification of the word Diwān at this period; the head of the Province, or Sipah-sālār, was to be supreme under the Emperor in all parts of the administration, and he was instructed specially to supervise the revenue officers.¹ It seems to be clear, then, that this segregation was not prescribed by Akbar, and probably it was a later development; I have found no record of the change being made, but a remark in the *Tūzuk* (i, 22) may possibly give a clue. Jahangir says there that he appointed Wazīr Khan to the *diwāni* of the province of Bengal, and assigned to him the settlement of the revenues thereof; apparently, therefore, settlement was not part of a Diwān's regular duties in the year 1605, and perhaps the arrangement indicated by this special order became in time the regular thing. It is easy to conjecture that, under Jahangir's methods of administration, the autocracy of the Subadār might become a political danger, to be minimized by tightening up the Imperial control of the revenue, and with that object bringing the provincial Diwān into direct subordination to headquarters, but additional evidence on this point would be welcome.²

The District.—Within the province Akbar's regulations provided for a rudimentary segregation of departments. The

¹ See Blochmann & Jarrett's translation, ii, 38. The only reference I have found to the provincial Diwān's duties under Akbar is *idem*, p. 50, where we find him as a disbursing officer. The *Akbarnāma* (Beveridge, iii, 412) shows that Akbar appointed Diwāns on the provincial establishments, but does not indicate the nature of their duties.

² Mr. H. Beveridge, who has been so kind as to furnish a large number of references regarding the position of various Diwāns, provincial and other, under Akbar, has suggested that the powerful and quasi-independent Diwāns of later times may be derived directly from the Imperial Diwān (who might in practice be Prime Minister), and not from these petty provincial officials. On this point also evidence would be welcome: at present we know only that the designation was identical.

chief officers directly subordinate to the Subadār were (1) the Faujdār, who was responsible for what would now be called the duties of military police (including the severer forms of action against revenue-defaulters), and (2) the 'Amalguzār, who controlled the rest of the administration, particularly the assessment and collection of the revenue. It was suggested in the former paper that the jurisdiction of these officers was the *sarkār* or district. An examination of the appointments recorded in the *Tūzūk* shows that, so far as the Faujdār is concerned, this was usually, but not invariably, the case; most of the *faujdāris* mentioned in that work are districts, but some are larger and others are smaller units of area, so that it may be inferred that the establishment was regulated in accordance with local requirements. Faujdārs are mentioned occasionally in contemporary English correspondence as performing the duties assigned to them by Akbar, suppressing minor rebellions, hunting dakaits, or taking action against revenue-defaulters.

As regards the general administrator, the designation 'Amalguzār did not survive, and may perhaps be taken as one of Akbar's experiments in nomenclature. Even in the chapters of the *Āīn* dealing with the Bitikchi and the Khizānadar, 'Amalguzar and 'Āmil are used indifferently, and I take the latter to be the title used by ordinary people; it occurs in the *Tūzūk*, it appears in Aurangzeb's farmāns, and it is quite familiar in the literature of the eighteenth century, as the designation of the executive officer subordinate to the Subadār, and in charge of a district or other portion of a province. I have not found the word 'Āmil in contemporary Dutch or English correspondence, which speaks of the Subadār's immediate subordinate as the "Governor"; this designation, presumably originated by Portuguese interpreters, must, I think, be taken to denote the 'Āmil, since we find the "Governor" occupying the position which, in fact, belonged to the 'Āmil.

Akbar's regulations threw on the 'Āmil the whole burden

of the revenue administration. Aurangzeb's farmāns are more vague: the 'Āmil is there, but the stress is laid mainly on the provincial Diwān and on the subdivisional officers, and it looks as if the 'Āmil in the district was being to some extent eclipsed by the Diwān at the headquarters of the province. The revenue-duties of the 'Āmil under Aurangzeb are stated in clause 2 of the earlier farmān, and it will be seen that they related mainly to what I call development, that is to say, extension of cultivation and improvement of crops; the responsibility for assessment and collection is (by clauses 3-5) thrown directly on the subdivisional officers under the orders of the Diwān.

The Subdivision.—Akbar's regulations do not enter into details regarding the subdivisional officers, the whole burden of the revenue administration being, as I have said, thrown on the 'Āmil, but subdivisional officers existed, and some of them, such as the Amīn, are mentioned incidentally in the *Āīn*. In Aurangzeb's farmāns we find two principal officers, the Amīn, who assessed, and the Karori, who collected; and there are suggestions of a tendency to bring them into closer subordination to the provincial Diwān. The 'Āmil was still their superior, but his position must have been affected by the activities of the Diwān, and the general effect of the farmāns is to exhibit him as an intermediate authority, and not, as under Akbar's regulations, the mainspring of the administration. We meet Amīns and Karoris in the English and Dutch correspondence, but usually in connexion with miscellaneous business, in which the Amīn in particular stands out as the executive subordinate of the 'Āmil or Governor. It will be noticed that the Karori's functions are entirely different from those intended when the designation was first introduced; Akbar meant him to be what would now be called a colonization officer,¹ but he appears in the farmāns only as a sub-collector, and the duty of extending cultivation is assigned to other officers.

¹ See Elliot's *History of India*, v, 383, 514.

Local Authorities.—Below this official hierarchy come what, for want of a better term, must be called the local authorities, residents who were recognized by the officials as representatives of subdivisions or villages. In the subdivision or *pargana* there were two of these, the headman (*chaudhri*) and the registrar (*qānūngū*); in the villages also there were headmen and accountant-registrars (*patwāri*). The village headmen are usually spoken of as *muqaddam*, but there are various synonyms, such as *kalāntar*. The attitude of the farmāns towards these authorities is, as might be expected, one of suspicion and distrust.

PROCEDURE OF OFFICERS

Development.—Apart from the rate of assessment, the amount of the revenue depended on two main factors, the area cultivated, and the class of crops grown. Increase of revenue was the great object of the administration, and all the revenue documents of Mogul times which I have seen place in the forefront the paramount necessity for maintaining and extending cultivation, and improving the class of crops. Akbar's appointment of Karoris with this object was, as is known, disastrous; his later views on the subject were presumably those which were incorporated in the opening sections of his directions¹ to the 'Amalguzār or 'Āmil, and, on the whole, they must be regarded as statesmanlike. The idea of pressure is not absent, for the 'Āmil is told not to accept plausible excuses for deficiency in the area cultivated; but greater stress is laid on inducements—advances, rewards, considerate treatment of individuals, variation of the mode of assessment, anything, in fact, to carry the peasants with him. Some of these features recur in Aurangzeb's farmāns, but the accent has changed, and it does not seem possible to doubt that the pressure exerted on the peasants had materially increased. The second clause of the later farmān lays down the following rule: "At the

¹ See Blochmann & Jarrett, ii, 44.

beginning of the year, inform yourself as far as possible about the condition of every peasant, and whether they are engaged in cultivation or are abstaining from it. If they have the means to cultivate, ply them with inducements and encouragements, and show them any favour they may desire. But if it be found that, in spite of having means to cultivate and of a favourable season, they are abstaining from cultivation, then you should urge and threaten them, and make use of force and the whip (*zarab*).” With this provision may be read Rai Bhara Mal’s eulogy on Shahjahan (Elliot, *History of India*, vii, 170-2), in which he tells us that the Imperial expenditure multiplied fourfold, yet treasure was amassed at an unprecedented rate, because the revenue rose very largely, owing, amongst other things, to the Emperor’s “attention to the improvement of agriculture and the collection of the revenues of the State”. Put into plain words, this eulogy indicates a great increase in the pressure exerted on peasants by the revenue department to meet Shahjahan’s magnificence or extravagance, and it becomes possible to appreciate Bernier’s statements in his *Letter to Colbert*, that in the Mogul Empire as he knew it the ground was seldom tilled except under compulsion, and that land lay waste for want of peasants, many of whom died through ill-treatment, or fled to the towns, the camps, or the dominions of some Raja. The officials had to get revenue at all costs; to do so they had to extend cultivation, and they were explicitly authorized to take action whip in hand. Apparently, then, it is to Shahjahan that we must attribute the increased pressure which in Bernier’s time was already beginning to defeat its object. The flight of cultivators bulks largely in these farmāns; in clause 2 of the earlier one, the ‘Āmil is directed to make special efforts to induce absconders to return, and to tempt cultivators to come in from all sides; while the provisions in the later one for replacing absconders are so detailed as to indicate that the matter was of great practical importance.

Assessment.—Aurangzeb’s farmāns show that the distinctive

features of Akbar's assessment-system had almost disappeared. It was shown in the former paper that, while Akbar tolerated in special cases both the old practice of crop-division (*ghallabak^hush*), and existing methods of summary assessment (*nasaq*), he relied mainly on the system known as *zabt*, the essence of which lay in the equitable (though not lenient) assessment of each individual peasant on his crops of the season, the area being determined on the spot, and the revenue fixed by the application of cash-rates representing the average value of one-third of the yield. The determination of the area cultivated by individuals is usually spoken of as *paimāish*, but occasionally we find *jarīb* as a synonym: the cash-rates seem to have acquired the name of *dahsāla* from the fact that eventually they were based on the actual figures for ten years. The current method of assessment under Aurangzeb is described as follows in the preamble of the earlier farmān

The Amīns assess the bulk of the villages and parganas at the beginning of the year on a consideration of the produce of the *sāl-i kāmīl wa sāl-i muttasīl*,¹ the culturable area, the condition and resources of the peasants, and other data;

and should the peasants of any village refuse this procedure, they assess the revenue on them at harvest by the procedure of measurement (*jarīb*) or estimation (*kankūt*);

and in some tracts (*qariāt*), where the peasants are known to be poor and to lack capital, they employ the procedure of crop-division (*ghallabak^hush*) at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{2}{3}$, or more or less.

It will be seen from this description that, while crop-division held its place in backward tracts, the standard procedure

¹ I am not sure of the exact meaning of this phrase. Sarkar has "the past year and the year preceding it"; but possibly *sāl-i kāmīl* has the technical meaning of some "standard year" recognized in practice but not defined in the farmān, and in that case we should read "the produce of the standard year and the most recent year". In the *Akbarnama*, *sāl-i kāmīl* is contrasted with *pairasta sāl*, but Mr. Beveridge is uncertain as to the precise significance of the contrast (*vide* his translation, iii, 688).

was a summary assessment applied either to whole parganas or to villages. The method described fits in closely with what we know of the procedure of *nasaq* (a term of which I have found no contemporary definition), and we are apparently justified in saying that under Aurangzeb *nasaq* was the rule, and that measurement (*jarīb*), the foundation of Akbar's system, was applied only when the Amīn's initial assessment was refused. If we visualize the proceedings, we may go further and say that measurement has in practice become a threat; the headmen are told that they must accept the Amīn's estimate, or the measurers will be let loose in the village or the pargana. The worst feature of measurement was in any case the scope for extortion, and when it was used as a threat, we may be sure that most headmen would see the wisdom of accepting the Amīn's proposal or negotiating for some consideration. This view is strengthened by the absence of any detailed provisions for valuing the State's share, for, had measurement and valuation been frequent, these farmāns would almost certainly have contained directions how the valuation should be made. We may say, then, that under Aurangzeb summary assessment (*nasaq*) had regained the position from which it had been ousted by the regulation-system (*zabt*).¹

I know nothing to show when this change occurred, but we may conjecturally attribute it to Jahangir's reign. The regulation-system can have had no friends in the villages, except among the smaller peasants; officials must have hated it because it meant hard work with a strict time-limit; the "local authorities" must have resented the reduction of their influence;² and substantial peasants must have anticipated

¹ It may be objected that Akbar's *dahsāla* rates were still available; but, as we shall see further on, they had been rendered obsolete by the rise in the standard of assessment from one-third to half the gross produce, so that revised schedules would have been necessary.

² Akbar prohibited *nasaq* on the specific ground that it might confer undue authority on high-handed oppressors (Blochmann & Jarrett, ii, 45).

extortion in proportion to their ability to pay. In all probability, therefore, its continuance depended on the driving force supplied by Akbar, and I suspect that it did not last long after his death. The view has, indeed, been put forward that the *zabt* was never more than a theory, but that seems to be going too far; Akbar's theories were usually put into practice, and the survival among the people of such an expression as *zabti* rent shows that the *zabt* was applied long enough to affect the language of the villages. The most probable view is that the *zabt* was a reality while it lasted, but that it did not last for long.

Collection.—The farmāns contain nothing of interest under this head beyond the fact, already noted, that the actual collector was the Karori, and the provisions regarding currency in the eighth clause of the earlier document. As might be expected, Aurangzeb's coins were preferred, but any coin could be taken, the discount being realized from the revenue-payer. The rules thus contemplated payment in cash, not in kind.

Remission.—The farmāns provide for remission of revenue on account of damage to crops occurring between assessment and harvesting, and the interest of these provisions arises from the amount of fraud which they suggest. The preamble to the earlier document indicates that the practice was to send up to headquarters a large demand-statement with a lump deduction from the total by way of remission, and headquarters insisted that the facts should be placed before them in greater detail; the inference is obvious that such an "adjusting entry" could be used to screen any quantity of fraud. The ninth clause lays down the duty of the officials to ascertain the facts of a calamity at first hand, and on no account to accept a distribution-statement of injury prepared by the "local authorities", that is the headmen, *qanūngos*, or *patwāris*, so that we may infer that "calamities" might prove profitable to these authorities as well as to the regular officials.

Assignments.—The instructions to the Diwān in clause 7 of the earlier farmān contain some expressions which are not easy to understand, but their general effect is to confirm the impression given by other records of a perennial struggle to prevent assignees (whether jāgirdārs or grantees of other classes) from making realizations in excess of the nominal value of the grant. A curious light on this struggle is thrown by the twelfth clause, which requires the Diwān to report specially on the conduct of Amīns and Karoris employed in assigned tracts; presumably this means that there was a risk that the officials would “stand in” with the assignee to the prejudice of the interests of the State, and consequently the Diwān was required to report them for promotion or punishment as they might deserve. These provisions reflect the extension of the practice of making assignments which followed on the removal of Akbar’s restraining influence.

Exactions.—The Diwān was specially required by clause 11 of the earlier farmān to recover for the Treasury the illegal exactions of his subordinates and of the “local authorities”. The procedure recommended was to get hold of the rough accounts kept in the villages, which would show the true payments; the treasury accounts would show how much of these payments had reached the State; the balance was to be treated as exactions, distributed over the various authorities, and recovered from them; but allowance was to be made for the recognized dues of the local authorities. The expedient of getting at the facts through the village accounts was not new, for it had been practised under Ala-uddin Khalji (Elliot, *History of India*, iii, 183); for the present purpose, the importance of these regulations consists in the evidence they afford that the headmen were preying upon the peasants.

THE EFFECT ON THE PEASANT

Passing over various regulations on matters of detailed procedure, we have now to attempt an estimate of the effect of the changes on the peasants.

Compulsory Cultivation.—It is unnecessary to emphasize the danger to agricultural production resulting from the system which has been described above, under which peasants could be forced to extend their operations by officers whose reputation depended mainly on an immediate increase in revenue, and it is sufficient to refer again to the passages cited from Bernier as indicating that production was in fact suffering.

Rise of Intermediaries.—The effect of changes in procedure was to reverse Akbar's policy of direct dealings with the peasants, and to interpose various intermediaries who were in a position either to intercept a portion of the State's dues or to levy additional contributions from the original payers. Among these intermediaries were the headmen of subdivisions and villages. We have just seen that they were suspected of making exactions from the peasants; and clause 6 of the earlier farmān shows that they did not always make a fair distribution (*tafrīq*) of the revenue summarily assessed on the village or pargana as a unit, for the Diwān was ordered to watch for and correct unfair distribution in the course of his inspections. Some progress had thus been made towards the conversion of headmen into landholders, which was a feature of the eighteenth century. The regular grant of assignments by Jahangir and his successors operated in the same way, for, as we have seen, the assignee hoped to extract more than the nominal yield of his grant; and when changes of assignments were frequent, the effect on the peasants must have been serious. William Hawkins had personal experience of the system, being himself a grantee under Jahangir, and his verdict is well known: "A man cannot continue half a year in his living, but it is taken from him and given unto another; or else the king taketh it for himself (if it be rich ground, and likely to yield much), making exchange for a worse place; or as he is befriended of the Vizir. By this means he racketh the poor, to get from them what he can, who still thinketh every hour to be put out of his place." (*Purchas his Pilgrimes*, I, iii, 221.)

Aurangzeb's farmāns contain no reference to the practice of "farming" the revenue, or, in other words, of appointing officers *pukhta*, but there is no doubt that it prevailed somewhat widely in the middle of the seventeenth century, and there would be no obvious reason for alluding to it in regulations which applied to the alternative system. The evidence of its prevalence is scattered widely through the English and Dutch correspondence, and its reproduction would be beyond the scope of this paper, but as an example of its nature I may refer to the fact that when the farm of Surat ("the adjacent country, mint, and customhouse") broke down in the year 1641, the introduction of direct administration was such a novelty that both Dutch and English merchants considered an explanation of the new system to be necessary (*Dagh Register*, 28-1-42 (Surat section), *English Factories in India*, 1642-5, p. 21). Between farmers, assignees, and headmen, therefore, a large proportion of the peasants were placed under masters other than the State, and the foundations of the modern *zamīndāri* system were being laid. It is also possible that speculative leases were granted at this period, for clause 3 of the later farmān provides that derelict land might be given either for *ijāra* or for cultivation (*ba qasad ijāra ya zara'at*); in later periods *ijāra* denotes an intermediate speculative tenure, the holder of which hoped to make money out of the cultivators to whom he gave possession, but I am doubtful whether this rendering is applicable to the middle of the seventeenth century, and I have not found any contemporary passages which place the meaning of the word beyond dispute.

The Standard of Assessment.—The most important difference disclosed by Aurangzeb's farmāns is the rise in the standard of assessment. Akbar aimed at taking the value of one-third of the gross produce; the farmāns show that under Aurangzeb the standard was one-half, which, it may be noted, represents very nearly the entire surplus of an ordinary holding. The new standard is referred to several times in the later farmān.

In the fourth clause, one method authorized for assessing vacant fallow is "to lay on it the prescribed revenue of half the crop". Again, in the case of unassessed land, the rule was to "fix such an amount that the ryots may not be ruined; and for no reason exceed one-half, even though the land may be capable of yielding more." In clause 14 the proportion of one-half is applied to gardens and orchards; while clause 16, dealing with transfers of ordinary peasants' land, lays down the limits of assessment as not more than one-half and not less than one-third; "if it be less than one-third, increase it as you consider advisable".¹ The effect of these passages is that, while the one-third assessment may have survived in places, one-half was intended to be the working rule. We know that one-half was the actual rate throughout Gujarat before the year 1638, for Van Twist's *Generale Beschrijvinge van Indien* (first printed in that year), says that one-half, or sometimes three-quarters, of the crop was taken for the king or the governors; and Van Twist adds that peasants often got no profit in return for their labour, and that in consequence it was difficult to get the land cultivated. One conjectures that the rise in the standard was one of Shah-jahan's measures for "improvement of agriculture and the collection of the revenues of the State"; so far as I can find, the annalists did not record the change, but the revenue statistics of the century indicate a moderate enhancement under Jahangir, a very large enhancement under Shahjahan, and practically no change in the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign.²

Rise of the Rental System.—Akbar's regulations give no hint of a rental system; however the assessment was made, it represented a share of the season's produce, and no claim was made on any land which did not bear a crop. The earlier of Aurangzeb's farmāns is drafted on the same lines, but the

¹ Professor Sarkar inserts in the translation [if more than one-half decrease it], but these words do not appear in his printed text.

² I hope to publish figures bearing on this point when the cost of printing renders publication possible.

latter contains sundry rulings as to the procedure to be adopted in regard to persons holding lands on cash-rents, the income from this source being described as *kharāj-i muwazzaf*, as distinguished from revenue obtained from a share of the produce (*kharāj-i muqāsima*). From these rulings it appears that the holders (who, by the way, were called "landlords", *arbāb-i zamīn*), were liable to pay rent at a definite rate on their holdings whether the land was cultivated or not (clause 2); that the tenure could not be created or changed to *muqāsima* without the peasants' consent (clause 7); that it might be heritable (clause 11); and that some forms of transfer were recognized, though a mortgagee was to be treated as a trespasser (clauses 12, 13). There is no suggestion that the rate of rent was invariable, and the tenure approximates closely to some of those which were found in the eighteenth century, and which still survive.

I have traced no clue to the origin of this rental system. It may have existed in Akbar's time, though it is quite inconsistent with his regulations, but if it had been common, it would probably have obtained some notice. The number and detail of Aurangzeb's rulings regarding it indicate that it had now become a matter of practical importance, and pending the discovery of more definite information, the conjecture may be hazarded that its importance, if not its existence, arose after the disappearance of Akbar's regulation-system of assessment. Summary assessments prevailed probably because of their convenience to the officials and the leading peasants, and convenience would suffice to account for the further step to cash-rents; seasonal pressure to get the land cultivated would no longer be required when the rent was payable in any case, and both parties might be expected to concur in a bargain which, for the time, would save trouble to both. However this may be, the fact remains that a system of cash-rents was in existence at the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, though assessment on a share of produce was still the ordinary rule.

CONCLUSIONS

The features of the revenue-administration on which Akbar laid stress had practically disappeared within sixty years after his death. Assessment was no longer made with the individual peasants, but with the headmen, and the amount of revenue was no longer determined by measurement and precise valuation, but was the result of a kind of bargaining, in which the officials had the whip-hand.

There are signs that the revenue-administration was becoming segregated, or, in other words, that the division between *divāni* and *nizāmat* had made some progress within the same period.

The standard of assessment had been raised from one-third to one-half of the gross produce. ✓

The pressure on the peasants had been increased, both by the rise in the standard of assessment and by compulsion under threat of the whip to cultivate the largest possible area. This pressure was already producing an unfavourable reaction, and peasants were abandoning the land for other pursuits.

The same circumstances may possibly explain the rise of a system of cash-rents paid on the area held, whether it was cultivated or not.

The summary assessments, the lavish grant of assignments, the practice of farming the revenue, and possibly other causes combined to facilitate the appearance of intermediaries between the peasant and the State.

The Mogul revenue-system in Aurangzeb's early years had, in fact, nearly reached the stage at which it passed under English control. Accounts of the systems prevailing in the eighteenth century (such as the Mysore Regulations, printed in Greville's *British India Analysed*), can be understood with little difficulty by anyone who has mastered Aurangzeb's farmāns, while they would be nearly unintelligible to readers familiar only with the *Āin-i Akbari*.



Taxila Silver-scroll Inscription

By HARIT KRISHNA DEB, M.A.

IN Part III of last year's *JRAS.* (pp. 319-24), Mr. Ramā Prasād Chanda has well summed up the controversy regarding Sir John Marshall's explanation of the word *ayasa* in the Taxila silver-scroll inscription recently discovered by that eminent archæologist. Mr. Chanda has, however, in his defence of Sir John, put forward arguments which, I submit, are far from convincing. I propose, therefore, to examine them in the following note.

(1) Professor Konow's objection on the ground that there is no royal title attached to the supposed name of Aya or Azes stands, in my opinion, unrefuted. That no argument can be derived from inscriptions dated according to the Gupta or the Śaka era, specified as such, has been admitted by Mr. Chanda, who consequently invokes the aid of the phraseology employed in three epigraphs, making use of the Lakṣmaṇasena era. Apart from the circumstance that Lakṣmaṇasena flourished ten centuries after the Kushān king during whose rule the Taxila silver-scroll was inscribed, it will be observed that all the three mediaeval records quoted as witnesses by Mr. Chanda contain the expression *atīta-rājye*, thus conveying, by implication, the idea that Lakṣmaṇasena was a king. There was no urgency, therefore, for an explicit reference to that king's royal condition in these epigraphs: omission of his royal title could not be calculated to mislead anybody. Mr. Chanda's last two analogues can be ruled out with equal justification. It is true that Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana were designations believed by mediaeval inscription-writers to have been applicable to real rulers. But it must not be forgotten that those writers belonged to an epoch removed by several centuries from the record under review. It should

be remembered further that these two designations were mere epithets, not names, of kings ; that Vikrama or Vikramāditya was believed to have been a title borne by the king who was thought to have founded the era 58 B.C. ; that the epithet Śālivāhana had acquired as much of a dynastic significance as the epithets Gupta and Śaka, so that the omission of the royal title (to quote Mr. Chanda himself) " cannot be considered as serious an omission as the absence of such title with [before] the names of individual kings ". *Aya* was doubtless the name of an individual king whose coins we possess, and is not known to have been, at any time, conceived of as a kingly epithet or a dynastic appellation like the terms Gupta, Śaka, Vikrama, and Śālivāhana.

(2) Sir John Marshall has compared the dating of the Taxila silver-scroll mentioning King Khusāna with that of the Taxila copper-plate mentioning King Moga, and has pointed out that the position of the words *maharayasa mahamtasa Mogusa* in the latter record corresponds to the position of the word *ayasa* in the former inscription. The comparison appears, at first sight, to warrant the inference that *ayasa*, like *Mogasa*, is the genitive singular of a king's name. Our temptation to draw this inference grows very strong when we recall the fact that a King Aya actually ruled in these regions at about the same period as that to which the puzzling inscription seems to belong. Yet deeper analysis, as already noted, warns us that there is nothing in the silver-scroll record showing this supposed Aya to have been a royal personage like Moga. Mr. Chanda, however, takes courage from a peculiarity of the phraseology of dating in the Taxila copper-plate. Throughout the Śaka-Pahlava-Kushān-Gupta period, " the usual way of dating," contends Mr. Chanda, " is, first, the name of the king with royal titles, then the year of the unspecified era, then the month and the day," the allowable exceptions being: (i) the Taxila copper-plate inscription containing the name of King Moga ; (ii) the Taxila silver-scroll inscription mentioning King Khusāna as well as

(according to Mr. Chanda) King Aya or Azes; (iii) the Panjtar inscription alluding to King Guṣaṇa; (iv) the Mankuwār inscription, referring to King Kumāragupta. Mr. Chanda derives a lesson from these exceptions. Following Sir John Marshall, he draws our attention to the circumstance that the king's name is placed not *before* but *after* the year-date in the Taxila copper-plate. This circumstance alone would not, of course, justify the inference that the date in the copper-plate belongs to an era established by King Moga. An exactly similar arrangement is in fact met with in the Mankuwār inscription; and a nearly parallel phraseology is found employed in the Panjtar inscription. But Mr. Chanda thinks he can distinguish the datings of these two records from the dating of the Taxila copper-plate. In the Panjtar inscription, as Mr. Chanda emphasizes, the word *rajami* (= Skt. *rājye*) is introduced after the name of the reigning king in the genitive case; and similarly, the word *rājye* is inserted after the king's name in the Mankuwār inscription; but the Taxila copper-plate inscription is characterized by no such insertion and consequently appears to Mr. Chanda to call for special treatment. A point Mr. Chanda would make is that while the addition of the word *rājye* (or a variant) is thought necessary when the date is expressed in exceptional phraseology, no such addition is ever made when the dating follows the usual method; the object being the same in both cases, namely, to indicate that the date in each case pertains to the *reign* of the king named, not to an *era* established by him. But is the assumed contrast well-founded? What about the inscriptions numbered 22, 33, 51, 69a in Professor Lüders' *List*? In all these records the expression *rājyasamvatsare* occurs after the king's name in the genitive case. The same expression occurs in similar contexts in several Gupta epigraphs. Fleet, in a footnote at pp. 38-9 of his *Gupta Inscriptions*, finds fault with the compound and proposes the emendation *rājye samvatsare* as yielding suitable sense. It is true that the compound is

faulty, and consequently out of place in purely Sanskrit compositions. But we can hardly "emend" it, seeing that it occurs not in one but in several Sanskrit inscriptions of the Gupta period. On the other hand, we cannot deny that the expression is equivalent to *rājye saṁvatsare*. We are thus driven to conclude that the irregular compound *rājya-saṁvatsare*, really meaning *rājye saṁvatsare*, attests the survival of an earlier custom, prevalent in times which tolerated the so-called Mixed Dialect—a custom which conservative India of the Gupta period did not care or dare to correct. At all events, we have, from the Kushān down to the Gupta period, a number of inscriptions where the dates occur in conjunction with the expression *rājya-saṁvatsare* (= *rājye saṁvatsare*) which takes the place of the usual expression *saṁvatsare* (or an abbreviation); and yet no scholar has claimed that those datings are liable to a distinctive interpretation. The omission of the word *rājye* (or an equivalent) from the Taxila copper-plate has, therefore, no such significance as Mr. Chanda seeks to see. In fact, the introduction of such a word would be tautologous where the king is given his royal title or titles. This tautology was avoided, naturally, in most cases, and that is why it appears so rarely.

Mr. Chanda would probably draw a distinction between cases where, as in the Taxila copper-plate, the king's name is placed after the year-number but before the name of the month, and cases where, as in the Panjtar inscription, the king's name is introduced after a fuller recital of the date. But this distinction does not mean a difference. The month belongs to the year, and cannot be separated from the year, in idea, by the interposition of the king's name. In the Mānikialā inscription, as read by Professor Konow, the name of Kanishka is inserted between the year and the month, whereas in the Zedā inscription the name of Kanishka is placed after an enumeration of the year, the month, the day, and even the nakṣatra. For further

and more precise analogy to the way of dating exhibited in the Taxila copper-plate we may appeal to documents discovered in Central Asia. Two Kharoṣṭhī records unearthed in the Niya site,¹ for instance, are dated in exactly the same style as the Taxila copper-plate inscription. This is just what might be expected, since tradition testifies to an early emigration from Taxila to Central Asia. In these two records, which may be regarded as belonging more to Taxila than to Central Asia, two different kings are named, but, judging from palæography, a common era seems to have been employed. Is Mr. Chanda prepared to assume that these two kings established two eras of their own? Are we not justified in assuming, rather, that the position of the king's name in connexion with dating was determined by a custom preferred in the Taxila region, the custom having found its way into Central Asia along with emigrants from Taxila?

Under the circumstances, no case, I venture to hold, has been made out that Moga founded an era. And any such claim, on the ground of analogy, in favour of Azes, remains unproved.

Before concluding, however, I wish to observe that there is no reason why we should refuse to refer the date in the Taxila copper-plate to the same era as that employed in the silver-scroll found in the same locality, and that, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, this era is the familiar Vikrama era of 58 B.C. The onus of proving that another era beginning about the same time is contemplated in either or both of these epigraphs lies on those who offer the surmise, and that onus is far from being discharged as yet. Scholars no longer entertain any doubt that the dates on coins of the Western Kṣatrapas of Caṣṭana's line refer to the Śaka era, although what has been strictly proved is that the starting-point of the era used is very near to the starting-point of the Śaka era,

¹ Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, vol. ii, pls. xciv, civ; referred to by Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, p. 133.

so that we must, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, regard the two reckonings as identical. Sir John Marshall's objection to the view that the year 72 pertaining to Śodāsa (Lüders' *List*, No. 59) should not be referred to an era different from that employed in the Taxila copper-plate has been met by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in a paper on the date of Kanishka, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1917. If Professor Konow—and, along with him, Sir John Marshall and Mr. Chanda—be "forced to the conclusion" that Śodāsa's inscription is dated in the Vikrama era, I fail to see why we should not likewise be constrained to admit that the date in the Taxila copper-plate is referable to the same reckoning, even though such an admission involves the positing of a comparatively late date for Moga. I am, I may add, prepared to prove that, accepting the identity of Moga with Maues, the consequent scheme of chronology is not at variance with numismatic facts.

Notes on the editions of the Arabic Poets 'Abid ibn al-Abras, 'Amir ibn at Tufail, and 'Amr ibn Qami'a published by Sir Charles J. Lyall ¹

By F. KREMKOW.

SINCE the publication of these three important collections of ancient Arabic poetry, I have had access to two valuable old works dealing with the older period of Arabic poetry, viz. the second volume of Ibn Qutaiba's *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī* (India Office, No. 1155) and the *Ḥamāsa* of Hibat Allāh Ibn ash-Shaḡarī (Paris: Arabe No. 6018), the latter in photographs belonging to Mr. Storey.

As the pieces quoted in these two works in some cases give the actual reading of the lines where Sir Charles had to resort to conjecture, I thought it might be useful to give the variants and additions which follow.

'*Abid* No. 2, vv. 25, 13, 14, 16, 15, 17, 20, 29. Hibat Allāh, fol. 16b-17a.

- v. 13. جَمْعًا كَانَ سَنًا
- v. 14. تَمْسِي بِنَا . . . خُوصُ الْعِيُونِ كَأَنَّهُنَّ الرَّبْرَبُ
- v. 15. وَذُرُوعُنَا قَدْ أَحْقَبَتْ مِنْ خَلْفِنَا * وَجِيَادُنَا زُورُ
الْمَنَاكِيبِ تُجَنَّبُ
- v. 16. طُولُ الْقِيَادِ الْمُتَعَبِّ
- v. 17. كَالسَّيْدِ خَاضٍ لِحُمَاهَا * مَجْدُولَةٌ جَدَلُ الْعِنَانِ تُقَرَّبُ
- v. 20. وَلَوْ أَوْقَدُ شَرِبُوا بِكَأْسِي . . . نَاقِعًا يَتَصَبَّبُ
- v. 25. لَمَارًا أَوْ نَاوِ الْعَجَاجَةِ فَوْقَنَا

¹ Gibb Memorial, vol. xxi, 1913, and Cambridge, 1919.

- (1) As if her saliva after a siesta were mixed with dark-coloured flowing wine, which is kept in the wine-booth,
 (2) or with sparkling wine, whose scent is like musk, or even with the juices of pomegranates and apples.

'*Āmir* No. 1, vv. 1-3 = *Hibat Allāh*, 3b.

- v. 1. **إِنْ أَصْبَحْتُ فَارِسَ عَامِرٍ * وَوَأَفِدَهَا الْمَحْمُودَ**
 v. 2. **عَنْ وَرَاثَةٍ**

'*Āmir* No. 2, v. 6a, 8b, 11, 10; addit. verse 21; addit. verse 28; cited *Hibat Allāh*, 4a.

- v. 8. **عُرَامَا**
 v. 10. **وَوَافِنَا**

Add. verse.

وَحَيًّا مِنْ قُضَاعَةٍ قَدْ طَرَقْنَا * فَصَارُوا بَعْدُ أَصْدَاءَ وَهَامَا

- v. 21. **سَارُوا إِلَيْنَا مَعَ ابْنِ الْجَوْنِ فَأَصْطَلِمُوا**. Fills gap
 in *Dīwān*.

Add. verse.

قَتَلْنَا ثُمَّ لَمْ يَأْسَى عَلَيْهِ * أَبَا عَمْرٍو وَحَسَّانَ الْهُمَامَا

This verse was probably omitted on account of the grammatical difficulty, لم being followed by the indicative.

- v. 28. **يُودُّوا خَرَجَهُمْ عَامَا**. Fills gap in *Dīwān*.

v. 10a. And the tribe of Qudā'a did we attack at night, then were they afterwards only death-owls.

v. 21a. We killed—and no one was sad over it—Abu 'Amr and Ḥassān, the lord.

'*Āmir* No. 11, vv. 1-6, 9, 10, 7, 8, 11 = *Hibat Allāh*, 3b.

v. 2. عَلَى جَمْعِهِمْ كَرَّ الْمَنِيحِ الْمُشَهَّرِ. Better reading on account of v. 9.

v. 4. أَخْبَرْتُهُ . . . لَمْ يَبْلُ. The word يَبْلُ is vocalized in MS.

v. 8. فَمَا أَغْنَى

v. 11. أَقْلَى الْمِرَاءِ

'*Āmir* No. 29, vv. 7, 8, 10, 3, 4; cited *Hibat Allāh*, 3a, without variants.

'*Āmir*. Additional poem *Hibat Allāh*, 3a.

قَالَ عَامِرُ بْنُ الطُّفَيْلِ الْعَامِرِيُّ

نَحْنُ وَقَفْنَا بِالْمُشَقَّرِ مَوْقِفًا كَرِيمًا تَرَى الْفُرْسَانَ مِنْ طَعْنِهِ قُعْسًا
بِخَيْلٍ عَلَيْهَا جِنَّةٌ عَبْقَرِيَّةٌ وَفِتْيَانُ حَرْبٍ لَا تَرَى فِيهِمْ نِكَسًا
تَنَادَوْا فَقَالُوا يَا لَ عَامِرٍ أَصْبَحُوا تَمِيمًا فَأَبْدَى زَجْرُ طَيْرِهِمْ نَحْسًا
صَدَمْنَاهُمْ حَتَّى إِذَا الْخَيْلُ عَرَدَتْ فِرَارًا مَنَحْنَاهُمْ بِصَمِّ الْقَنَا بَخْسًا

1) We held out at al Mushaqqar nobly, you saw the cavaliers doubled over through the lance-thrusts.

(2) With horses on which Abqarī jinns seemed to ride, and young men trained for warfare, no dwarf among them.

(3) They shouted, saying: "People of 'Āmir attack Tamīm!" Then their auguries showed them an evil augury.

(4) We pressed upon them, and when their cavalry gave way in flight, we presented them with hard lances to great harm.

'*Amr ibn Qamī'a*, 2, v. 15 = Ibn Qutaiba Ma'ānī, 229b, reads **بَارْزَاقِ الْعِيَالِ**, which is a better reading than **الْعِيَادِ**. The commentary is as follows:—

فليس يجوز أن يكون المنيح في هذا البيت الا قدحاً
يَمْتَنِيحُ فيدخل في القداح لأنه قال يَعُودُ بَارْزَاقِ الْعِيَالِ فدلَّ
على أن له حظاً *

'*Amr ibn Qamī'a*, 2, vv. 16, 17 = Ibn Qutaiba Ma'ānī, 128a.

v. 17a. **تَرْجِي السَّمَّ تَحْتَ لَبَانِهَا * كَرِيه**

Commentary.

يصف كتيبة والملمومة المجتمعة لا ينفذ البصر في
عَرْضِهَا من كثرتها وكَوَكَبُ الشَّيْءِ مُعْظَمُهُ فَخَمٌ عَظِيمٌ *
شَدِيدٌ وَضُوحُهَا اِى بِيَاضِهَا تَرْجِي السَّمَّ تَقْدِّمُ الْمَوْتَ بَيْنَ
يَدَيْهَا وَالصَّبَّوحُ شَرْبُ الْغَدَاةِ وَهَذَا مَثَلٌ *

'*Amr ibn Qamī'a*, 2, v. 21 = I. Qutaiba Ma'ānī, 207b, **جَمَّةٌ . . . وَنَمِيحُهَا**. The commentary is similar to *kk*.

Amr ibn Qamī'a, 2, vv. 22, 19 = I. Qutaiba Ma'ānī, 149b-150a. Commentary.

٢٢ هذا مثلٌ يقول دَرَّتْ الْحَرْبُ كَمَا دَرَّتْ اللَّقُوحُ طِبَاقًا
اِى طَابَقَتْ بَعْدَ أَنْ كَانَتْ لَا تَدُرُّ وَالْبَكُّ قِلَّةُ اللَّبَنِ *
١٩. يَالَ مَالِكٍ يَرِيدُ قَوْمَهُ اِى هَذِهِ الدَّعْوَةُ حَاجَةٌ أَنْ لَمْ تَجِدْ
مَنْ يُرِيحُهَا اِى يَرُدُّهَا بِفِدَاءٍ اَوْ مَا تَرَدَّدَ بِمِثْلِهِ *

'*Amr b. Qamī'a*, 11, v. 1, 2, and additional verse = *Hibat Allāh*, fol. 95*b*, copied by the author from the book *Taif al-Khayāl* of al Murtaḍā, who stated that 'Amr was the first poet to speak of the vision of his beloved.

v. 2. يُوَافِي مَعَ اللَّيْلِ مُسْتَوْطِنًا

v. 2*a*. خِيَالٌ يُخَيِّلُ لِي نَيْلَهَا وَلَوْ قَدَرْتُ لَمْ يُخَيِّلْ وَلَا

The MS. has simply *خيال بحيل* and *لم بحمل*.

Ibn Qutaiba has in fol. 41*b* two verses by a poet also named 'Amr, the son of Qamī'a, who, however, was of the tribe of 'Abd al Qais, describing a mountain-goat. Verses belonging to this poem are cited in the *Khizānat al Adab*, and probably the verse printed as No. 9 of the Appendix to the *Diwān* is part of the same piece.

قال عمرو بن قميئة من عبد القيس يذكر وعلا
فلو أن شيئاً فأتى الموت أحرزت
عماية أدراج الأرحح الموقف
سما طرفه وأبيض حتى كأنه
خصي جفت عنه الرحائل أكلف

(1) If anything could escape death, then would the mountain 'Amāya guard the paths of the ibex with wide cloven-hoof and white foot-joints.

(2) Who raises his eyes and has become white with age, till he resembles a tawny gelded horse from whose back the saddle has slipped.

Pictographic Reconnaissances. Part IV

By L. C. HOPKINS

THAT "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet", Rudyard Kipling has impressed on us, and the dictum is widely accepted as an article of popular faith. But as an axiom it is not to be pressed without certain qualifications.

Beyond doubt there prevail certain antipathies, dissympathies, and as it were static estrangements of populations, deeply rooted in racial sub-consciousness, but capable of becoming profoundly dynamic under appropriate stimulation and appeal.

Nevertheless, in the planes of religion, of art, and of philosophy, we know that the East and West have more than once "met", flowed together for a time, the one tingeing the current of the other with a hue outlasting the duration of accidental contact, then parting once more and going their separate ways.


Such an influence, reciprocal but small as yet, is now at work in the quest of historical knowledge, whether pursued in the Far East or in Europe and America. And the studies of character which follow are, in fact, illustrations of the co-operation of Orient and Occident in one small division of a difficult branch of inquiry. It might indeed be plausibly maintained that the investigation of their own ancient writing could well be left entirely in the capable hands of Chinese scholarship, since no Occidental lives or has ever lived who can have at his call the immense learning and prodigious memory of the foremost Chinese scholars. This is perfectly true, and must always remain so. But, on the other hand, the Far Eastern *litterati*, always excepting those of Japan, labour under one serious disability. They have no real acquaintance with the learning of the Western world.

The use of the comparative method is as unfamiliar to them as are the ascertained stages of the tardy growth of human culture.

Here, then, is a possible contribution that even a very modest appreciation of the outlines of scientific and historical advance will qualify an Occidental student to make, for instance, to the present state of Chinese palæography. And in this belief the notes that follow are submitted as examples of the co-operative efforts of East and West.

Chih 執, to seize, grasp, to take into custody, arrest.

The last is the explanation of the *Shuo Wen*, 捕罪人也, "to arrest a culprit." Owing to Mr. Wang Hsiang's happy inspiration, which has succeeded where Lo Chên-yü failed, this character has been equated with its archaic original, and its graphic significance made fully clear by the former, supplemented in one detail by myself, which Wang may have understood, but has not explicitly specified.

Significance of the archaic forms.—A crouching or kneeling human figure, with extended arms secured by handcuffs. Working this out in detail, we find that the right-hand element of the Lesser Seal and modern forms, Figs. 8a and 執 respectively, have been so distorted that the aim of the primitive artist is not recognizable. The left-hand element is the *Shuo Wen*'s 396th Radical *nieh*, though from what the text adds there seems to have been another reading which perhaps was *chih*, though this cannot be positively stated. The explanation of this word *nieh* (or *chih*) is, according to the same work, 所以驚人也, "that with which men are terrorized." This does not carry us far enough, for many things, such as whips, knives, and other instruments of torment, can be used to terrorize or overawe men. But the archaic forms of 執 *chih* show that *nieh* was something fastened on or over the hands, and my belief is that this was meant to depict a handcuff. This is actually figured as an independent character by Wang Hsiang in his section 10, p. 48, as , but without a reference, and is probably inferred from

the compounds. It appears to represent a central lozenge-shaped opening, divided into two halves, one probably for each hand, the outer ends secured by fastenings of undetermined nature.

The above being the analysis of the composition of the character, it seems clear that the sense chosen by its designer for illustration was that of the securing of an arrested culprit or prisoner, and I may say that the archaic forms of the later 圜 *yü*, a prison, exhibit 執 *chih* in full, and not 幸, inside 口 *wei*, and are therefore more fully significant than the present character.

The discovery accordingly is to be credited to Mr. Wang Hsiang, for, though years before I had seen his book, 執 *chih* had suggested itself to me, as my notebook shows, it was only as one of several possibilities, and there I had to leave it.

Lo Chên-yü, however, did not get as far as that. He includes the archaic form among several pages of signs, of which the constructive significance was, as he supposed, clear, but which he could not equate with any modern characters. Thus he adds here¹ the note 象人發弩形, "depicts a man shooting from a cross-bow."

Figs. 1 to 8a.

The oldest Bronze examples, e.g. Fig. 8, are typologically considerably later than those from the Honan relics.

Shang 上, to ascend, upper, above.

Significance of the archaic forms.—Uncertain, even the most ancient forms are rather symbols than pictograms. Figs. 9 to 14.

Before introducing Lo Chên-yü's excellent note on 上 *shang* and 下 *hsia*, which are inserted on p. 24 of his *Investigations*, in their modern shapes as contiguous entries, I have a small bone to pick with him regarding the misleading manner in which he has printed the two examples adduced. Figures 15 and 16 are reproduced under 下 *hsia*, the second of the two

¹ *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, p. 68.

contiguous entries, the column under 上 *shang* being purposely left blank. This arrangement is for the purpose of illustrating for the reader the fact that each of the two groups is really *two* characters, and not, as it seems, a single one. But when the reader has grasped this he naturally, trusting to Lo's sequence of 上 *shang* and 下 *hsia* in that order, must suppose that the upper two lines in each group are 上 *shang*, and the lower two 下 *hsia*. But the reverse is the fact, and whenever these four-lined groups occur they are always to be read *hsia shang*, not *shang hsia*, curious as this order may seem. And Lo Chên-yü knows this is so, for in a later part of the book, p. 97, he transcribes into modern Chinese a sentence containing the group shown in Fig. 16, 下上弗若 *hsia shang fu jo*, "below and above not favourable," a formula often found on the Bones, apparently referring to the technique of the diviners, and descriptive of the responsive cracks upon the surface.

This being premised, we come to Lo's note, already mentioned. He writes:—

"In the oracular sentences two characters when forming a special combination (二字連用者) coalesce graphically (合書之), as they do on ancient Bronzes.

"Mr. Tuan [Tuan Yü-ts'ai] in his notes to the *Shuo Wen* has corrected the [*Shuo Wen*'s] *ku wén* forms 上 *shang* and 下 *hsia* to 二 and 三. This distinguished author had never devoted much labour to the inscriptions on ancient Bronzes, and that he should have had the penetration to hit upon the true antique shapes shows a degree of acumen to be admired in the highest measure."

This graphic coalescence to which Lo draws attention is peculiar to the oldest Chinese writing. I have given other examples of it elsewhere. At first it is a snare to the student, and, as an instance, for some years I supposed these combinations of 下 *hsia* and 上 *shang* to be variants of the archaic script of 四 *ssü*, four, viz. four parallel horizontal lines.

I may mention here that a recent Chinese scholar, Mr. Wang

Hsiang, 王襄, has collected a large number of these coalescing characters from the Honan relics, filling a section of seven pages of his work.

Hsia 下, to descend, lower, below.

Significance of the archaic forms.—Uncertain, see under 上 *shang*.

Figs. 17 to 19.

Liao 燎 (for which the augmented form 燎 is now used), to set on fire; lighted torches or faggots; and, specially, to sacrifice a victim over burning faggots.

The identification of the archaic forms of this character, the range of whose variation is very considerable, is interesting and valuable; the more so as the Lesser Seal and modern forms appear to descend from some other type. The discovery of the equation is due to Lo Chên-yü, and is accepted and confirmed by his fellow-investigators Wang Kuo-wei 王國維 and later by Wang Hsiang 王襄.

The explanation of the *Shuo Wen* is 柴祭天也, and whether with Wang Yün we read this with a stop after the first character, or with Tuan Yü-ts'ai omit the stop, it makes little difference to the general sense, which means "to offer worship to Heaven with the rite of burning wood". Lo goes on to point out that the archaic forms found on the Honan relics, which are very frequent, are composed of 木 *mu*, wood, over 火 *huo*, fire, while the dots at the sides represent flames leaping upward, 象火燄上騰之狀. Lo expressly denies the strange analysis of the *Shuo Wen*, from fire and an alleged "ancient form" of 𡇗 *shén*, reverence, not however to be found in the *Shuo Wen*'s entry under that character.

The *Significance of the archaic forms* is, then, wood·having fire beneath it and throwing out flames or sparks. Sometimes the fire beneath is omitted, as in the commonest variant, wood with two lateral dots. Sometimes the flames are placed symmetrically in the angles formed by the branches

with the trunk. In other instances *wood* is written horizontally and six dots added, thus strongly but fallaciously suggesting a star. Again, some examples exactly mimic the modern character 米 *mi*, rice. Finally, here and there, the character is contracted to the old form of 木 *mu*, wood.

Lo mentions a single example, which I have not otherwise seen, from an ancient Bronze, almost identical with Fig. 22.

The inscriptions on the Honan relics make it quite certain that the sacrifice known by the term *liao* was not confined, as the *Shuo Wen* implies, to the address of Heaven, but was habitually offered to ancestral or other apotheosized personages.

Figs. 20 to 28.

Chi 𠂔, to raise. An obsolete character, omitted as Chalmers points out in Kanghsi, but cited by the *Shuo Wen* from the *Tso Chuan* (twelfth year of Duke Hsüan)¹ in this form, and with this meaning. But the present text of the *Tso Chuan* reads 𠂔 *chī*, which Tu Yü glosses by 教 *chiao*, to teach, or show how.

Significance of the archaic forms.—The two hands raised and holding up a basket (now 𠂔 *tzū*).

Figs. 29 to 34.

The Figure, No. 29, from the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tai Wén Pien*, or *Chapter of Characters from the Shang tumulus awaiting investigation*, has a note by Lo Chên-yü that this character probably depicts some kind of basket (筐 𠂔 *k'uang fei*), but this has not led to his identifying the whole character with *chī*, nor does he equate the basket represented with 𠂔 *tzū*.

I may add that if anyone wants to be exasperated almost to madness he should try to find this character *chī*, to raise, and one exceedingly like it, 𠂔 *pi*, to furnish, in Kanghsi. The former is not in the dictionary at all, and the latter, which really consisted of 𠂔 *tzū*, over 几 *chī*, a stand, is placed under the Radical 田 *t'ien*, fields.

¹ See Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. v, pt. i, pp. 314 (text), 320 (English).

I 異, strange, rare, different.

The explanation of the structure and significance of this character being entirely new and unsuspected by Chinese scholars hitherto, should be read after reference to the treatment of the characters 𦉳 *tz'ü*, basketry, and 𦉳 *chi*, to raise in the hands, in order fully to appreciate the argument.

Significance of the archaic forms.—A frontal and linear representation of a man with arms raised and holding on his head a basket. This design is intended, as I believe, to suggest rare or precious products brought in baskets to the Chinese Court as dues or "tribute" from the various regions, as described in the 禹貢 *Yü Kung*, or *Tribute of Yü*, where such baskets are called 篚 *fei*.


It will be noted that the extant examples omit the head, an omission often found in representations of the human figure, but especially perhaps here in order to emphasize the basket, which is the dominating feature of the character.

If this explanation should be thought far-fetched, I would point out that unless the character designer had adopted the plan of borrowing some homophonous sign he would be hard put to it to construct a purely ideographic figure more vivid than this to illustrate the sense of *rare, strange*. And I would further call attention to the fact that this interpretation of 異 *i*, does also and satisfactorily explain the formation of the character 戴 *tai*, to carry on the head, otherwise inexplicable.

Figs. 35 to 42.

The first three of these figures are from the Honan relics, and are treated by Lo Chên-yü as unknown forms, Nos. 198 and 199 in his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tai Wên Pien* 殷虛書契待問編, p. 11, but are also ranged correctly under 異 *i*, on p. 57 of his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, which is inconsistent. The remaining figures are from ancient Bronzes, and their general resemblance is obvious.

If we examine the *Shuo Wen's* Lesser Seal example we shall find on closer inspection an indirect confirmation of the view

propounded above. This Lesser Seal is , and when analysed is seen to differ in an important detail from the construction of the modern character 異 *i*. For the latter is made up of 田 *t'ien*, fields, over 共 *kung*, all, also to offer. The lower part therefore in the Lesser Seal phase of 異 *i* should seemingly be 𠂔, which is the Lesser Seal of 共 *kung*. But it is not. It consists of 𠂔 (= 𠂔 *kung* in modern writing) over what seems to be 𠂔 *chi* (= 𠂔 in modern writing, found only in composition). But a very slight modification (𠂔 instead of 𠂔) would turn the *chi* unto the *Shuo Wen*'s so-called *chou wén* form of 大 *ta*, great (the *Shuo Wen*'s 402nd Radical). And if we combine the archaic sign 𠂔 (𠂔 *kung*) with the archaic 𠂔 (大 *ta*), and draw the two arms of the latter as so to extend horizontally instead of downwards we shall have done little violence to the Lesser Seal script, while at the same time reconciling this restored outline with the archaic type shown in the foregoing figures.

It will thus be seen to what extent, and why, I differ from Lo Chên-yü's less definite view of this character. After quoting the *Shuo Wen*'s explanation Lo continues: "The form on ancient Bronzes is always Fig. 42, and depicts a man with arms raised and protecting himself 自翼蔽 *tzü i pi*. It is always borrowed to write 異 *i*, to shelter."

The upper part of the Bone forms, he adds, is again different from that of the Bronze examples.

Tai 戴, to carry on the head; *met.* to support from below.

Significance of the archaic forms.—No example can be found of date earlier than the *Shuo Wen*'s Lesser Seal, Fig. 43. This is a Phonetic Compound of 𠂔 *tsai* as the Phonetic, with 異 *i* as the ideographic element. The sound *tsai* is given in Kanghsi as an occasional one in certain contexts, and we may fairly conclude that it was the normal pronunciation at the date this character was designed.

The fitness of the ideographic value of 異, its artistic design, that is, a man bearing something on his head, without

reference to the sound and sense of the word (*i*, rare), to which it had been attached, is obvious.

P'i 匹, mate; to match; one of a pair or team, especially used of horses.

Significance of the archaic forms.—Hitherto obscure, but it is now submitted that the example drawn from the invaluable Bronze known as the Mao Kung Ting, or Caldron of the Duke of Mao, Fig. 44, goes far to prove the original character to have been a profile of a horse's head with the eye emphasized, and the front and jawbone shown. The ears are omitted. A very slight negligence in drawing has sufficed to render the original design unrecognizable in all the other forms.

Figs. 44 to 49.

Modern Chinese scholars have been impressed by a curious yet natural feature in the most ancient texts of their language, which consists, in the case of certain words between which the liaison is very close, in writing apparently as a single group what are really two separate characters. This they call 合文 *ho wén*, "sign-welding," or 合書 *ho shu*, "graphic coalescence." One living scholar, a Mr. Hua Shih-fu 華石斧, in a laudatory postface to a recent work on the Honan Bone characters by Mr. Wang Hsiang, 王襄, is moved by several instances of this phenomenon to exclaim, as a spiritual avatar, one might believe, of the late Terrien de Lacouperie: "Hence we may be sure that the modern character 江 *chiang* [or Yangtse Kiang] ought to be pronounced *kung shui*, 工水, and the 河, *ho* [or Yellow River] should be *k'o shui*, 可水, and not as in the traditional pronunciations of the present day."

Returning from this venture into the blue waters of speculative analysis, to the word *p'i* 匹, we should note what Wu Ta-ch'êng, a very sound scholar in Chinese paleography, has written under the example cited from the Mao Kung Ting, where, as he states, the words are 匹 四 匹, *ma ssü p'i*, "of horses four head" [a team of four], are written as in

Fig. 50. And he expands this under another example, thus: 凡馬一匹謂之匹上加三畫卽四匹矣四匹二字多合文非三匹也, "With horses, one head is written [as the 7th character above], adding above this three strokes, we get four head. The two characters 四匹 *ss'ü p'i* are usually made to coalesce, and do not represent the words 三匹 *san p'i*, three head."

Although this economy, which makes use of the upper line of the figure 匹 *p'i* to form the lowest of the four horizontal lines of the old character 四 *ss'ü*, four, is frequent, it is not by any means the invariable rule on the Bronzes. The character 匹 *p'i* has not yet been recognized on the Honan relics.

Chung 中, middle.

This character, which appears so simple in its symbolical design, and to be susceptible of so obvious an explanation, is really neither simple in its oldest form, nor can it be in that form accounted for without a certain subtlety of analysis. Assuming that it implies an earlier circle divided by a vertical line into two equal halves, we should naturally regard such a sphere pierced through the centre as a very appropriate symbol for a word meaning centre or middle. And yet as we shall immediately see this view will not respond to the historical facts.

Neither the Lesser Seal character 中, nor the *Shuo Wen*'s alleged *ku wén* and *chou wén* forms, nor the text itself are beyond doubt, while the latter is far from satisfying a critical scrutiny. It explains *chung* by the word *huo* 和, harmony, which seems so pointless that Tuan Yü-ts'ai in his edition emends it to 中 *nei* or *na*, within, or to insert, which is an improvement, but an arbitrary one. When we turn to the *Shuo Wen*'s analysis of the character we find 從口上下通, "composed with 口 *wei*, to surround, and *kun*, a vertical line; above and below in communication." We need waste no time over this, for it throws no light upon anything. Finally,

the *Shuo Wen* gives Fig. 51 as the *chou wén* form, and Fig. 52 as the *ku wén*, or ancient script.



After citing five examples of the archaic type of 中 *chung* from the Honan Bones, Lo Chên-yü proceeds (p. 24) to make the following remarks on the *Shuo Wen*'s text :—

“The ancient Bronzes and the oracular sentences write 𠂔 and 𠂕, with the pennon sometimes on the left, sometimes on the right. The pennon flies according to the wind, either to the left or the right. There is no such form as 𠂖, for the pennon cannot at the same time fly first to the left and then to the right. Further, in sentences wherever the character has the sense of 中 正 *chung chêng*, in a right line, upright (physically or figuratively), it is written 𠂗, composed with 口 and 乚. Whenever the character is used as in the phrase 伯仲 *pé chung*, eldest and second sons, it is written 中, without the addition of the pennon. The element 中, forming part [of the early script] of 史 *shih*, secretary, is written 𠂘. These three characters are quite distinct and not confused one with the other. The form 𠂙, which, in Hsü's work, is part of the character 中 in the phrase 中 正 *chung chêng*, upright, is probably an error due to copyists.”

Agreeing though I do with almost every word in the above statement, we must still remark that Lo leaves us in the dark as to his own interpretation of the pictorial aim of the character, except that we see that he describes the wavy lines as streamers or pennons 旂 *yu*, and therefore we must infer that the vertical line from which these float must in his view be a flagstaff, but he is silent as to the variously shaped circle, oval, oblong, or square, pierced by this median line.

Possibly an enclosed space or town was intended, as often elsewhere, by this circumference, and if so the designer may have meant to represent two flagstaffs, one on the upper, and one, reversed, on the lower boundary of the enclosure, though in such case the relation between this design and the idea of centrality is not too obvious.

However, in this uncertainty as to the depictive intention of the original constructors of the character I venture to propose a perfectly novel solution of the *Significance of the archaic forms*. It is based not on the idea of centrality, but on that of uprightness, extension in a right line, inherent in the Chinese word *chéng* 正, one of the meanings given in Kanghsi to 中 *chung*, and equally the sense of the binomial expression *chung chéng* 中正, cited above.

Starting, then, from this idea of "uprightness", I suppose the archaic forms to represent a flagstaff, viewed as a standard and illustration, both literally and metaphorically, of uprightness, with the addition of streamers above and below the □ symbol, which I imagine was once the outline of the characteristic wooden *tou tzu* 斗子, or "bushell", through which a Chinese flagstaff passes, and familiar to every resident or visitor. Such a figure would have been in primitive times more or less as in  or , the artist in such cases ignoring as usual the actual interruption of the vertical line by the surrounding trapezoid or "bushell". Figs. 53 to 63.

We must not overlook the fact that already in Shang times a graphic distinction was made between the normal senses of 中 *chung*, and the special sense of second in order of birth, now indicated by 仲 *chung*. This is well shown in the titles of Chung Ting and Chung Tsung (two early Sovereigns of the Royal line, the latter commonly styled T'ai Mou), where the symbol for *chung* always lacks the streamers. We cannot on the evidence, tell which of these scriptions is the earlier.

I would also call attention to Fig. 60, where the alleged *ku wen* and *chou wen* versions of the *Shuo Wen* are, to some extent, confirmed by the mouth-like change of the more usual □ element.

But *chung* has a further sense, still retained in the modern speech and literature with a corresponding change of tone, viz. that which in English is often expressed by "stroke", as, for instance, in "sunstroke", and in French by "coup".

Thus, the Chinese say 中暑 *chung shu* for sunstroke, and 中寒 *chung han*, a chill, literally "cold stroke", while 中風 *chung fêng*, "windstroke," is a paralytic stroke, and other such phrases exist, such as 中意 *chung i*, "fancy struck," to admire or desire.

This usage, I believe, is also found on the Honan relics, as witness the occasional occurrence of 卜中 *pu chung*, which in the original is written with the pennon variant of *chung*. I regard it as referring to a stroke or attack of violent illness, such as would be certain to form the subject of inquiry by divination.

The *Chou Li* of the succeeding Dynasty (Book 24, ch. 7) enumerates the eight subjects of divination, the last of which was 瘡 *ch'ou*, wrongly rendered by Birt as "épidémies", whereas the commentators and the dictionaries prove that it means "recovery" or "cure". Such may have been the more euphemistic term under the Chou Empire for the same evil thing as the blunt candour of the Shang age indicated by "attack" or "stroke". But it may have been an attack of illness personal to the Royal inquirer, and not a popular epidemic.

Kung 𢇛 or 𢇛, to offer or furnish to a superior.

Lo Chên-yü transcribes the archaic examples by the second form, but strictly these correspond rather to the first. They are, of course, slightly varying scriptions of the same word.

Significance of the archaic forms.—Doubtful. The interpretation I now suggest is novel.

The *Shuo Wen's* view of these two characters, which are not explained by the same synonym, nor given the same meaning, by the author, Hsü, is that they are composed of 𠂇 *kung*, to present with both hands, in one case, 共 *kung* (same sense), in the other, with 龍 *lung*, dragon, in both as the *Phonetic* (sic). This seems a topsy-turvy and senseless explanation. For as both 𠂇 and 共 are pronounced *kung*,

neither required any phonetic at all, still less a phonetic that, besides being needless, was also imperfect, and liable to mislead the student into reading the compound thus formed as *lung*.

In place of this unsatisfactory account, I propose the solution that the characters are Suggestive Compounds, i.e. ideographic, and represent the two hands holding up, not a living dragon (which would be absurd even in Chinese eyes), but something in the shape, or with the decoration of a dragon. This object might well be a 龍璧 *lung pi* or Dragon Disk, a term which occurs on the Honan relics, and must have indicated a symbol or token of high potency and distinction.

Figs. 64 to 74.

Kung 公, public, just, fair; a title of nobility usually translated "duke"; male.

Significance of the archaic forms.—The male organ, the glans penis being emphasized. That sense of the word *kung* has been selected by the primitive artist which was most easy to represent to the eye, namely "male".

There is no warrant for this explanation of the character in any Chinese author, but I have myself no doubt of its correctness. As will be seen it accounts for one type of the most archaic forms which the received explanation fails to do. But, apart from this, the *Shuo Wen's* analysis smells too strongly of the moralistic lamp. The author of that work follows up the Lesser Seal form 公 with a note thus conceived: 平分也從八從厶 八猶背也 韓非曰背厶爲公, that is, "Fair division. Composed with 八 *pa*, eight, and 厶 *ssü*, private; 八 *pa*, is, as it were, 背 *pei*, to turn the back on. Han Fei has written 'To turn the back on *ssü*, private, is to be *kung*, public or fair'."

There may, of course, be some to whom this kind of solemn word-juggling appeals, but I confess I am not of them, though Chalmers, Wieger, and even Chalfant accept it without demur. Lo Chên-yü, who cites only one example, No. 81, merely remarks that this and those from ancient Bronzes all consist

of 八 *pa*, and the sign 口, so that he, too, seems to concur with the traditional symbolism.

Figs. 75 to 82.

Hsün 旬, a decade of days, a cycle of ten days.

The identification of the archaic forms given below with the modern character 旬 *hsün* is due to the acumen of Mr. Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, and is perhaps one of the most brilliant solutions in this study, yet attained. I propose to translate Wang's account of the discovery, which will be found on p. 49 of his *Yin Hsü Wén Tzū*, 殷虛文字, in No. 20 of the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien Review*.

"旬 *hsün*," says Wang, "is written in the forms 𠂇 and 𠂈 in the oracular sentences. Now I find on the 使夷敦 *Shih I Tui* Bronze the words 'Of metal ten 鈞 *chün*' [1 *chün* = 30 catties], and on the cover of another Bronze [cited by name], the same words [for the two forms of *chün* here written see plate, Figs. 89 and 90. I add from my own collection the variant, Fig. 91, on H. 173].

"On reference to the character 鈞 *chün* in the *Shuo Wen*," continues Wang, "we note as the *ku wén* there given, the form 𠂇. Thus the Figures 89 and 90 are the character 𠂇, and 𠂈 is *hsün*. The oracular sentences, again, contain the expression 𠂇之二 𠂇 *hsün chih erh jih* [two days of the decade, or, perhaps, the second day of the decade], which may also be adduced in support."

"I have," Wang goes on to say, "gone through all the passages in the oracular sentences containing the phrase 貞旬亡 𠂇 *chêng hsün wu* (?), 'the response is, nothing untoward during the decade,' and in every case the divination was made on a *kuei* day, 癸日 [that is, on a day beginning with the cycle character *kuei*, which would be the last day of each decade of days, there being six such *kuei* dates in the Cycle of Sixty]. Under the Yin dynasty they appear to have (蓋 *kai*) counted from 甲 *chia* to 癸 *kuei* as a decade, and on

the last day of one decade to have divined as to the good or bad fortune of the next."

Quoting three characters from the particular Bone text on which he is commenting, Wang continues: "旬亡 [𠄎] *hsün wu* (?) resembles the expression in the *Book of Changes* 旬亡咎 *hsün wu chiu*, nothing untoward in the decade. The sun from 甲 *chia* [the first of the denary cycle] to 癸 *kuei* [the last] makes one revolution, 日自甲至癸而一徧,¹ hence the meaning of 旬 *hsün* by extension becomes a revolution, a cycle 徧 *pien*. The *Erh Ya* defines the word 宣 *hsüan* by the term 旬徧 *hsün pien*, to complete a circle,

"The *Shuo Wen*'s [343rd] Radical 勹, explained as 裹 *kuo*, to wrap round, is, in fact, this character [viz. 勹], but later ages, not recognizing this, read it as 包 *pao*, to enfold, quite ignorant of the fact that 勹 is the primitive scription of 旬 *hsün*.²

"The character 𨾏 *chün*, composed with 車 *ch'ê*, chariot, and 勹 [*hsün* as explained above] is also a suggestive compound, and at the same time a phonetic compound, 會意兼形聲也."

This last sentence of Wang Kuo-wei illustrates one of the classificatory refinements of modern Chinese scholarship. Thus 𨾏 *chün*, now usually written 軍, an army, an encampment, can equally well be viewed as a suggestive compound, i.e. an ideographic binomial made up of the elements *chariot* and 勹 *defensive circle*, suggesting a military force within a zareba of its own war-chariots, or it can be considered as consisting of *chariots* as the determinative, with 勹 *hsün* (in certain contexts read *chün*) as the phonetic. But we, *nous autres*, need not trouble ourselves too much over this terminological exactitude of classification.

Wang Kuo-wei, the discoverer of the identity of this hitherto

¹ I do not understand this alleged astronomical fact.

² More strictly speaking, 勹 is the modern development of 勹, which is the primitive scription of 旬 *hsün*.

unknown form, does not propose any explanation of its original artistic intention, which remains obscure, though a spiral tendency, congruous with the fundamental sense of the word *hsün*, revolution, cycle, is obvious enough. The *significance of the archaic forms* must therefore for the present be doubtful. But I will confess that it suggests some kind of looper caterpillar, the original head being, as in other cases, reduced to a cross-bar, and in particular it recalls the very similar construction of the character 蜀 *shu*, "a silk-worm found in malvaceous plants" (*Shuo Wen*), after withdrawing the determinative 虫, insect. The remainder depicts, according to the same authority, the caterpillar's head, and the lower part, its wriggling body, 其身蜎蜎.

* * * *

Pleasant enough it has been to wander hand-in-hand with Wang Kuo-wei among the checkered glades of this Oriental palæographic paradise. But the scene changes, and I must assume another and less agreeable attitude. The public profession and the contrite spirit of the Penitent are behoving on me, as on every pioneer who has by mischance or blundering blazed a false trail. And such a false trail was published in this Journal on pp. 301-2 of the April number, 1915, in the paragraph commencing, "I am specially pleased to have identified the fourth character," which was the character now under discussion, and I concluded, "I have at last equated the former with 有 *yu*, to have, . . ." It was all wrong. It was *not* 有 *yu*, and I had *not* equated it. It was one more fragment of that ponderous mass of "knowledge of things that are not so", that clogs advance in every direction.

Figs. 83 to 91.

Fu 負, to carry on the back; to turn the back on.

Significance of the archaic forms.—A man carrying a bundle of firewood on his back. Figs. 92 to 94.

As the significance here given is entirely new and in opposition to that of the *Shuo Wen*, and, as further, these archaic pictograms have never been equated with the modern

character 負 *fu*, the onus is incurred of submitting the reasons which have convinced me, and will, I hope, carry persuasion to the reader, that this identification is valid.

Fig. 95 is the Lesser Seal version. It is explained by the *Shuo Wen* as 恃也 *shih yeh*, "to rely on," and the character itself is thus analysed: 從人守貝有所恃也, "composed of *man* guarding a *shell*: having something to rely on."

Considering that in common parlance and literary usage the word *fu* means to carry on the back, while the Seal character seems to depict a man standing on a shell, it will hardly be denied that there is a rather wide hiatus and breach of logical relation between such a word and such a sign, which is not by any means closed by *Hsü Shên's* analysis of the character. Again, why should there be any difficulty in finding a pictorial design for a word of so simple and concrete a sense as that of carrying on the back? Obviously there could be none. The designer had only to draw a man in profile bearing something on his back. What in an early and a simpler age could be more appropriate for that something than a load of firewood? And that, I maintain, is what is meant by the crude symbol (for it is more than a picture), of wood in a bundle tied round the middle. Perhaps in support I may cite the remark of Lo Chên-yü, appended to two unknown characters, Figs. 96 and 97, from the Honan Bones. He writes: 象束物形 X 與二象繩束處疑爲束字, "depicts something tied round. The elements X and 二 [included in the respective forms] depict the places where the cord is tied. We may surmise that they [the two complete figures] are the character 束 *su*, to tie, bind."

Whether this last conjecture of Lo's is well-founded or not we need not here stop to discuss, but it will be seen that to some extent it reinforces my view of what the man in our figures is carrying, though Lo does not explicitly mention the "something tied" as being wood.

As to previous explanations of our three figures, I know of

one only. This is by Wu Shih-fên, the author of the splendid collection of facsimiles published in his *Chün Kú Iu Chin Wén*. In that work, vol. i, p. 34, he describes the first figure as 子負車形, "a son carrying a cart on his back." Let us charitably pass this in decorous silence; after all it is not much more inept than the *Shuo Wen*'s effort, "a man guarding a shell."

We can, however, perceive how the, as I consider it, thoroughly corrupted version preserved by the Lesser Seal came into existence. The man who was originally drawn at the side, as seen in our figures, and shown supporting his load, has been by a kind of shell-shock lifted to the top and his load of wood dropped from his back to beneath his feet, and changed beyond recognition into the contour and markings of a cowrie. Particular note should be taken that in one of our examples the burden carried would, if standing alone, be the character 東 *tung*, East.

Wén 文, lines, design, ornament, a pictogram, literature, civilian, civilized.

In putting forward the following explanation of the ancient character it is right to warn the reader that it is entirely unsupported by any previous authority, Chinese or foreign, so far as I know, and must stand on its own merits, naked but unashamed. Here, then, is my hypothesis on the *significance of the archaic forms*. A human figure viewed frontally, and showing tattoo marks, or perhaps painted designs.

Although no dictionary known to me includes the meaning of tattooing under 文 *wén*, there is also no doubt that such is the sense of the word in certain contexts. Thus Ssü-ma Ch'ien says of the two elder sons of Tan Fu, the progenitor of the House of Chou, that they retired and lived among the *Man* barbarians, where, conforming to the custom of the country they "cut off their hair and tattooed their bodies, 剪髮文身".¹ And Wang Yün, in his edition of the *Shuo*

¹ See Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques*, vol. i, pp. 215-16, and vol. iv, pp. 1-2, cited also by Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, vol. xix, No. 5, p. 364, n. 143.

Wen, cites another passage from the same *Historical Memoirs* (section of the Hereditary House of Yueh 越世家), with the commentary upon it, as follows: 剪髮文身錯臂左衽注云錯臂亦文身以丹青錯畫其臂, "cut off their hair and tattoo their bodies, decorate their arms, and button their jackets on the left. *Commentator's note*: 'Decorating their arms' is also 'tattooing their bodies'; with red and blue pigments they draw designs on their arms."

There need be no hesitation in accepting the sense of tattooing as one covered by the syllable 文 wén. And I may add that if there is one character that should have been correctly described by the *Shuo Wen* it is in view of the book's own title, the character 文 wén. And yet it is not, but is said to "depict crossing lines, 象交文", whereas really the Lesser Seal form displays merely the human figure without any indication of lines, see Fig. 98. Not so the archaic forms, where in various ways the tattoo-marks are shown on the front of the body, sometimes as actual cross-lines, sometimes as a design, resembling the old figure of 心 hsin, the heart.

Figs. 99 to 121.

It may perhaps be objected that such an explanation, based on a rare sense of the word in question, is far-fetched and improbable. But it will, I submit, seem more plausible when we consider the prevalence of what may be termed the Method of Signal Examples in Chinese palæography. For many words express ideas of such wide range and diffused application as to defy a pictorial representation that would cover the whole field. A single facet of the multiform surface, a concrete instance favourable to the primitive artist, was consequently chosen to illustrate the general idea by a particular and familiar example. Our character 文 wén, a human tattooed figure, such as the ancient Chinese knew well among the indigenous neighbouring tribes, becomes less unlikely in view of the above graphic exigencies.

In conclusion I will call in support of what has been urged evidence of a quite different nature.

There exists a single specimen of a character of unknown equation, but of an interesting and significant design. It will be found on p. 11 of the *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Ching Hua*, 殷虛書契菁華, of Lo Chên-yü, and is reproduced in Fig. 122. This character depicts a man viewed frontally, holding in his right hand what may be a spear, his two legs complete with feet, and showing a roughly semi-circular or heart-shaped design upon his breast. It is not claimed that this unknown pictogram is 文 *wén*, but evidently it includes one of the archaic variants of that character, amplified with feet, and some object held in one hand. And since no one will doubt that the unknown character crudely represents a human figure, the part of it which is identical with 文 *wén*, must, though less completely, do so, too. It is difficult to see how any other conclusion can be reached.

But there is a difficulty, or a complication, which I do not wish to ignore. This is due to the existence both on the ancient Bronzes and the Honan relics, of a type not conforming to that explained above. This type, examples of which are shown in Figs. 123 and 124, appears to consist of a shield-shaped element, bearing the figure of a heart, or perhaps a shell, and having above and below it the upper and lower parts of 木 *mu*, wood, the central vertical stroke of which is occluded by the shield. I am unable to explain the significance of this type, which can hardly be a corruption or alteration of the other. I suspect, however, that these two forms have been wrongly identified, and are not variants of 文 *wén* at all.

Yeh 也, a definitive and final particle. In modern colloquial, also, too.

Significance of the archaic forms.—A serpent, perhaps a cobra.


This explanation, to which after a long period of disbelief, then doubt, then hesitation, and finally acceptance, I am now a convinced convert, with certain reserves of detail, we owe to Mr. Takada, the learned and independent author of the *Choyokaku Ji Kan*, 朝陽閣字鑑.


Very different were the two previous accounts of the character which held the field till Mr. Takada entered it. The *Shuo Wen*'s analysis, following the Lesser Seal 𠂔, at all events, is old and well stricken in years, and its language is blunt, and runs 女陰也象形, "the *puenda muliebria*; a pictogram." Chalmers is very ladylike over this, and merely refers, p. 5, to "an indecent meaning" of the Han lexicographer. Père Wieger is even more discreet, and altogether ignores the *Shuo Wen*'s *faux pas*. Both these writers adopt the second and more decorous explanation, that, namely, which regards the form as representing a vessel "with a tubular handle, now written 匱, and read *i*", in Chalmer's words. A favourite type of this vessel is, in fact, shaped like a modern sauce-boat. A good example is figured in No. 19 of the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* 藝術叢編.

But while the archaic forms of 也 *yeh* might, perhaps, be explicable on the *Shuo Wen*'s theory, it is necessary for that hypothesis that there should have existed a syllable having the meaning postulated by the *Shuo Wen*, and the same sound as *yeh*, the particle, then had, so that the character representing the bodily organ could have been borrowed to write this homophonous and elusive syllable. But there does not exist a Chinese vocable with that meaning, and the sound *yeh* or *i*, or (speaking in anticipation) *shé*. The *Shuo Wen*'s explanation therefore is left rather in the air.

Nor does that which is based upon a supposed representation of a vessel with a tubular handle and a spout stand scrutiny any better. For clearly if these archaic forms represent such a vessel at all they must do so diagrammatically and viewed from above. But that is contrary to the Chinese practice of depicting vessels, whether of bronze, earthenware, or horn, which were always figured *in elevation*. It is most unlikely that an ewer would have formed any exception to this rule, and if that is conceded we are forced to abandon both the earlier explanations and prepare to listen to that of the *Choyokaku Ji Kan*. This will be found stated in substantially the same


words in two passages, one under 也 *yeh*, *chüan* i, p. 15, and again under 它 *t'o*, *chüan* viii, p. 1. For the convenience of the reader I shall add a few explanatory notes in square brackets as I translate the first passage into English.

After giving the Lesser Seal form of 也 *yeh* (see above), the author cites from Wu Ta-ch'êng's *Ku Chou Pu* 古籀補, an archaic example , used on the original Bronze to write the then homophonous word now written 匱, an ewer. Mr. Takada then proceeds, "This antique form [篆 *chuan*, usually rendered Seal character] is a pictogram of a snake, 卽蛇之象形. The *Shuo Wen* writes: 'A creeping thing, 虫 *hui*. Composed of the character 虫 lengthened; depicts the bent shape and drooping tail.' Just so, and so we may conclude that in early times 它 [*t'o*] and 也 [*yeh*] were the same character, 因謂古它也同字也.

"On the Han ewer known as the 注水匱 *chu shui i*, the last character is written as Fig. 134, composed with  [它 *t'o*]. On a Ts'in tile, in the name 蘭池宮 *lan ch'ih kung*, the character 池 *ch'ih* is written as Fig. 135 [viz. with 它 *t'o*], and confirms the above.

"The *Shuo Wen* further asserts that in the highest antiquity men dwelt in the grass lands and suffered from serpents. Hence they would inquire of one another, 'No snakes, eh?' *T'o* is sometimes composed with 虫 *hui*, and written as Fig. 136 [viz. modern 蛇]."

May I here interject an expression of wonder that no one—not even Terrien de Lacouperie—should have seen in this anecdote of the *Shuo Wen* a reminiscence of Adam and Eve's contretemps in the Garden of Eden.

The author of the *Choyokaku Ji Kan* then resumes his own argument, and proceeds, "By extension of meaning and the method of borrowing, the character 它 came to stand for the syllable *t'a* 他 [he], of the phrase 自他 *tzü t'a*, self and others, where 他 is a vulgar scription of 它. And the *Shuo Wen* produced a separate character , which it treated as a pictogram of the *pudenda muliebria*, and as a grammatical

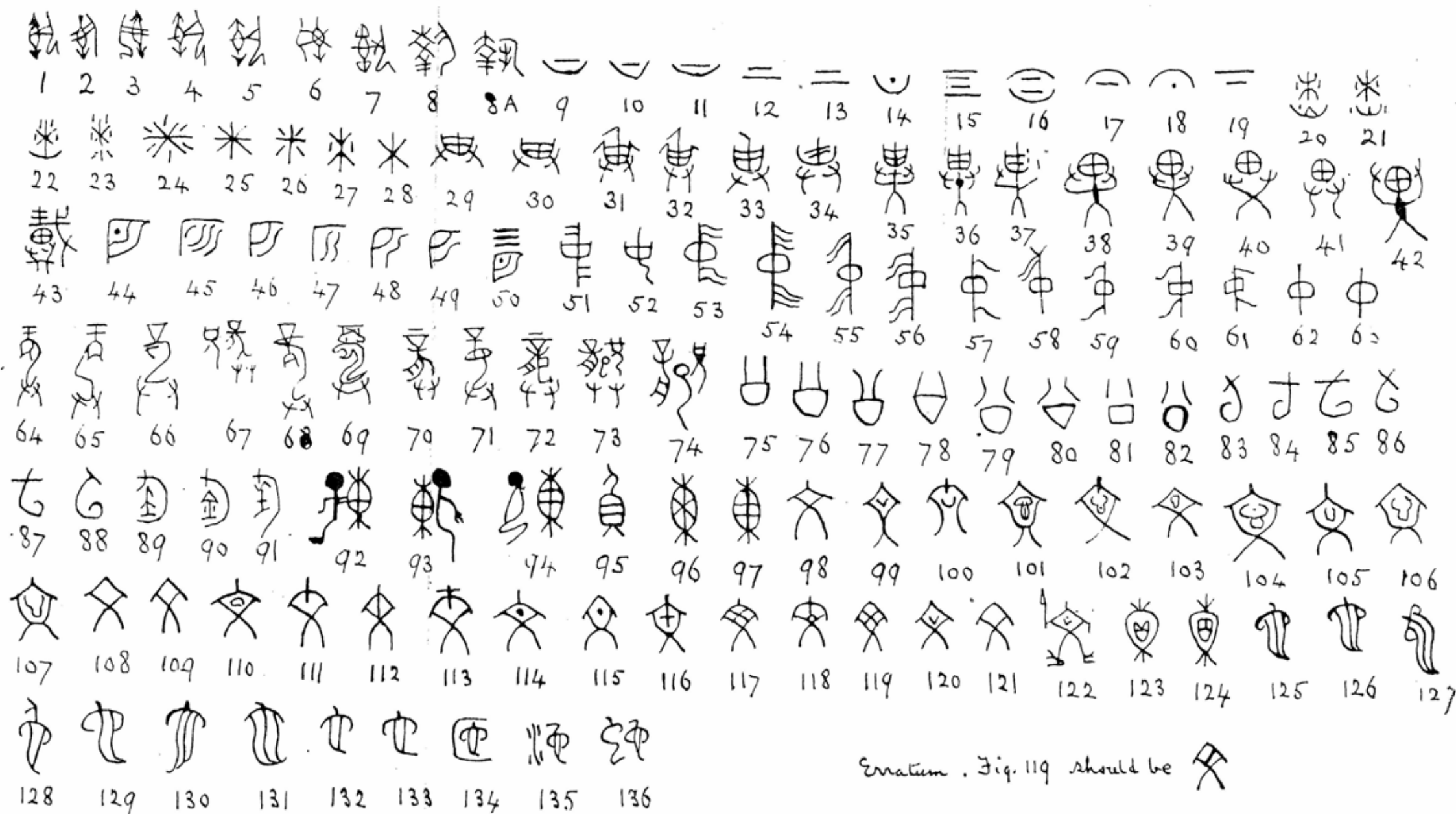
particle, probably both being later explanations 蓋從後出說也。”


The Japanese savant thus appears to believe firstly that 也 and 它 are forms originally identical; secondly that 它 and 蛇 are mere graphic variants; and thirdly that all three forms are modern variant descendants of a pictogram of a serpent. But neither he nor Wu Ta-ch'êng, nor any other Oriental scholar that I have read, has explained how, in that case, the later shapes of one and the same character have come by syllables so different in sound, as *yeh*, *t'o*, and *shé*, and, moreover, how one of these, *yeh*, does not bear the meaning of serpent at all, but is either used as a particle, or anciently as the word for an ewer.

But these phonetic questions, which seem not to be appreciated, or, if appreciated, are ignored, by these Oriental scholars, call for some solution, and in default of more competent authority I shall now propose one of my own, always *bien entendu* with one shrinking glance at M. Karlgren, and another deprecating gesture towards Professor Pelliot.

This thesis, then, is that 也 and 蛇 were the first a simple, the second an augmented figure of a serpent, and that the modern sounds *yeh* and *shé* are only divergent variations of some very early word, the pronunciation of which I do not pretend to lay down, but which in any case must have resembled *shé* more than it resembled *yeh*, since it is more difficult to believe that the wear and tear of usage in speech could have resulted in a primitive semi-vowel such as *y* generating a sibilant such as *s* or *sh*, than it is to see in the semi-vowel or vowel an abraded relic of a consonant. This phonetic vibration (if I may use the term) between *shé* and *yeh* is observable in some other syllables. Thus 射, normally *shé*, has the exceptional sound *yeh* in the ancient official title 僕射 *pu yeh*,¹ while 葉, normally *yeh*, is pronounced *shé* in 葉縣 *Shê hsien*, a district of Honan. An analogous

¹ As to which see Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques*, vol. 2, Appendice 1, p. 517.



Erratum. Fig. 119 should be 

alternation prevails in many cases between the syllables *shih* or *ssü* and *i*. All these variations appear to illustrate a progressive enfeeblement of initial utterance from sibilation to a mere smooth breathing.

And lastly, I suppose that this ancient pictogram of a snake was borrowed not only to supply the homophonous word for "ewer" (now read *i*) with a written form, but also for another homophone, now remaining as the particle *yeh*.

Figs. 125 to 136.

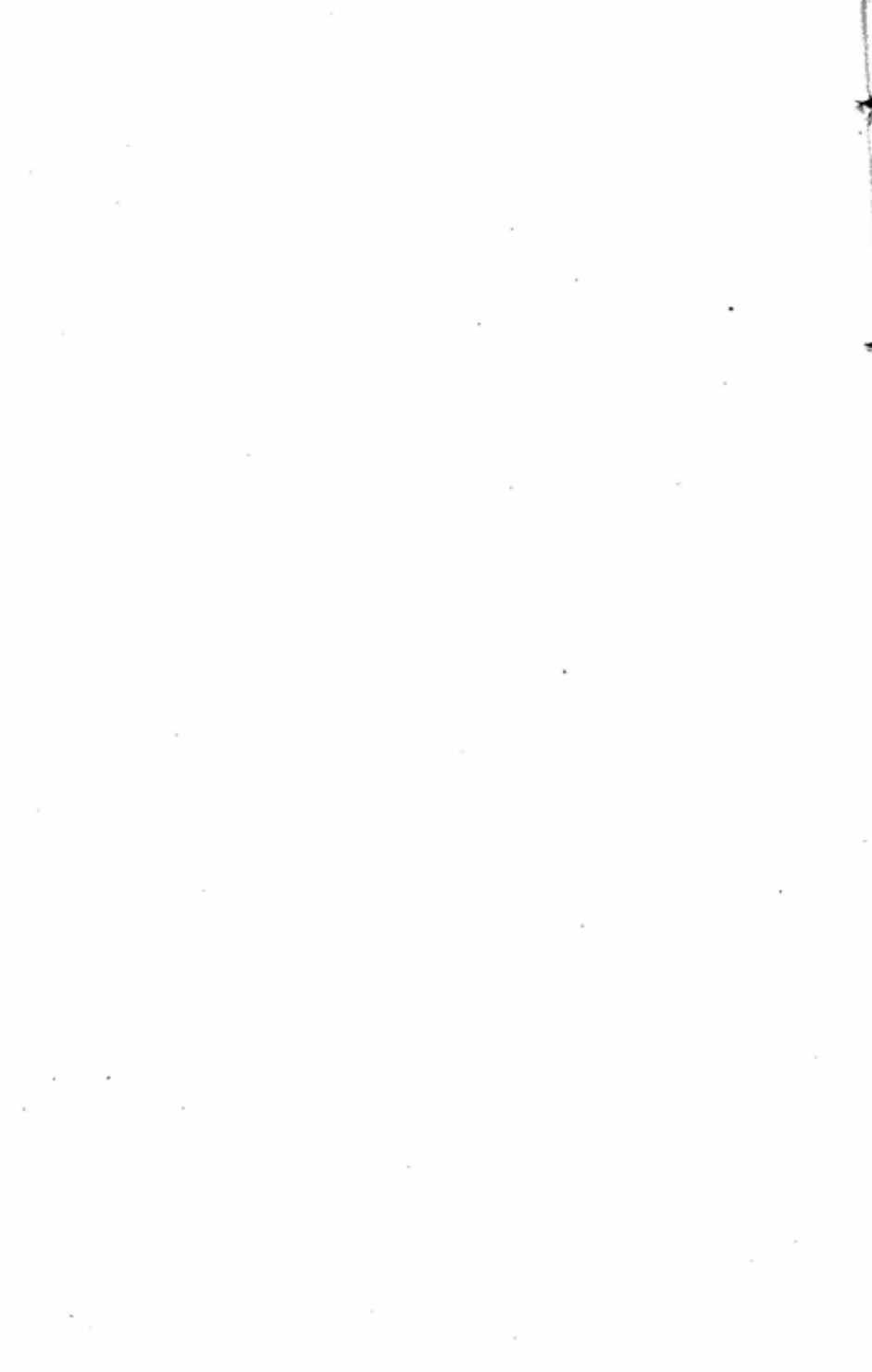
LIST OF REFERENCES FOR FIGURES IN PLATE TO PART IV

Abbreviations

- C. K. L. C. W. = *Chün Ku Lu Chün Wén* 據古錄金文.
 H. = Hopkins' Collection.
 I. S. T. P. = *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* 藝術叢編.
 S. W. = *Shuo Wen* 說文.
 S. W. K. C. P. = *Shuo Wen Ku Chou Pu* 說文古籀補.
 T. C. C. C. L. = *T'ao Chai Chi Chün Lu* 陶齋吉金錄.
 T. K. C., etc. = *Tsi Ku Chai Chung Ting K'uan Chih* 積古齋鐘鼎款識.
 Y. H. S. K. = *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i* 殷虛書契.
 Y. H. S. K. K. S. = *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih* 殷虛書契考釋.
 Y. H. S. K. T. H. = *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tsing Hua* 殷虛書契菁華.
 Y. H. S. K. T. W. P. = *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tai Wén Pien* 殷虛書契待問編.
 Y. K. L. T. = *Fu Shih Yin Ch'i Lei Tsuan* 匱室殷契類纂.
- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Y. H. S. K., v, 36. | 7. Y. K. L. T., Chêng Pien, |
| 2. " vi, 7. | x, p. 48. |
| 3. H., 388. | 8. The San Shih P'an Bronze. |
| 4. H., 495. | 8A. Lesser Seal. |
| 5. Y. K. L. T., Chêng Pien, | 9. Y. H. S. K., iv, 37. |
| x, p. 48. | 10. H., 755. |
| 6. Y. K. L. T., Chêng Pien, | 11. H., 389. |
| x, p. 48. | 12. Y. H. S. K., iv, 37. |

13. The Mao Kung Ting
Bronze.
14. H., 127.
15. Y. H. S. K., iv, 37.
16. " "
17. " "
18. Chalfants, No. 933.
19. The Mao Kung Ting
Bronze, and Y. H. S. K.,
iv, 37.
20. Y. H. S. K., vi, 64.
21. " i, 2.
22. " iv, 21.
23. H., 817.
24. "
25. Y. H. S. K., Hon Pien,
上, p. 22.
26. Y. H. S. K., Hon Pien,
I, p. 22.
27. Y. H. S. K., i, 24.
28. " ii, 9.
29. Y. H. S. K. T. W. P., p. 8.
30. Y. K. L. T., 存疑
ch. 8, p. 46.
31. T. K. C., etc., ch. 6, p. 23.
32. " " p. 24.
33. " ch. 7, p. 5.
34. Lesser Seal.
35. Y. H. S. K., v, 38.
36. " "
37. " vi, 56.
38. C. K. L. C. W., ix, 47.
39. " viii, 3.
40. " viii, 1.
41. " viii, 6.
42. " ix, 32.
43. Lesser Seal.
44. S. W. K. C. P., ii, 74.
45. " "
46. S. W. K. C. P., ii, 74.
47. " "
48. " "
49. " "
50. S. W. K. C. P., ii, 74, and
C. K. L. C. W., ix, 55.
51. S. W.
52. "
53. C. K. L. C. W., viii, 22.
54. " ix, 43.
55. S. W. K. C. P., i, 3.
56. Y. H. S. K., vii, 22.
57. " vi, 49.
58. " i, 6.
59. " iv, 37.
60. H., 85.
61. H., 103.
62. Y. H. S. K., i, 8.
63. H., 359.
64. Y. H. S. K., iv, 28.
65. " iv, 30.
66. " vii, 31.
67. H., 249.
68. British Museum, C. 1716.
69. Y. K. L. T., Chêng Pien,
iii, p. 11.
70. S. W. K. C. P., i, 12.
71. " "
72. " "
73. " "
74. " (2nd ed.) iii, 5.
75. " " ii, 1.
76. " " "
77. " " "
78. H., 839.
79. S. W. K. C. P. (2nd ed.),
ii, 1.
80. S. W. K. C. P. (2nd ed.),
ii, 1.

81. Y. H. S. K., ii, 3.
82. H., 139.
83. Y. H. S. K., i, 7.
84. Y. K. L. T., Chêng Pien,
9, p. 42.
85. " "
86. " "
87. " "
88. " "
89. { Thus cited by Wang Kuo-
wei in the I. S. T. P.
90. { (*Yin Shih*), No. 20, p. 49.
91. H., 173.
92. C. K. L. C. W., i, 34.
93. I. S. T. P., No. 8, p. 1
(*Yin Wên Ts'un*).
94. I. S. T. P., No. 12, p. 29
(*Yin Wên Ts'un*).
95. Lesser Seal.
96. Y. H. S. K. K. S., p. 70.
97. " "
98. Lesser Seal.
99. Y. H. S. K., i, 18.
100. S. W. K. C. P. (2nd ed.),
ix, 2.
101. S. W. K. C. P. (2nd ed.),
ix, 2.
102. S. W. K. C. P. (2nd ed.),
ix, 2; also C. K. L. C. W.,
vii, 24.
103. S. W. K. C. P. (2nd ed.),
ix, 2.
104. I. S. T. P., No. 8, p. 8.
105. " " p. 9.
106. *Collection of Chinese
Bronze Antiques*, Tokyo,
plate 5.
107. C. K. L. C. W., viii, 27.
108. S. W. K. C. P., ii, 52.
109. " "
110. " "
111. C. K. L. C. W., viii, 56.
112. H., 770.
113. H., 784.
114. S. W. K. C. P. (2nd ed.),
ix, 2.
115. H., 259.
116. T. C. C. C. L., ii, 39.
117. Y. H. S. K., iv, 38.
118. " "
119. " i, 18.
120. " "
121. " "
122. Y. H. S. K. T. H., p. 11;
also cited in Wang
Hsiang's Y. K. L. T.
(*存疑*), p. 49.
123. S. W. K. C. P., ii, 52.
124. H., 352.
125. S. W. K. C. P., ii, 74.
126. " "
127. " "
128. " "
129. " "
130. " "
131. " "
132. S. W. K. C. P., ii, 74 (in
composition).
133. S. W. K. C. P., ii, 74 (in
composition).
134. *Choyokaku Ji Kan*, ch. 1,
p. 15.
135. *Choyokaku Ji Kan*, ch. 1,
p. 15.
136. *Choyokaku Ji Kan*, ch. 1,
p. 15.



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

HAMM-(GATAU)

The Prakrit Grammarians discuss at considerable length what they call *dhātva-ādēśas*.¹ As a grammatical term, *ādēśa* means "substitute", and a *dhātva-ādēśa* is the Prakrit verbal root which is to be, or may be, substituted for a Sanskrit verbal root. Thus, according to Hc. iv, 60, the Prakrit root *hō-* is one of the *ādēśas* for the Sanskrit root *bhū-*, so that one of the Prakrit equivalents of *bhavati* is *hōi*.

Prakrit roots may be looked upon as falling under one of four classes, viz. :—

(1) Those which are identical with the corresponding Sanskrit roots. Such a root is *cal-*, which is identical in both languages, so that Sanskrit *calati* = Prakrit *calai*. As nothing can be substituted for itself, such a Prakrit root is not an *ādēśa*.

(2) Those which are regularly derived, according to the ordinary phonetic rules, from the corresponding Sanskrit forms. Thus, the Sanskrit root *pīḍ-* becomes *pīl-* in Prakrit, under the phonetic rule that Sanskrit medial *ḍ* becomes Prakrit *l*, and the Sanskrit *pīḍayati* becomes Prakrit *pīlēi*. Again, such a root cannot properly be called an *ādēśa*, for there is no substitution, but only development.²

(3) Those which cannot be connected with any corresponding Sanskrit roots by any admitted phonetic rule. Thus, an *ādēśa* for the Sanskrit root *cal-* is *call-*, with the *l* doubled, so that the Sanskrit *calati* may be represented by

¹ Vararuci (Vr.), viii; Kramadīśvara (KI.), latter half of the *Tiṇanta-kārya*; Rāma-sarman (Tarkavāgiśa) (RT.), I, viii; Mārkaṇḍeya (MK.), vii; Hēmacandra (Hc.), iv, 1-259; Trivikrama, latter half of ii, 4.

² Grammarians are sometimes careless in this respect. Thus RT. I, viii, 27, gives *kīl-* as an *ādēśa* of *krīḍ-*, and (41) *pīl-* as an *ādēśa* of *pīḍ-*. This was quite unnecessary, and the words are ignored, as *ādēśas*, by other grammarians.

callai, as well as by the *calai* mentioned under head (1). These are all true *ādēśas*, and a great number are borrowed *dēśya* words, and cannot be referred to Sanskrit at all.¹

(4) Those which are regularly derived from Sanskrit roots, but which have slightly changed their meaning, and which are therefore, in Prakrit, equated with and substituted for some other Sanskrit root which has a meaning more nearly akin to the acquired meaning of the Prakrit word. Being substitutes, these are also properly called *ādēśas*. As an example we may take the Sanskrit compounded root *prēkṣ-*. The literal meaning of this is "to look at". In Prakrit it becomes quite regularly *pecch-*, but this has acquired the meaning of "seeing" in a more general sense, and is hence divorced by the grammarians from the root *prēkṣ-*, and is given as an *ādēśa* for the much more general Sanskrit root *drś-*. There is no reason for assuming, as is sometimes done, that this ascription to *drś-* is a blunder of the grammarians. It would be absurd to suppose that scholars like Hēmacandra or Mārkaṇḍēya were ignorant of the manifest etymological connexion between *pecch-* and *prēkṣ-*. They were certainly fully aware of it, and when they deliberately equated *pecch-* with *drś-*, and not with *prēkṣ-*, they did so because there had been a change of meaning. This is well brought out by a remark of Mārkaṇḍēya when dealing with the Śaurasēnī dialect (ix, 112). There are two equally possible Prakrit forms of the word *prēkṣ-*. One is *pecch-* and the other is *pekkh-*. In ix, 112, Mk. differentiates these two forms. He says that *pecch-* is an *ādēśa* for *drś-*, but that *pekkh-* is the equivalent of *prēkṣ-*.² In other words, while the form *pekkh-* still retains the slightly specialized connotation of *prēkṣ-*, the form *pecch-* has, in Prakrit, acquired the wider connotation of "seeing" in general.

¹ As an example:—Hc. gives 930 *ādēśas*. Of these 327 are quoted in the *Dēśināmamālā* as *dēśya* words.

² But see Hultzsch in *ZDMG.*, lxvi, 1912, p. 719. It will be observed that here I venture to differ from that eminent scholar.

We thus see that *ādēśas* are confined to the last two classes of Prakrit roots. They cannot belong to the first or second.

All the above somewhat trite remarks are introductory to the consideration of one Prakrit root, which illustrates in a striking manner the difference between the grammatical schools of eastern and western India.

The eastern grammarians give *ā-hamm-* as an *ādēśa* for *ā-gam-* (RT. I, viii, 34; Mk. vii, 140). To them, therefore, as this is clearly put as a substitute, there is no Sanskrit root *hamm-(gatau)*. To the Easterners, *ā-hamm-* is a borrowed *dēśya* word.

Hēmacandra (iv, 162) recognizes this Prakrit root, but combats the statement of the Easterners, and denies that it is an *ādēśa* of *gam-*, or, indeed, any substitute at all. On the contrary, he puts it in the first class of the Prakrit roots given above, and equates it with a Sanskrit root *hamm-(gatau)*. As this root does appear in the Dhātupāṭha, Hēmacandra appears to be right, and the Easterners do not seem to have a leg to stand on. But Patañjali vindicates them. In his preface to the Mahābhāṣya, he treats of Sanskrit words which are used only locally. One of these is this very root *hamm-*,¹ which he says is used only in Surāṣṭra, i.e. in the very tract of country in which Hēmacandra lived and worked. It is evidently a *dēśya* word, introduced into Sanskrit in the West, but in the East still a *dēśya* word, and only a *dēśya* word, and there properly treated as an *ādēśa* for *gam-*.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

21st June, 1921.

THE PLAYS OF BHĀSA

I am unable to concur with Dr. Barnett's appreciation (*supra*, pp. 587-9) of Mr. A. Banerji's article (pp. 367 sqq.) concerning Bhāsa. In 1920, when I had the pleasure of meeting the discoverer and editor of the plays, Mahāmahopādhyāya

¹ Kielhorn, p. 9, l. 26.

T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, I urged him to write an article summarizing the whole position, and discussing the doubts propounded by some scholars in India, and prominently by Dr. Barnett in Europe. Although the case for the ascription of the plays to Bhāsa is convincingly stated in the Mahāmahopādhyāya's prefaces to his editions of them, he agreed that it might be advisable to deal with the points which have been raised, and this, I trust, will in due course be done. Mr. Banerji's article, however, when it appeared, seemed to me so conclusive as almost to render any further argument on the main question superfluous. Having long been interested in the plays, I may, however, venture to state generally how the case presents itself to me :—

(1) The only known title of a play by Bhāsa is *Swapna-Vāsavadattā* ; but that there were others by the same author is indicated by the familiar references on the part of Kālidāsa and Bāṇa. That the plays existed in a group is apparent from Rājaśekhara's expression *Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra*.

(2) If the Trivandrum *Swapna-Vāsavadattā* is not the work of Bhāsa, the author has plagiarized the title.¹ This would be initially very unlikely, since Sanskrit dramas usually (and the old ones known to us invariably) have distinct titles, even when they deal with similar subjects (so the many plays relating to the story of Rāma), and even when they are plagiaristic, e.g. in the case of the *Mahānāṭaka* and in that of the *Cārudatta* and *Mṛcchakaṭika*. Still more improbable would be the subsequent history. The Trivandrum *Vāsavadattā* was in the ninth century a famous play ; it is quoted by Vāmana in the *Kāvya-lamkāra-sūtra-vṛtti*, and a work of this name is mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his *Bharata-nāṭya-veda-vivṛti* and in the *Dhvanyālokalocana*. Yet we are never told that there were two famous dramas of this name.

(3) Others of the Trivandrum plays were likewise famous.

¹ Dr. Barnett's expression, "the pseudo-Bhāsa," if it does not imply any intention of falsification, seems rather hard upon an author who gives neither his own name nor another.

Bhāmaha in the seventh century, perhaps even before the date to which Dr. Barnett assigns the authorship, refers to the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*; Abhinavagupta names the *Daśarudra-Cārudatta*; Vāmana quotes the *Swapna-Vāsavadattā*, *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* and *Cārudatta*. Yet, if the author of these works and of the others which we have is not Bhāsa, he is quite unknown. Supposing it was his intention to father his work upon Bhāsa, he has been at any rate phenomenally successful in suppressing his own name. And how did he impose upon the contemporary public, literary and otherwise, and upon his royal patron?

(4) The plays of Bhāsa were similar in structure, so far as our indications go, to those which we now have, a similarity which has been expounded in detail by the Editor and others. The published plays are in style and matter worthy of the fame which they have enjoyed and of Bhāsa's authorship. They impress us by their freshness and vigour; and we feel in them the inspiration of direct derivation from the great epics.

(5) There are good evidences, adduced by the Editor, of borrowing, as between Kālidāsa, who mentions Bhāsa, and the Trivandrum plays. A dependence of the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* of Śūdraka upon the *Cārudatta* has now been thoroughly worked out by Dr. Georg Morgenstierne (*Über das Verhältnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mṛcchakaṭīkā*, Leipzig, 1921). In the latter case the idea of making the Trivandrum work the borrower is excluded. I have the impression that other evidences of influence exerted by the plays upon later literature are available; but, since a date later than the seventh century is not propounded, this point may be passed over.¹

¹ I may note that in Pūrṇabhadra's *Pañcatantra* there occurs, in addition to the verse cited by Dr. Morgenstierne, p. 12, n. 2, also a well-known verse (*nityodita*) corresponding to the Bhāsa (*Avimāra*) verse *yatne kṛte yadī na sīdhyati*. As regards the verse *sañcītapakṣma-kapātam*, cited in the *Dhvanyālokalocana* (p. 102) as from the *Swapna-Vāsavadattā*, we find it with the obviously correct opening *svañcita* . . . in Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, p. 21.

Nothing has been discovered in the plays which would conflict with a date prior to Kālidāsa.

(6) In regard to the Prākṛit much valuable work has been done by Dr. Lesný (*ZDMG.*, lxxii, pp. 203-8 and ref.), Dr. Sukthankar (*JAOS.* xl, 248 seq., xli, 107 seq.), Dr. Georg Morgenstierne (op. cit.), and by Mr. Banerji in his article; and now we have the elaborate dissertation on the subject by Dr. W. Printz (*Bhāsa's Prākṛit*, Frankfurt A.M., 1921). The evidences of antiquity are unmistakable; but Dr. Barnett now proposes to put them aside on the ground that similar phenomena are adducible from other plays edited in Southern India. No doubt this contention will receive examination in detail. But shall we find anything to match the instances which Dr. Printz has elicited (pp. 26-7) of accusative plural masculine in *-āni*, a form which Professor Lüders first distinguished in the Edicts of Aśoka and the plays of Aśvaghoṣa?

(7) That the few verses ascribed to Bhāsa in the anthologies are not discoverable in the plays is at first sight a difficulty. But the explanation given by the Editor and by Mr. Banerji seems to me adequate. The anthologies cite verses by Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, and the other eminent poets which are likewise untraceable; and one of those ascribed to Bhāsa was identified by Gaṇapati Śāstri in his edition of the *Mattavilāsa*, which, as he showed, is similar in structure to Bhāsa works.

(8) The European scholars who accept the authorship of Bhāsa include practically all (excepting Dr. Barnett) who have written upon the subject, at least the following: Professor Jacobi (trans. of the *Vāsavadattā*), Professor Jolly (Göttingen *Nachrichten*, 1916, p. 353), Professor Winternitz (*Festschrift Kuhn*, pp. 299-304), Professor Konow (*ibid.*, pp. 106 seq. and *Das indische Drama*, pp. 51 sqq.), M. Baston (trans. of the *Vāsavadattā*), Professor Suali (*Giornale della Soc. As. Italiana*, xxv, p. 95), Professor Pavolini (*ibid.*), Dr. Lesný (loc. cit.), Dr. Lindenau (*Bhāsa studien*), Dr. Morgenstierne (op. cit.), M. Lacôte (*J.A.*, sér. xi, vol. xiii,

pp. 493 *seq.*), Dr. Printz (op. cit.). It would be difficult, I believe, to rebut the evidence adduced in these works.

F. W. THOMAS.

NOTE ON THE HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION

We are still awaiting the definite edition of this important inscription, expected from Messrs. Jayaswal and Banerji, who have made valuable contributions to its readings. It is to be hoped that the plaster casts which have been taken may clear up some of the still doubtful points, and perhaps photography in its modern developments has not yet said its last word on the subject. But the difficulties of the inscription are by no means solely those of reading, and interpretation has still to play a part. *En attendant*, I should like to record the following :—

(1) l. 4. In place of—

Kāsapana[m] Khatiyaṃ ca sahāye vitopati Musika-nagaraṃ,

I read—

katathenāgatiya ca sahāyavatā pīṭhulasikaṃ nagaraṃ,
where, however, I must admit that °vatā would possibly be °vitā and °lasikaṃ °lasiki. Taking the reading as proposed, the only possible Sanskrit equivalent would be—

kṛtārthenāgatya ca sahāyavatā pṛthullāsikaṃ nagaraṃ,
“and, having returned with his purpose accomplished, he with his allies made gay the city.

The reading here is a matter of importance, since Mr. Jayaswal finds a reference to Kāśyapa Kṣatriyas and the Mūṣika capital. If the ally is the Sātakaṇi referred to in what precedes, then the reading *abhitāyitā* (= *abhitrayitvā*, or °tā, “going to the rescue of”) is preferable to *acintayitā*.

(2) l. 6. For *rāja-seya-saṃdanisanato* I would read *rājasūya-saṃdanisanato*, the *rājasūya* ceremony following upon the [*punar*]-*abhiṣeka*.

(3) l. 7. For *ca [ja ra gha]ra* read *vajira-ghara* = *vajragṛha*.

(4) l. 9. For *jaṭharaṃ bhi paraṃ* read *jaṭharābhīpūrāṃ*.

(5) l. 10. For *manoradhāni* read *maṇiratanāni*.

(6) l. 11. For *va[se]* . . . *sehi* read *vase satasahasehi* = *varṣe śatasahasraiḥ*.

(7) l. 12. For *Ma[ga]dhā ca rājāna[m]* it seems possible to read *Muriyaṃ ca rājānaṃ*.

(8) l. 16. I can find no evidence for the use of *antara* with arithmetical sense, and the words *pāṇam̐tariya* . . . *vochine* seem antithetic to the following °(*k*)*aṃ-tariyaṃ upādayati*. Consequently I would read—*pāṇam̐tariya(m ?) sa* . . . *rāja (?)*-*Muriya-kāle* *vochine* (°*naṃ ?*) *ca* . . . *agasa(°si ?)* *tikaṃtariyaṃ upādayati*, and translate "and a . . . of five *antaras* (cells, *antara-gr̥ha*, ?), which had been left unfinished (destroyed ?) during the time of the Maurya kings, he erects with . . . and a full hundred (eighty, *aśīti*, ?) cells".

This, however, is only an approximation.

(9) l. 1. *Caturanta* (not °*antala*) = "earth".

F. W. THOMAS.

SATIYAPUTRA OF ASOKA'S EDICT NO. 2

Among the several countries to which Buddhist missionaries were sent, Aśoka mentions Chôlas, Pāṇdyas, Satiyaputra, and Kêraḷaputra. We all know that the Chôlas, Pāṇdyas, and Kêraḷaputra are the three ancient kingdoms of the Tamil land, and the Satiyaputra is not finally identified. The several theories relating to the identification have been discussed by Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in this *Journal* (Oct. 1919), and he finally identifies them with the Nâyars of Malabar. He says that the name means a child of chaste woman, or a Durga devotee, and that, widowhood being impossible to them, the Nâyars and Tuḷus are peculiarly chaste. But Mr. K. G. Śankara, of Trivandrum, argues (*Q.J.M.S.*, vol. xi) that "Māṅgalya implies a living husband, while chastity means faith to him. So, even if widowhood is impossible, one may be unchaste, and widowhood is only needless, not

impossible, as no one is forced to re-marry ; and matriarchate prevails not only among the Tulus, but among the Nâyars of Keraḷa also. Yet Keraḷaputra is distinguished from Satiyaputra ; and, though Bengālis also are Durgā devotees, they are not called Satiyaputras ”.

Again, Mr. Śankara identifies them with the Tulus, but with no basis.

This hopeless difference of opinion is due to the fact that much of what goes for the early history of India is an almost inextricable tangle of proved facts and wild guesses.

Since Satiyaputra is mentioned among the kingdoms of the Tamiḷ land, it should be one of them. Aśoka mentions them in order from north to south—on the east coast Chōḷas and Pāṇdyas, and on the west coast Satiyaputras and Kēraḷaputras. We know that the Chōḷas and Pāṇdyas occupied the districts of Tanjore and Trichy, with Uṛaiyūr and Kāvērippūṃpaṭṭinam as capitals, and the districts of Madura and Tinnevely, with Madurai as capital respectively. But as for the capital of the Chēras there are two different opinions—one headed by R. Rāghavaiyaṅgār says that it is Karūr of the present Trichy district, and the other headed by Rao Bahadur K. S. Srinivāsapillay and S. Bhāratī says that it is Koḍuṅḡōḷur (Cranganore of Trivandrum State).

We know that the Chēra capital is on the banks of the River Porunai.¹ It was also called as River Kāñchi, Ānporunai, and Pēriyārū,² and is identified with the present River Periyar. Again in Periyapurāṇam it is said that the Chēra capital is Koḍuṅḡōḷur.³ Thus we see that the Chēra kingdom occupied the present States of Travancore, Cochin, and some portion of Malabar, with Koḍuṅḡōḷur (Cranganore) as its capital. The

¹ Puṇam 387.

² See the descriptions of Kāñchi by Paraṇar in Ten Tens, 48 ; Pēriyārū by Paraṇar and Pālai Kouthamanār respectively in *ibid.*, 43 and 28 ; and of Porunai by Nakkīrar in Aham, 93. They all bring in the same *lakṣaṇa* that it will be in full floods even in summer when all the other rivers are dried.

³ Chapter on Śēramān Perumāḷ, verse 1.

country lying north of this was ruled by some Vêlirs (petty chieftains), and a little to the east the land was occupied by Kongus. That the Kongus occupied the interior of the land is justified by the Pathikam of Śilappadikāram, and the boundaries of the Kongunaḍu are as follows: In the north Talaimalai (in the Satyamangalam Taluk of the Coimbatore district near the boundary of the Mysore State), in the south Vaikāvûr (in Palni Hills), in the east Kulitalai (in the Trichy district), and in the west the Western Ghats.

The Kongunaḍu was governed by a line of kings named Kôśar, and they are often mentioned in Tamil classical literature. They are famous for their *Satya*. In Aham they are often mentioned as—

Onrumollik kôśar. (196.)

(Kôśar that always speak the truth.)

Vâymoli nilaiya śēṇvīlaṅgu nallīśai

Valaṅgheḷu Kôśar. (205.)

(Kôśar, whose fame for speaking the truth has reached the heaven), etc.

Again, Aham (262) has a reference to a story in which a Kôśar excused a man who committed a serious crime because he spoke the truth. Thus we see that they not only speak the truth, but also have a high regard for *Satya*. The Kôśars of Kongu are also of sufficient importance in the history of Tamilaham to deserve special mention in the inscription of Aśoka. Thus I identify the Satyaputra with the Kôśars of Kongunaḍu.

T. N. SUBRAMANIAM.

ABRACADABRA

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of 1920, p. 597, Mr. Yellin has explained the famous word as being derived from the Arabic 'abra qad 'abra, a pleasing conjecture. I should, however, like to add a few remarks on this subject.

The derivation from Arabic seems a little doubtful because the Arabians of that time (at the latest the third century)

were a comparatively illiterate people, and written magic came to the Greeks and Romans not from more barbarous regions but, with other written culture, from the Eastern literary nations. The derivation from Semitic is very tempting, but it seems more advisable to turn to Hebrew than to Arabic or even Aramaic. Among the interpretations put forward in recent years Bischoff's seems preferable, because it allows for the claim, made already by Sammonicus in the third century, that the word should be written in a triangle with a gradually diminishing number of letters. But phonetically Bischoff's proposal, "abbada kedabra" (Aramaic), seems a little far-fetched.

In the Danish periodical *Danske Studier* of 1919, p. 13 ff., I made a similar suggestion, viz. Hebrew עברכרבר "abra ka dabar" or "it shrinks as the word". To this I added a hypothesis which I beg leave to recapitulate here. The correspondence between the word *shrink* and the shrinking of the triangle itself seems obvious—nevertheless, it involves a certain difficulty. The formula mentions the mystic "word", but what is this word? A sort of trap is presented to us, for (beyond Abrakadabar) no word is actually communicated. Such a thing is in itself not unimaginable in magic. It is, however, well worth noting Sammonicus' introductory line regarding the cure. It says *Inscribis cartae quod dicitur abracadabra*. This may be interpreted in two ways: (1) Write the word Abr.; but just as well (2) Write a so-called *Abracadabra*. In the latter case Abr. would be no fixed formula, but a recognized pertinent common term, "Shrink-as-the-Word" (cf. *Vademecum*, etc.), for all such mystic words which are to be written in a diminishing triangle, from a word like the Hebrew Šabriri (the demon of blindness, Goldschmidt, *Talmud*, ii, p. 712—here the shrinking of the word is particularly appropriate) to the Greek "akrakanarba" and many others. As *dabar* in late Hebrew may also designate a thing ("the thing in question"), the name may besides have comprised all cures in which, even without the use of

words, an ailment was transferred to some object to be made to shrink with this object (as when in modern superstition a wart is believed to disappear gradually as by gradual degrees the slug with which it was touched dries up, etc.).

We notice that Sammonicus at the close of his directions does not say that the last letter will be *a*, but in quite general terms, *donec in angustum redigatur littera conum*. Add to this that he never, even when occasion offers, communicates any definite, mystic word. At the utmost he gives a vague indication in verse 981, *carta igitur variis pinxit quam littera verbis*. In 929 he even affects to be above such things, *multa præterea verborum monstra silebo* !

Possibly, then, Sammonicus understood Abracadabra as a common noun, and only by a very natural misinterpretation of his text did it become a definite magic word.

F. OHRT.

A FOOTNOTE TO MANUCCI

The mission of Lord Bellomont in 1653 to the courts of Persia and India, to beg assistance for the exiled King Charles II, is well known from the account given by Niccolao Manucci in the opening chapters of his *Storia do Mogor*. His editor, the late Mr. William Irvine, was indefatigable in the collection of materials for the elucidation of Manucci's narrative ; but he appears to have overlooked the following document, which is preserved among the *Domestic State Papers (Charles II)* in the Public Record Office (vol. lxxiv, No. 71).

To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty. The humble petition of John Belle, Arminian, humbly sheweth :—

That your petitioner hath rendred unto Your Sacred Majesty many services as interpreter unto the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Bellomont, who, haveing beene robbed by the Turkes and lost all his equippage, did happily meete with your petitioner in Armenia Major, who borrowed from him eight hundred dollers of a marchant there (which summe your petitioner was afterwards constrained to pay) ; by meanes whereof hee being putt

into equipage was received in the courte of the Kinge of Persia, where hee continued about a yeare, and then goeing for India (where he mett with sufficient supplys from Mr. Henry Young) towards the Grand Mogulls court, hee dyed suddainely twixt Agra and Dilly, where all that he had was seized on by the Kinge of Indeas ministers to a greate value, and your petitioner left to shift for himselfe, haveing served soe longe in hopes of future benefitt. Wherefore hee doth most humbly pray Your Majesty would take him into your princely consideration, that, after soe tedious and chargeable a journey, hee may receive some satisfaction in consideration of his losse and charges, and be recommended to Your Majestyes ministers and subjects for future imployment in Persia or India, when occasion shall present. And hee shall ever pray.

The name of the petitioner was doubtless Hovannes, here Anglicized as John ; to which, in intercourse with Europeans, he added Belli as a distinctive appellation. Manucci does not mention him specifically, though he obviously alludes to him when speaking (vol. i, p. 22) of an Armenian "in our employ" who acted as interpreter at the Persian court. Belli's other assertions—the robbery of the ambassador by the Turks, and his own assistance to and attendance upon Bellomont up to the time of the latter's death—find no support from Manucci's narrative ; but this does not necessarily discredit his story. The author of the *Storia* was frankly egotistical, and mentioned others only when it suited him ; moreover, at the time he wrote his memoirs, his remembrance of those far-off days was vague and imperfect.

Some further particulars of Belli's career may be gathered from the records of the East India Company. Evidently he returned to Persia after Bellomont's death (June, 1656), for we learn that he was employed in that country as interpreter by two of the Company's Agents in succession, viz. William Garway (1658-9) and Nicholas Buckeridge (1659-61). When the news reached the East that King Charles had been restored to his throne, the Armenian seems to have concluded that it would be worth his while to travel to England and prefer his

claim for compensation for the services he had rendered to the late ambassador. Hence the petition which has just been cited. The document itself is undated ; but it is accompanied by an attestation, signed by Nicholas Buckeridge and Henry Young, that the petitioner had really served Lord Bellomont as interpreter in Persia and India. This certificate is dated 15th May, 1663, and there cannot be much doubt that the petition was presented about that time.

Apparently no notice was taken of either Belli or his application. The King was overwhelmed with such claims, and could not satisfy more than a small percentage of those who clamoured for rewards for services rendered to him or his father. Disappointed in this quarter, Belli turned to the East India Company and petitioned for an appointment as one of their wine-makers in Persia. Since the Prophet had frowned upon wine, the Persian authorities could not openly countenance its manufacture by their own people ; but they saw no harm in allowing infidels to make it. Hence both the English and the Dutch were permitted to keep wine-makers at Shiraz, and the liquor thus produced was sent to Surat, Batavia, and other European settlements in considerable quantities. One of these posts was vacant, and the East India Company on 29th July, 1663, appointed Belli to fill it. He was granted a free passage in the *London*, which left England in the spring of 1664 and reached Surat in the middle of the following September. From that place he was sent on to Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) two months later, with instructions that he was to be admitted to the post to which he had been appointed by the Company, and these directions the Gombroon factors, in their reply, promised to obey. The last trace of him I have as yet discovered is a letter in Italian, written by him to his old patron Buckeridge, and dated from Gombroon on 1st January, 1665. This is among the Buckeridge Papers in the Bodleian Library (*MS. Eng. Hist.*, c. 63, f. 61).

WILLIAM FOSTER.

JOURNAL R.A.S., 1921, p. 393

The word *simkurru* is proposed to be explained by the "Arabic" word ^{سنقر} and as authority *Dozy's Supplement* is cited. ^{سنقر} is not an Arabic word at all, but the word was introduced into the language at a late period by the Turkish soldiery. The earliest occurrence of this word in Arabic literature will probably be found in the names of Turkish officials and generals in the forms ^{سنقر} and ^{سنجر}, which are explained as being the Turkish word for "a kind of falcon". The Turks, like the Arabs, were fond of animal (totem) names, and I could give a list of considerable length from memory, which a search would no doubt increase considerably.

F. KRENKOW.

THE SURROSH K. R. CAMA PRIZE

The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute (172 Sukhadwala Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay) invites competitive essays for the Surrosh K. R. Cama Prize of the value of Rs. 225 on the following subject :—

"A lucid and thoroughly intelligible translation in English of the first four chapters of the Ahnuvaiti Gatha in due accordance with grammar and philology with notes and comments wherever necessary and with the substance of the whole at the end."

The essays should be designated by a motto, and should be accompanied by a sealed cover containing the name of the competitor and his Post Office address, and should reach the Honorary Secretaries of the Institute on or before 15th July, 1922. The competition is open to all.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Le conseil de la Fondation a subi un seul changement par suite de la démission de M. K. Kuiper ; à sa place la section des lettres de l'Académie royale des Sciences d'Amsterdam, au mois de décembre, 1920, a désigné comme membre du conseil M. J. J. Salverda de Grave. Le conseil est donc composé comme suit : M.M. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Houtsma, T. J. De Boer, J. J. Salverda de Grave, et C. Van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Sont encore disponibles un certain nombre d'exemplaires des six ouvrages publiés par la Fondation ; la vente de ces ouvrages se fait chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill à Leyde au profit de la Fondation. Ce sont : No. 1, Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la *Hamâsah d'al-Buhturî* (1909), au prix de 96 florins hollandais ; No. 2, le *Kitâb al-Fâkhîr d'al-Mufaqqal*, publié par C. A. Storey (1915), au prix de 6 florins ; No. 3, *Streitschrift des Ġazâlî gegen die Bâtînijja-Sekte*, par I. Goldziher (1916), au prix de 4,50 florins ; No. 4, *Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove, together with some chapters from his Ethikon*, by A. J. Wensinck (1919), au prix de 4,50 florins ; No. 5, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, par C. Van Arendonk (1919), au prix de 6 florins ; No. 6, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, par I. Goldziher (1920), au prix de 10 florins.

3. Les frais d'impression de ce dernier ouvrage, qui se répartiront sur quelques années, demanderont provisoirement tous les revenus de la Fondation.

Novembre, 1921.

Report of the Delegation of the Royal Asiatic Society to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, October 5-7, 1921.

This *Society* in response to an invitation received from Professors Lanman and Moore, of Harvard University, supported by Professor Breasted, of the University of Chicago, Professors Torrey, Hopkins, and Clay, of Yale University, and other distinguished American Orientalists, sent a delegation to a conference at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston early in October. The same invitation was received by the French and Italian Oriental Societies. The *Société Asiatique* responded by sending two delegates, who were also instructed to represent the Government of the French Republic, and were generously financed by their State. The Italian Orientalists accepted the invitation, but were unable to send a delegation. The following members of the Royal Asiatic Society were present at the conference : Dr. A. E. Cowley, Professor Langdon, Mr. H. Weld-Blundell, and Mr. Lee-Shuttleworth. For France, Professor Paul Pelliot, the Sinologist, and Professor Alexandre Moret were sent.

The American Oriental Society was represented by its President, The Rev. Dr. J. B. Nies. The British and French delegates were most hospitably entertained by the Harvard Club of Boston by the generosity of Mr. Charles Dana Burrage, founder of the Omar Khayyam Club, of America, who also gave each member of the conference souvenirs of the event in the form of elegantly bound copies of Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyam, privately printed and similar works.

The conference was attended by some of America's most distinguished scholars, including Professor A. V. W. Jackson, of Columbia University, Professors Jewett, J. H. Woods, K. Lake, Arnold, Ropes, Lyon, and Reisner, of Harvard, Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, of Boston, Professor Breasted, of Chicago, Professors Torrey and Hopkins, of Yale.

Professor G. F. Moore presided at all the meetings, and Professor Lanman spared himself no trouble on behalf of the conference, both before and during the sessions. His tact and energy excited much admiration, both British and French delegates being deeply touched by his kindly services.

The first session in the morning of 5th October was opened under the presidency of Professor Moore, who addressed the conference upon American contribution to Oriental studies in general. After this address, Professor Pelliot read a letter from M. Senart, President of the *Société Asiatique*, presenting the compliments of French Orientalists and extending an invitation to the Centennial Anniversary of the *Société Asiatique*, which takes place in Paris next year. Professor Hopkins, of Yale, then addressed the conference upon the history of Sanscrit studies in America, referring to the work of Whitney, Lanman, Jackson, Bloomfield, and Egerton. Professor Lanman gracefully commented upon Hopkins' own fundamental contributions to Sanscrit study. Professor Torrey, in the same manner, gave a résumé of Semitic studies in America, and a brief account of the collections of Arabic and Syriac manuscripts. Professor Reisner spoke on Egyptology in America, and emphasized the fact that up to the present American Egyptology had been chiefly devoted to archæology and excavation. A brief account of the Egyptian collections in America was included in Reisner's address. The delegates later visited the Egyptian galleries in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, where Professor Reisner acted as guide and interpreted the collection.

Professor Morse followed in an address upon the well-known Japanese collection at Salem, Massachusetts, and upon American Indian Antiquities in America. The morning session closed with an address by Professor Lyon, of Harvard, upon the important Babylonian collections in America, and the recent excavations of his University at Samaria.

At the morning session of 6th October, Dr. Cowley explained

his work upon the decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions, and Professor Moret followed with an extremely lucid address upon ethical movements in Egyptian religion. This session closed with a paper by Dr. Langdon, upon his recent discovery of new fragments of the Babylonian poem of the Righteous Sufferer and its relation to the Hebrew Book of Job. Reports of all these papers appeared in the Boston Press. The principal address of the morning session of the third and last day was by Professor Pelliot, who outlined the history of Chinese archaeology. The conference closed in the evening of 7th October with a dinner at the Harvard Club. At this dinner Dr. Cowley spoke for the *Royal Asiatic Society*, and Professor Pelliot for the *Société Asiatique*. Professor Lanman presided, and called upon President Lowell, of Harvard, and Professor Moore, now President of the American Academy, who gave addresses.

The delegates of the Royal Asiatic Society, Dr. Cowley and Professor Langdon, were invited to meet the Yale Oriental Club in New Haven on the evening of 8th October. This meeting was addressed by Dr. Cowley, who repeated his lecture upon Hittite inscriptions, and also spoke about the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine. The same delegates then proceeded to New York City, where, as representatives of the British Society, they were given a reception by Professor and Mrs. Jackson. In the evening of 12th October, these two delegates met the Oriental Club of New York City. This meeting was addressed by Dr. Langdon, who lectured upon the relations between early Sumer and Egypt. The *Chicago Society of Biblical Research* invited one of the delegates, Dr. Langdon, who also lectured at the University of Chicago, and North-Western University at Evanston, to their regular session of 29th October.

The delegates of this *Society* met with every sign of sympathy and encouragement in America. Our *Journal* is widely read, and always favourably commented upon there. Although official visits of European Oriental Societies must

necessarily be very infrequent, owing to the great distance and heavy expense, yet this first visit will suffice for many years to come. The warmth of our reception at the American Academy and at other centres of Oriental studies was unmistakable. The Oriental Societies of France and Britain are assured the active co-operation of American scholars. It is the message which the delegation has brought home to the *Royal Asiatic Society*.

THE DELEGATES.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Short Notices of some Recent Publications on Chinese Subjects

SALLE EDOUARD CHAVANNES. *Bulletin Archéologique du Musée Guimet*, Fasc. I. $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, 72 pp., 4 plates. Paris and Brussels: G. Van Oest & Cie., 1921.

This is the first of a series to be issued under the guidance of a committee composed of MM. Finot, Goloubew, Hackin, Lévi, Maitre, Pelliot, and the Curators of the Musée Guimet. The title should not be taken to indicate a mere catalogue of the exhibits at the Museum. It provides, besides, a general survey of the activities of several distinguished Frenchmen in the domain of Far Eastern archaeology; and it fittingly includes commemorative notices of three of the greatest of them who, alas, have recently been cut off in their prime. That giant of sinology, the late Éd. Chavannes, is written of by Professor Pelliot and by M. Lévi, the latter dealing with his Indianistic writings; and an appreciation of the late Victor Segalen comes from the pen of M. Vitry.

ASIE CENTRALE ET TIBET. *Bulletin Archéologique de Musée Guimet*, Fasc. II. $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, 38 pp., 4 plates. Paris and Brussels: G. Van Oest & Cie., 1921.

The authors of the second number of this series are MM. Pelliot, Hackin, and Bacot. Most of the objects brought back from Tun-huang by the Mission Pelliot (1906-8) are at the Musée Guimet, and we have here a valuable commentary on the exhibition by M. Hackin, who also writes about a number of Tibetan banners collected by M. Bacot. M. Hackin gives special attention to the sixty great magicians (*mahāsiddhas*).

ARS ASIATICA, Tome II. Six Monuments de la Sculpture chinoise. By EDOUARD CHAVANNES. $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$, 42 pp. 52 plates. Paris and Brussels: G. Van Oest & Cie., 1914.

This worthily maintains the standard set by the first volume of the series, which is high praise indeed. The printing, paper, and reproductions are of the best; and, needless to say, the letterpress is at the same lofty level. There is no space to discuss here the six monuments, which are all of prime importance. Five of them are Buddhistic, and among these is one dated A.D. 670, which shows the oldest-known representation in China of Kṣitigarbha. Indeed, at the time this sculpture was made the cult of the bodhisattva under the name Ti-tsang had only recently been established in the country.

COLLECTION PAUL MALLON. Fasc. I. Description by GASTON MIGEON. $12 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, 13 plates. Fasc. II. Description by GASTON MIGEON and ALEXANDER MORET. $12 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, 23 plates. Paris. N.D.

These portfolios contain pictures of six important Chinese carvings ranging from Han to Sung times, which might well be studied in conjunction with the book just reviewed. There are besides nine other objects of Chinese art all excellently illustrated. The rest of the plates represent Egyptian and Assyrian sculpture.

LES PEINTRES CHINOIS. By RAPHAËL PETRUCCI. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 127 pp., 24 plates. Paris: Laurens. N.D.

CHINESE PAINTERS. By RAPHAEL PETRUCCI. Translated by FRANCES SEAVER, with a biographical note by LAURENCE BINYON. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, 155 pp., 25 plates. New York: Brentano's. 1920.

The late M. Petrucci's wide knowledge and his remarkable faculty for appreciating Chinese painting are represented here

in condensed form for those who seek an introduction to the subject. Both editions are unfortunately printed on the so-called "art-paper", which has such unpleasant texture and ephemeral life.

DIE CHINESISCHE LANDSCHAFTS-MALEREI. Orbis Pictus, Band 4. Preface by ALFRED SALMONY. $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, 15 pp., 48 plates. Berlin: E. Wasmuth. N.D.

An album of forty-eight famous landscapes reproduced in half-tone. Many of them will be familiar to readers of the *Kokka*.

DIE KUNST OSTASIENS. By OTTO KÜMMEL. $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, 48 pp., 168 plates. Berlin: B. Cassirer, 1921.

An excellent album of half-tone reproductions, showing a large number of first-class objects of Far Eastern art, many of which have been portrayed previously in the publications of Shimbi Shoin and other presses. China is mainly represented by pictures, of which there are forty.

ZEICHNUNGEN NACH WU TAO-TZE AUS DER GÜTTER- UND SAGENWELT CHINAS. Edited by F. R. MARTIN. $20\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{1}{4}$, v+12 pp., 51 plates. München: F. Bruckmann, 1913.

This magnificent publication merits a longer notice. Original paintings of the greatest of Chinese artists, Wu Tao-tzü, no longer exist; and we are dependent for knowledge of his work on copies or copies of copies. Some are preserved incised on stone, some as wood-cuts, and some as brush drawings. The collection here excellently reproduced in collotype, comprises a set of line drawings attributed to the Chinese Leonardo, Li Lung-mien; and they may have been copied from frescoes by the great master. Whoever the actual artist, he was a consummate draughtsman. The late Anders Zorn contributes a few lines of appreciation, and Dr. Haenisch some notes.

ALT-KUTOSHA. Archäologische und religionsgeschichtliche Forschungen an Tempera-Gemälden aus Buddhistischen Höhlen der ersten acht Jahrhunderte nach Christi Geburt. By ALBERT GRÜNWEDEL. 15×10½, 213 pp. 32 plates and 160 illustrations in the text. Berlin: O. Elsner, 1920.

This monumental work supplements the author's *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan* published in 1912, and together these two books represent the results of his explorations of 1906-7 in a series of grottoes near Kutscha and ruins in the oasis of Turfan. Twenty-five plates are coloured, and they with the rest of the book and numerous illustrations are beautifully printed. A highly important contribution to the study of Oriental art and iconography by a master of the subjects.

DER CHINESISCHE TEPPICH. By ADOLF HACKMACK. 9×5½, x + 34 pp. 26 plates and 1 map. Hamburg: Friederichsen & Co., 1921.

The time is opportune for the publication of a booklet like this; for never have Chinese carpets been more fashionable. It is disappointing, however, to find little about the history and technique of carpet making in China, but much about the decorative designs which have all been described and explained many times previously.

EPISODES OF PIRACY IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1519 TO 1851. By S. CHARLES HILL. Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary*. 10¾×8½, 96 pp. Bombay: British India Press, 1920.

It is rather doubtful whether the inclusion of Mr. Hill's compilation among these notices is justified, although he gives accounts of Japanese raids on China (originally translated by Sir T. Wade in the *Chinese Repository*), of Coxinga's capture of Formosa from the Dutch, and of a brush with Chinese river-pirates near Fu-chou in 1851. Other episodes

took place far from China's shores—one even so far west as the Straits of Gibraltar. Who can resist the glamour of pirates? This collection is specially real and attractive, because it has the merit of being contemporary and unaltered narrative.

TRAVELS OF A CONSULAR OFFICER IN NORTH-WEST CHINA.

By ERIC TEICHMAN, C.I.E., B.A. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xiv+219 pp.

59 plates and 4 maps. Cambridge University Press, 1921.

Unfortunately the reduced size of the *Journal* does not permit an adequate review of this interesting book. Shensi and Kansu are among the most attractive and less-known provinces, and it is through these the author takes us, illustrating the journey with excellent photographs. Apart from topographical data, there will be found many shrewd observations that illuminate not only the present chaos but also events leading up to and following the Revolution. A chapter on the vexed question of Christian missions is convincingly sane and impartial.

THE CHINESE IN BRITISH GUIANA. By CECIL CLEMENTI.

$7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, xiv+418+xxix pp., 4 maps. "The Argosy"

Company, Ltd., 1915.

Cantonese Love-songs and Chinese immigration to a Crown Colony are poles apart. In 1904 the author wrote on the former topic with much charm; now he endows the second with an attractiveness that renders this book acceptable even to the average Briton who knows about British Guiana no more than about China or the Chinese, and cares less. He provides, besides, opportunity for indulging in the popular pastime of railing at the Government; for his story does, indeed, disclose amazing official ineptitude in the past.

This is a work of importance apart from British Guiana. Unless some vast catastrophe occurs to decimate the rapidly growing populations of China and Japan, problems concerned with emigration from these countries will soon become of vital interest to everybody.

LA CHINE. By HENRI CORDIER. Collection Payot, No. 8.
6×4, 138 pp., 1 map. Paris: Payot & Cie., 1921.

A marvellous amount of information about China and the Chinese, past and present, is packed into this little volume, which slips easily into the pocket. It should be possessed by everyone interested in the Far East.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

ISHKASHMI, ZEBAKI, AND YAZGHULAMI. An Account of
Three Eranian Dialects. By Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON,
K.C.I.E., etc. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 128 pp. London: R.A.S.
(Prize Publication Fund, Vol. V.) 1920.

An attempt to give a notice of this slender but extremely valuable and interesting volume recalls at once a remark in the January issue of this *Journal* concerning a book of Major Soane: "Unfortunately there appears to be no Englishman save the author who is sufficiently conversant with the subject to review the book"—substituting perhaps "hardly any" for "no"; and the present writer is certainly not among the number so qualified.

The title of the volume does scant justice to the value of its contents. The materials for the study of the Central Asian dialects mentioned in it are mainly derived from those collected by Sir Aurel Stein in the mountain ranges west of the Pamirs and through the chief alpine valleys drained by the Oxus. But Sir George has added much material derived from other sources, including several of the Pamir languages, notably the Zēbakī language, and gives abundant comparisons with at least eight more or less kindred dialects. The phonetics, grammar, and constructions of these little-known tongues are exhaustively treated, and a short Ishkasmī folk-story, with translation, adds much interest to the monograph.

The value of this monograph goes far beyond the interest attaching to a comparison of a number of kindred Central

Asian dialects. It is well known that whilst the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) and Modern Persian are the lineal descendants of the Old Persian preserved in the rock-cut inscriptions of the Achæmenid Kings, the sister language of the Avesta seems to have left no progeny. Darmesteter, indeed, thought to have found a descendant in the Pushtu or Afghan language, and it is to be noted that Sir George Grierson in the subsequently issued Vol. X of the monumental *Linguistic Survey of India*, lends the great weight of his authority to the support of this thesis. In any case, what is very striking in his present volume is the large number of words in various of the Central Asian dialects which seem clearly connected with Avestan words—ninety-three are indicated in the index—in some cases in contradistinction to the Persian, Old or New, forms. I need but indicate as a specimen the pronoun *az* (I), Avestan *azəm*, as against O.P. *adam*. Other interesting words of Avestan type are: Yd. (Yüdyā) *kšīra*, milk, Av. *χšīra*, as against M.P. *šīr*; Yd. *trušna*, thirsty, Av. *taršna*, as against M.P. *tis*; S. (Šuynī) *wūrj*, Yd. *wury*, wolf, Av. *vōhrka*; *ašru*, tear, Av. *asru*, as against M.P. *ars*. Av. *haētu*, bridge, appears in Iš. *yetik*.

Perhaps the two most startling identifications are the Zebaki word *ōrmōzd* and Yd. *rēmuz*, the sun, which preserve unmistakably the name of Ahura Mazda—an extraordinary phenomenon surely!—and Yz. *miθ*, day, which is, of course, Av. *Miθra*.

One or two more Avestan words might be added to the list of comparisons. Iš. *urwēs*, fox, appears to me to be Av. *urupa*; Waxī, *sprāγ*, flower or sprout, recalls Av. *fra-sparəγa*, which contains none other than the familiar Gr. ἀσπάργος, our "asparagus".

A consideration of the numerous identifications of the vocabularies of these small and scattered Central Asian dialects really makes one wonder whether after all they may not represent fragmentary survivals of an ancient Eranian language whose literary form is known to us in the

Avestan—which used to be incorrectly (though conveniently) called Zend—something in the same way as the asteroids are supposed to be scattered fragments of some exploded planet!

It is, however, impossible in a short notice to do any kind of justice to the extraordinary erudition and minute scholarship of these 128 pages, and a reader can but admire the unrivalled and minute knowledge of so vast a number of Oriental tongues, ancient and modern, which the author is well known to possess.

I hope it is not impertinent to express satisfaction that Sir George has the courage to go back to the old-fashioned and, I believe, more correct spelling Eranian, instead of the now universal Iranian.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

THE ANGAMI NAGAS. By J. H. HUTTON, C.I.E., M.A.
 $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, xv + 480 pp., 49 plates, 4 maps. London:
 Macmillan, 1920.

This handsome, scholarly, and readable volume is a welcome addition to the series of Ethnographic Monographs, limited in earlier days to 200 pages, which the Government of Assam began to publish in 1907, when Colonel Gurdon's valuable account of The Khasis first appeared.

The Drang nach Osten of Indian politics forced upon the attention of the Government of India the importance of opening up direct communication between Assam and Manipur and "it was in the course of explorations directed to this end that we first came into conflict with the Nagas of these hills" (Mackenzie, *North-East Frontier of Bengal*, 101). From 1832 till 1880, when we settled down to permanent control of the Angami area, there was constant trouble with the Angamis. The policy of scuttle and indifference, the policy of bribery and placation by gifts, the policy of vigorous attack and of control were tried. The amazing results which have been won by methods of control are due to the knowledge, sympathy, and

skill of men like McCabe, Davis, Woods, whose acquaintance with the Angami and his ways established a "tradition" which Mr. Hutton is following most worthily.

There are signs that the author leans to the view that these tribes came up from the South, but in an area so situated as this we find disturbing influences pointing to infiltration of culture from many sources. The account of the domestic life and the social structure of the Angamis is well done. The development of the terraced field, sometimes scarped out, sometimes built up, in combination with systematic irrigation which forms so interesting a feature of the Naga economic life, is as considerable here as in the other parts of the world where similar wet cultivation is practised. Special sociological importance attaches to the traces of the duality of social structure among the Angamis, supporting the evidence which has been found among cognate tribes to the south. The process by which the KELHU, the THINO, and the PUTSA or the kindred are related as marriage units is well described. The day has to come for the analysis of the terms of relationship used all over the hills of Assam, and we shall find in this task much help from the material recorded by Mr. Hutton. One feature is of notable interest. The term used for the Father's sister in Angami is NYE or NYA, seemingly identical with the Lushai NI, also in vogue among the Chiru, Tangkhul, Lisaw, Kami, Siyin, Haka. The complexity of social relations is exemplified by the rules of inheritance and the custom of mengu which may be compared with the mandu of the Kuki and Kabui, and perhaps with the puma of the Lakher. The practical value of a knowledge of the beliefs of these hillmen, ready to dispute and expert litigants, is almost obvious, for as Hutton remarks, "a false oath is held to entail death or at least misfortune as the result of it." The various motives underlying the practice of head-hunting are well discussed and were control relaxed the custom might be studied as was possible only some forty years ago. The conclusions at which Hutton arrives are in entire accord

with my own observations and experiences. The section on Religion contains a full account of the genna system as it was called. *Kenna* is simply "prohibition, laid on a unit of the community, *penna* is prohibition laid on the whole community". There are gennas for the married, for the unmarried, for the married but childless, for crop purposes, for throwing away the mouse (which may have some relation with the pestilential effect of rodents in the jhums), for averting hail, for unusual or untoward occurrences. They did these things twenty years ago. What is the social significance of the rite of taking a new-born babe to the house of one of the father's kindred, who is newly married and has suffered no misfortune or whose children are all alive? Special duties are thus created between the man and the child. Infanticide was practised of children born of unmarried girls, yet there is still prenuptial laxity. The successes which carry social distinction are similar to those which "earn merit" among the Lushais. On every page there is matter for the student of ethnology, the handsome illustrations add greatly to the value of the letterpress, and it is to be noted that besides full discussions of folklore, and Angami grammar are added, appendices containing notes on the Memi (largely by Colonel Shakespear, to whom we owe an admirable index) on the non-Angami Tribes, South, West, and East and North-East, which bristle with interesting observations, on totemism, which, being, I fear, denied the vision of faith, he has not succeeded in detecting, on the family and Peal's theory of exogamy and premarital licence, on celts and stones (a topic of great importance, since the Nagas, like the Khasis, still erect stone monuments), on ethno-astronomy, on the orientation of the dead, on the Angami clans, and on anthropometry. The book covers the ground fully and is written in a pleasant style. Mr. Hutton's knowledge of his people is illuminated by a fine sympathy. We have waited for the book on the Angamis and Mr. Hutton has given us a book for which it has been worth waiting.

T. C. HODSON.

AN ELEMENTARY PALAUNG GRAMMAR. By Mrs. LESLIE MILNE, F.R.A.I., M.R.A.S., with an Introduction by C. O. BLAGDEN. M.A. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 188 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921.

Palaung is a language spoken in the Shan States of Burma by a tribe bearing the same name. According to the latest information¹ the number of speakers is about 110,600. Hitherto, the only materials available for its investigation have been a few meagre vocabularies, but these have been sufficient to show that it, and a cognate language called Wa, spoken in the same part of the country, form a sub-group of the Mōn-Khmēr languages, providing a link between them and the Khasi spoken in Assam. Through the latter they are more distantly related to Santālī and other Muṇḍā languages spoken in India, while, on the other hand, Mōn-Khmēr connects them with the tongues of Indo-nesia and beyond. It thus forms an important link in the chain connecting together the various Austro-Asiatic languages. Mrs. Leslie Milne has now given students valuable help towards acquiring a further knowledge of this form of speech. The accuracy of her statements is guaranteed by the fact that her materials were collected during a lengthy residence in the Palaung country, where she received great assistance from the Chief of the Tawngpeng State, the home of the purest form of the language; and our confidence is increased by the meticulous care with which she has illustrated its phonetics by a properly devised system of spelling. The rules are put particularly clearly, and the whole arrangement of the printing by the Clarendon Press is, I need hardly say, beyond reproach.

The authoress does not concern herself here with the question of the relationship existing between Palaung and other forms of Mōn-Khmēr speech, confining herself to the practical question of the study of Palaung as a language *per se*; but the philological side is provided for by

¹ The Preliminary Estimates of the Linguistic Survey of Burma.

Mr. Blagden's Introduction, in which,—and who is more competent than he—we have an interesting summary of the main conclusions to which he has been led by a study of Mrs. Milne's materials. These materials include not only a formal grammar, but also about twelve pages of illustrative sentences, and a long and curious folktale, covering over thirty pages of text and translation, in which each word is analysed and explained. We have thus a very complete and well-arranged account of the language.

The Mōn-Khmēr languages have one important point in common. Unlike their neighbours of the Tai and Tibeto-Burman families, they do not possess significant tones.¹ All of them having a monosyllabic basis, the want of tones wherewith to differentiate words would seriously diminish the number of words available for its vocabulary, had it not developed in their place a rich vowel system.² In this respect, as in others, Palaung follows the example of Mōn and Khmēr. Mrs. Milne has identified no less than twelve vowel sounds, each of which may be long or short, or, in some cases, clipped. Again, as in other languages of the family, a genitive or an attributive adjective follows the qualified substantive, and case-relations are indicated by prepositions, not by post-

¹ It must be understood that the so-called "checked" final consonants common in Burmese and Tai and corresponding to the Cantonese "entering tone", and, less closely, to the glottal check also called "entering tone" of Southern Mandarin, are not properly tones at all (vide JRAS. 1920, p. 459). The Mōn-Khmēr languages have these. I would take this opportunity of correcting a mistake of my own. In 1904 I was not aware that the "entering tone" was not a tone, and in the account of Khasi in the Linguistic Survey (Vol. ii, p. 7) I wrongly stated that that language possessed tones. It has none, though many of its words end in a glottal check. See G. Maspero, *Grammaire de la Langue Khmère*, p. 21.

² It would be an interesting task for some student of the languages of Further India to discuss how far the Mōn-Khmēr vowel sounds are connected with, or influenced by, the tones of the Sinitic languages. In Tai, for instance, initial aspirated surds, sibilants, and *h* naturally give a word a mid-rising tone, and the unaspirated surds give it a mid-level tone. In Mōn and Khmēr there are similar divisions of the consonants, which relate, not to tone, but to the inherent vowel.

positions—thus illustrating the truth of Pater Schmidt's general rule on the point.¹ It is difficult, without mere quotation, to give a further account of the language. When there is no real inflexion, such as that to which we are accustomed in Indo-European forms of speech, when relations of time or place, of being, doing, or suffering, are indicated only by prefixes or suffixes, when even parts of speech are indefinite, and the same word may at one time be used as an adjective, and at another time as a verb, and when the order of words² is all-important, there is little which can be excerpted. The book must be studied for itself. I therefore conclude with congratulations to Mrs. Leslie Milne on the successful completion of this excellent little book, and with an expression of the hope that her promised Palaung Vocabulary will ere long see the light.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

22nd June, 1921.

YAFETICHESKII KAVKAZ I TRETII ETNICHESKII ELEMENT V SOZIDANII SREDIZEMNOMORSKOI KULTURY (i.e. Japhetic Caucasia and the third ethnic element in the creation of Mediterranean Civilization). 8vo. 54 pp. By N. MARR. Leipzig: Stamper's Typography, 1920.

This little book of 54 pp. is the eleventh in the series entitled "Materials on Japhetic Linguistics", and its author asks readers to suspend judgment till they are in possession of the data on which it is based. He had to leave Russia in such haste and in such circumstances that he could not risk the safety of his MS. material by bringing it with him. The fact, however, that his brochure was printed with the *imprimatur* of Professor S. Oldenburg, Perpetual Secretary

¹ *Die Mon-Khmer-Völker*, p. 16. When an affix-less genitive precedes the qualified substantive, postpositions are used, and vice versa.

² i.e. the order of thought. Considering the variations in word-order found in the different Indo-Chinese languages, this suggests ethnological questions which are usually barred from philology.

of the Historical and Philological Section of the (ex-Imperial) Russian Academy, and that Professor Marr was himself Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies at the University of Petrograd, and is well known to scholars throughout the world makes it unnecessary to say that whatever he writes is worthy of notice. The writer of these lines last had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Marr in Petrograd immediately after Lenin's *coup d'état*, and had very irregular direct and indirect communication with him from time to time by travellers arriving in Moscow, and, later, in Tiflis, down to April, 1920. All the news tended to show that Mr. Marr was not only carrying on his studies in conditions of great hardship, but was bravely protecting the valuable literary and ecclesiastical monuments of Transcaucasia and other Eastern lands.

Mr. Marr, though a Georgian citizen, is the son of a Scotsman whose services to agriculture in Transcaucasia were of lasting value, and this book curiously gives hints of the affinity between "Japhetic" and the ancient languages of Britain (e.g. Pictish) and their remnants in our speech of to-day.

It is too early to deal in detail with the interesting matter which is treated in this eleventh part of the "Materials on Japhetic" until it is followed by the twelfth part, which will summarize the results of further study in Bayonne, Tuscany, and probably England. It may suffice for the present to say that Professor Marr produces evidence to show that Georgian, and to some extent Armenian and other "Japhetic" languages, are related to Basque and Etruscan, and that the languages of the Mediterranean basin, including Greek and Latin, have features of "Japhetic" origin. He refers to Sir John Rhys for confirmation of the connexion between Pictish and Basque, and the influence of the non-Indo-European "Japhetic" on Gaelic and the languages related to it and through them on English. He considers the English word *dog* as possibly of "Japhetic" origin. As for Georgian, the new theory explains a great deal which was obscure. It is interesting to recall the mediaeval belief in Georgia that Iberia

of the West (Spain) and Iberia of the East (Georgia) were severed fragments of one people (see vol. xxi, O.T.F., new series, top of p. iv of the Introduction to Rusthaveli). To the south-east Professor Marr claims to have discovered in the pre-Semitic languages of Mesopotamia a relationship with Georgian, and has further evidence as regards Georgian elements in the languages of Asia Minor.

In 1916 Professor Marr, while carrying on excavations near Van, found in a cave in the rock a Haldian inscription much longer than any previously discovered, on a pillar raised on a plinth, where a king of the Ians (Greeks) in the middle of the eighth century B.C. is named *diuḫlini* = *diutini*, i.e. Diogenes. He has also found on the Pamirs a "Japhetic" language with a strong resemblance to those of the Caucasus.

It may be remarked that Professor Braun, of the Petrograd University, has lately been lecturing at Leipzig University. His preliminary lecture, entitled "Die Urbevölkerung Europas und die Herkunft der Germanen", will appear as the first part of a series called "Japhetische Studien", of which the second part will be a translation of the Russian brochure by Professor Marr, which forms the subject of the present review.

O. WARDROP.

ABU 'L-MAHĀSIN IBN TAGHRĪ BIRDĪ'S ANNALS ENTITLED
AN-NUJŪM AZ-ZĀHIRA FĪ MULŪK MIṢR WAL-KĀHIRA.
Vol. vi, pt. ii, No. 1. Edited by WILLIAM POPPER.
Vol. vi, No. 4. 10½ × 7¼, 364 pp. Berkeley: University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, 1920.

As is well known, the earlier portion of Ibn Taghrī Birdī's history of Egypt was edited by Juynboll and Matthes (1855-61), who carried the chronicle down to A.H. 365. From this point it has been continued by Professor Popper, of whose edition the first instalment appeared in 1909, while since

then seven more fascicles have been published at short intervals, the present one (October, 1920) comprising the years A.H. 824-36, and leaving 36 years still to be covered. The work, therefore, is approaching completion, and is, in fact, already finished down to the year A.H. 524, inasmuch as the third fascicle (1912) contains an index and glossary to the text printed in the first three fascicles. Students of Islamic history will appreciate the great service which Professor Popper has rendered by the publication of this valuable work; its range, of course, is much wider than the title suggests. The editor shows sound scholarship and his treatment of the text is generally judicious. One of the few instances in which he does not satisfy us raises a question of some interest to lexicographers. On p. 525, 19 *seq.*, we read:

ثم نكون بعد ذلك جميعا تحت طاعة الامير الكبير ونقول
قد عاش الملك الظاهر ططر (برقوق MSS.) ونحن في
خدمته لاننا قد مللنا من الشتات الخ

In explanation of عاش the editor appends the following note: "i.e. عيشة حسنة; cp. the dictionaries s.v.

عاش." Whether the verb can bear this meaning seems to me very doubtful, nor does the context require it. The spokesman of the conspirators says to the Amîr al-Kabîr, "If you accede to our demands we will all give you our allegiance and say that al-Malik al-Zâhir has come to life (in you) and we will serve you, etc." Although the MSS. are apt to confuse الملك الظاهر ططر with الملك الظاهر برقوق, the latter, who founded the Burjî Mamlûk dynasty, is probably intended here, since comparison with him is the higher

compliment. For the use of عاش in this sense I need only refer to Ma'arri's epigram :—

وقد يعيش الفتى حتى يقال له

ما مات عند لقاء الموت بل عاشا

The edition is admirably printed, and errors are so rare that it may be worth while to point out that on pp. 684 and 688, in the margin opposite l. 1, سنة ٨٣٩ is a mistake for

سنة ٨٣٦. To conclude with an apology, justice cannot be done to Professor Popper's work except by those familiar with the details of Egyptian history, whereas the foregoing remarks indicate the impression made on one who is not a specialist in that subject but has read a considerable part of the text for other purposes.

R. A. N.

RIG-VEDA REPETITIONS : THE REPEATED VERSES AND DISTICHS AND STANZAS OF THE RIG-VEDA IN SYSTEMATIC PRESENTATION AND WITH CRITICAL DISCUSSION. By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD. Two vols., 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 7, 690 pp. Cambridge, Mass : Harvard University Press, 1916.

It is one of the unfortunate consequences of the Great War that this very important book did not become accessible in this country till at least three years after the date of its publication, and that a review of it in this *Journal* has been necessarily still further delayed.

In addition to his many other contributions to Vedic research, Professor Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*, when it appeared in 1906, placed scholars under a great obligation to its author. That work contains an alphabetical list of all the verses (Pādas or metrical lines) occurring in Vedic literature, together with their variants. All the textual material supplied

by the present work is extracted from the contents of the *Concordance*. But the rearrangement of, and the discussions on, that material have given it an independent value and an even greater importance in a critical sense. Scholars have, of course, long been aware of the existence of numerous repetitions in the *Rig-Veda*. But it is doubtful whether any of them have till now realized the full extent of these repetitions. The original material that is found recurring in the same or other hymns amounts to at least 2,400 Pādas. The latter, being repeated on the average one and a half times, make 6,000; by adding the lines of refrains, which are very numerous, and the lines that vary only slightly in their repeated form, we obtain a grand total of 8,000 Pādas, equivalent to about one-fifth of the contents of the entire *Rig-Veda*.

It is in the large number of these repetitions and in their fairly even distribution throughout the text of the *Rig-Veda* that their true significance lies. The evidence that they yield must, for example, put an end to theories as to profound differences between the "family" books, their authors, and their places of origin. Thus the third and seventh books, between the descendants of whose authors, Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha, a hereditary enmity existed, are here proved to share about as many repetitions as any two other family books. These two volumes constitute a perhaps more valuable storehouse of material for the self-illuminating interpretation of the *Rig-Veda* than any other that has as yet come into the possession of Vedic scholars. They show clearly how the poets of the *Rig-Veda* borrowed from and imitated one another. The repetitions of that Veda throw new light on the relative chronology of recurring passages. Thus the line *rājantam adhvarāṇām* (RV. i, 1, 8a) is applied to Agni, and can be shown to belong primarily to the phraseology concerned with that god; it reappears in the modified form of *rājantāv adhvarāṇām* in another passage (viii, 8, 18c), where it is addressed to the Aśvins, and is evidently secondary.

Repetition, again, often gives useful aid in the exegesis of a passage which in one context is obscure, but can be successfully interpreted in its recurrent form. Thus, in the line *yad dha codam āvitha* (ii, 13, 9b), the word *coda* has been interpreted as meaning "inspiring", "poet", "sceptre", or "command", but its parallel *yad dha Pauram āvitha* (viii, 3, 12), "when thou didst help Paura," indicates that *Coda* is the name of a man. There are various criteria showing whether a Pāda is primary or secondary. When it appears as a parenthesis, or shows anacoluthon, tautology, ellipsis, expansion, metrical addition, subtraction, or imperfection, while it is elsewhere free from such faults, we have indications helping us to judge which is the original form. But wherever a given verse unit remains unaltered in a different context, it must have the same meaning. Existing translations constantly show inconsistencies in their renderings of such repeated passages, thus betraying their provisional character. With Professor Bloomfield's present volumes to assist them, Vedic scholars will now have no excuse for such inaccuracies.

The first volume consists of an Introduction describing the scope and character of the book (pp. 1-28), and the main body of the work (Part I) containing the actual text of the repeated passages according to the order of the *Rig-Veda*, together with critical comments, especially such as bear on relative chronology, and with occasional translations. The student will now not only have an aid ensuring the consistency of his renderings, but also much exegetical material helping him to improve on his predecessors in dealing with many hymns of the *Rig-Veda*, and often in several verses of the same hymn.

The second volume contains a large amount of highly interesting matter, the careful classification of which yields many important results. Part II (pp. 491-650) is analytical and explanatory, being divided into five chapters. In the first of the latter, the repeated passages are divided into ten classes. One of these comprises the entire single stanzas that recur unchanged as refrains at the end of hymns. There

are forty-three such, totalling 129 stanzas, and the same refrain is restricted to the same book. Here it appears that only Books VIII and IX are entirely lacking in refrain stanzas; this is a particularly striking fact in the case of Book VIII, which is especially rich in single refrain lines. On the other hand, Books III and VII show an unusual abundance of refrain stanzas. Another group in this chapter consists of the numerous class in which one whole Pāda is repeated with the addition of a single word or phrase. Here the critical value of the repeated Pāda is sufficient to show that borrowing has taken place, while the additional words often throw light on difficulties of interpretation. Thus the two alternative words, *kīrin* and *kāru*, occurring in VI, 23, 3 and VI, 44, 15, as equivalents, in addition to the parallelism of the repeated Pāda, show that the former as well as the latter should (with Sāyana) be recognized to mean "poet", and not "miserable" or "poor" (p. 509). There is further a surprisingly large group of stanzas containing two, three, or even four single verses, each of which is repeated in a different place in other parts of the *Rig-Veda*. Repetitions of this kind show what Professor Bloomfield calls the "tesselation" of the *Rig-Veda* more than anything else does. Upwards of 300 stanzas repeat two of their Pādas in separate passages. Lines repeated in this way do not always suit their new contexts equally well. They often fit only loosely in the form of anacoluthon or parenthesis. This test, in addition to considerations of language, style, and metre, must in future be applied in the critical estimate of the quality and relative age of stanzas and hymns of the *Rig-Veda*.

Chapter II deals with metrical variations as the result of addition or subtraction or verbal change in repeated Pādas. The number of lines related in this way is about 200, involving altogether about 500 Pādas. Many Triṣṭubh and Jagatī lines are thus identical except that they add or subtract the last syllable. Most of the metrical differences in the repeated Pādas are insufficient to decide the question of

relative date. Sometimes, however, it is possible to determine the original form on purely metrical grounds, occasionally reinforced by other considerations. In a general way it may be said that a repeated verse showing inferiority of metre belongs to a later date. This is, for instance, the case when the line *rājantam adhvarāṇām* (i, 1, 8; 45, 4) appears as *samrājantam adhvarāṇām* (1, 27, 1), where the prefixed syllable *sam* changes the line into a trochaic Gāyatrī; the secondariness of the latter Pāda is corroborated by the use of the denominative verb *samrāja* (with the Sandhi *mr*). Again, the regular Triṣṭubh line referring to Indra *vṛtram jaghanvāñ asṛjad vi sindhūn* (iv, 18, 7; 19, 8) is cut down to the faulty octosyllabic Pāda *vṛtram jaghanvāñ asṛjat* (i, 180, 10), in which the necessary object *sindhūn* is dropped.

Chapter III handles verbal variations in repeated Pādas which are virtually synonymous, as differing only in the order of the words, or, in the interchange of two words either identical or divergent in sense, or modified only by change of ending in noun or verb. Thus, the line *bṛhantam ṛṣvam ajaram yuvānam* twice referring to Indra (iii, 32, 7; vi, 19, 2), with the antithesis "the youth who ages not", becomes *bṛhantam ṛṣvam ajaram suṣumnā* (vi, 49, 10), where the antithesis is lost by substituting for the last word the attribute "kindly" as more in keeping with the euphemistic epithets applied to Rudra. The commonest of all the verbal variations is that of the 2nd and 3rd persons; as *avāsṛjaḥ* (or *avāsṛjat*) *sartave sapta sindhūn*. Sometimes a god is introduced as speaking in the 1st person. When there is a parallel passage in the 3rd, the former may always be assumed to be imitative and late.

Chapter IV is concerned with the subject-matter of the repetitions, which may be said to cover the entire range of Vedic thought and expression. In other words, a very great deal of what is stated in the *Rig-Veda* is repeated once, twice, or even more often in the same metrical units, lines, or stanzas. The salient features of the most prominent deities become

stereotyped within these limits, and tend to be repeated in this form. Thus the recurring lines concerning Indra amount to about 250, and those relating to Agni and Soma to about 200 each. These repeated lines would give us a fairly connected account of the three deities, if we had nothing but this recurring material. An even larger number of lines repeat statements not about one and the same god, but rather about two or more. It is especially the more general cosmic activities of the gods, such as establishing heaven and earth or placing the sun in the sky, that are expressed in repeated formulaic lines and applied to a number of deities.

The relations of the sacrificer to the gods, his prayers, his expressions of piety, the favours bestowed on him by the gods, often appear in repeated formulas. Moreover, identical similes, figures of speech, and various poetical phrases, covering the whole range of Vedic diction, recur many times in this form. This type of formulaic diction, which may be said to constitute the stock-in-trade of the Vedic poets, is so frequent that it pervades to some extent every hymn of the *Rig-Veda*. The formulaic statement of a divine activity is sometimes transferred from one god to another in such a way as to show clearly to whom it originally belongs. Thus, the same Pāda states in three different places that "Savitṛ has placed a light on high" (*ūrdhvam bhānuṃ Savitā devo aśret*). In another passage it is said of Agni that "he, like Savitṛ, has placed a light on high" (*ūrdhvam bhānuṃ Savitevāśret*). Of Dawn it is said that she "follows straight the path of cosmic law" (*ṛtasya panthām anv eti sādhu*, i, 124, 3). The same line appears elsewhere in the mouth of a sacrificer, who says: *ṛtasya panthām anv emi sādhu*yā (x, 66, 13), being used parenthetically and *ṛta* having the sense of "ritual order".

Chapter V, which discusses the relative chronology of the books and minor collections of the *Rig-Veda* (pp. 634-50), is the most interesting and important, being full of valuable critical matter. Professor Bloomfield estimates the historical value of the author-names mentioned in the

repeated verses of the *Rig-Veda* themselves, as compared with the attributions of the *Anukramanī*; the intrinsic criteria of relative dates; and how these determine the relative dates of single hymns. He emphasizes the inconclusiveness of the attempts that have hitherto been made to arrange the *Rig-Veda* "historically", without regard to the fact that something like one-fifth of its contents is repeated, in a quite haphazard manner. He rightly points out that the first thing to do with a hymn that shares perhaps half a dozen lines with other hymns is to correlate it with those hymns. He goes on to show how the accumulation of repetitions is a criterion of the relative date of Maṇḍalas or other collections, since, if a hymn contains an unusual amount of repetition, it cannot on the whole be the source of these repetitions, but is itself the borrower. Thus Book VIII contains more repetitions than any other, except IX (which iterates its own formulas endlessly, but shows little contact with other books). The correct conclusion, based both on the frequency of its repetitions and on the sense and connexion of its repeated verses, seems to be that a considerable proportion of Book VIII is late. There is already enough evidence to show that the group of fifty hymns at the beginning of Book I, which are akin to Book VIII, exhibits a similar degree of lateness as compared with the family books. Book IX shares only about thirty repetitions with other books; eight of them are found in Book VIII and are regularly superior to the correspondences in the latter collection. As regards the family books, every one of them shows repetitions which are inferior as well as superior in comparison with those of the others; but the evidence proves that they are on the whole all earlier than the non-family books. Of Book V it may be said that it contains many repetitions that place it in a position of advantage as compared with the other family books. The character of the repetitions in the nine groups of hymns from 51 to 191 in Book I indicate that this aggregate of 140 hymns is of late origin. The repetitions of Book X justify the universal

conviction that the great majority of these hymns were not only gathered at a later time, but were also composed at a later time. It is here to be noted that Book X contains very few cases of superior repetitions, and that when there is a superiority it is over Book I, and hardly ever over family books.

The work ends with five lists or indices : (1) of the repeated cadences of *Rig-Veda* lines in reversed alphabetical order (that is, according to the sequence of the final letter) ; (2) of the lines repeated in one and the same hymn ; (3) of refrain lines ; (4) of the Sanskrit words dealt with in the notes ; (5) of subjects.

Professor Bloomfield is to be congratulated on placing in the hands of scholars a work calculated to advance the critical and exegetical study of the *Rig-Veda* as a whole to a greater degree than any contribution that has appeared for a long time past. Those who use the book will not fail to recognize how much it owes in clearness and convenience of arrangement to the unsurpassed editorial skill of Professor C. R. Lanman, the founder of the Harvard Oriental Series.

A. A. MACDONELL.

DIE RICHTUNGEN DER ISLAMISCHEN KORANAUFLÖSUNG (Lines followed by the Islamic Exegesis of the Kur'an). Lectures delivered in the University of Upsala on the Olaus-Petri foundation by IGNAZ GOLDZIHNER. Vol. VI of the Publications of the de Goeje Stiftung. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, x + 392 pp. Leiden : Brill, 1920.

Professor Goldziher's new book displays the characteristics which we are accustomed to find in his writings ; unrivalled familiarity with Arabic and Islamic literature of every period, sobriety of judgment, and lucidity of style. Much of the matter is new—at any rate, to most students ; and even where the ground covered is familiar, he has furnished a

wealth of new illustration which every reader will find instructive.

The history of the *Kur'an* up to the time of its circulation in an authorized edition is obscure, and any solution of the problems which arise in connexion therewith would be conjectural; the subject of Dr. Goldziher's lectures is far less controversial, as the gigantic commentary of *Ṭabari* (printed first twenty years ago) embodies the efforts of his predecessors, and from this time onwards we possess a series of commentaries whence a history of Islamic exegesis can be obtained. Not a little patience is indeed required for the perusal of these tomes; but the reader is helped by the fact that the *Kur'an* itself is of moderate size, and that matters debated are in most cases clearly explained by some authority or other.

It is remarkable that the Commentary which was regarded by Sprenger as the best extant, that of *Tha'labi* (ob. A.H. 427), appears to be still unprinted. Dr. Goldziher devotes much attention to that of *Zamakhshari*, first published by Nassau Lees in 1856, which favours *Mu'tazilite* opinions; and he naturally makes much use of *Ṭabari*. For the *Ṣufi* exegesis he mainly depends on the Commentary ascribed to *Ibn al-'Arabi*, and for the views of the *Shi'ah* on that of *Kummi*. The *Kur'an*, however, is so much in the heart and mind of all Moslem writers that Dr. Goldziher is able to illustrate the views which he enucleates from most departments of literature. Parallels can be found to the various methods from the exegesis of other sacred books; and some very interesting ones are brought. One which is striking is between *Philo* and *Ghazali* in their safeguarding the literal sense of the passages which they allegorize; the shoes which Moses had to put off his feet had a mystic signification, but they were real shoes none the less. So *Ghazali*, and doubtless *Philo* would have approved.

Stress is with justice laid on the fact that whereas the non-Sunni sects theoretically suspect the authenticity of the *Kur'an* which is connected with the name of the Third Caliph,

they in practice assume it, and attempts which have been made to give practical effect to these suspicions have had no permanent success. In the case of the Shi'ah this is natural, since the breach between them and the Sunnah was of slow development; indeed, the twelfth Imam, who enters into the most widespread Shi'ah system, lived, if at all, in the latter half of the third Islamic century; but the Khawarij, whose first appearance is in connexion with the murder of the Third Caliph, might be expected to have Ḳur'ans of their own. It does not appear that they have; but their commentaries, which are said to have been printed in Zanzibar, are not easy to procure, and without their guidance one cannot be sure of the attitude of these relics of the earliest Islamic schism.

The place which Dr. Goldziher occupies among European students of Islam is so very high that we may be sure his book will be widely read. It will probably be admitted by Moslem critics that he has tried hard to do justice to the great Islamic theologians of various schools who spent so much labour in accommodating their sacred volume to their systems.

D. S. M.

STUDIA SEMITICA ET ORIENTALIA. By Seven Members of Glasgow University Oriental Society. 9 × 6, 226 pp. Glasgow, 1920.

Seven Members of the Glasgow University Oriental Society have united to present Professor Robertson on the celebration of his eightieth birthday with a volume containing articles written by them on various subjects of Oriental learning, and they have chosen the title for this "Festschrift", as it would be called abroad, "Studia Semitica et Orientalia."

The studies contained in this collective volume are as follows, and by the variety of topics treated are sure to appeal to a wider circle.

J. R. Buchanan, in his article "A Study of Hebrew Synonyms", discusses the various Hebrew Synonyms for shutting and closing.

W. M. Christie endeavours to settle the vexed problem as to the original site of Capernaum, which he localizes as Tell Hum in preference to El-Minye. His reference to the Minnim is not very happy, and can only be accepted with great reservations.

A. R. S. Kennedy, "Jewish Everyday Life as reflected in the Mishnah Treatise Shabbath." An interesting article in which the author tries to reconstruct everyday life from a single treatise of the Mishnah, viz. that of Shabbath. Krauss, in his *Talmudic Archaeology*, has dealt with the subject on a much broader basis, and with more satisfactory results.

R. B. Pattie proposes in a very ingenious and plausible manner a settlement of the synchronistic difficulties presented by the Book of Kings.

E. Robertson, "Translation of an Arabic MS. on Calligraphy." From a comparatively modern copy of an Arabic text made in 1912 the author is able to trace back most of his contents to the treatise of Ibn Mugla, and to throw unexpected light on the real meaning of the writing called *Mansub*.

W. B. Stevenson offers a selection of three Moslem Charms which though common in various parts of the Mohammedan world, are none the less extremely interesting. The Seven Sleepers appear in one, and the others show the practical use of various verses of the Koran for magical purposes. It would have been very interesting if the author had continued his comparison between these talismans and the amulets and philacteries of a magical character of other Semitic nations, among them notably the Samaritan philacteries which are of pre-Mohammedan origin and no doubt exercised a decisive influence upon the latter. (My Publication, PSBA.)

The book concludes with a rather curious study by Macdonald, who sees in the first chapters of Genesis the work of a philosophic mind. According to him, all the modern critical dismemberment theories no longer hold good; on

the other hand, if pushed further his theory might land us in Philo.

The book is beautifully printed, and in every way exceedingly well got up. It is a handsome gift to the venerable scholar whose portrait faces the title-page, and is in many ways a real contribution to Semitic Philology.

M. GASTER.

XAVASS-I-AYAT. By ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. Notices et extraits d'un Manuscrit Persan Traitant la Magie des Versets du Coran. 9 × 6, 68 pp. Copenhagen, 1920.

Professor Christensen, sent to Persia in 1914 on a mission to collect MSS., brought among others a comparatively modern copy of a hitherto unpublished book which contains the lists of sentences from the Koran which are used for magical purposes. The book is believed to be the work of Abdullah ibn Muhammed ibn Husain, and rests upon an old translation of the sixteenth century from the Arabic, ascribed to Ja'far es Sadiq. It may be considered a handbook of Practical Magic. Many Arabic treatises of a similar character exist, but there are none published and translated.

Professor Christensen, who has recognized the importance of the MS. from a mystical and folklore point of view, inasmuch as it contains many of the formulas used in amulets and conjurations, has translated the most salient portion, and in a long introduction has been able to group together under special headings all the occurrences in life, illnesses, foretelling, etc., for which these verses are used. In addition he has also fully discussed the formulas which are used, the manner of writing, the astrological influences of days and hours, and many remnants of ancient practices which have been preserved by these conjurations.

In a way it is a full commentary to the article of E. Robertson in the preceding "Festschrift" of Professor Robertson, where some Arabic amulets have been described in which the same sentences of the Koran occur.

The author deserves the thanks of the Students of Oriental Learning, as well as of those interested in Magical Literature and its Persian representative.

M. GASTER.

THE FOLK LORE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By HERBERT H. GOWEN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, 18 pp. Seattle: University of Washington, 1921.

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By H. H. GOWEN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, 14 pp. 1919.

THE COLOUR TERMS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By H. H. GOWEN. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, 12 pp. 1920.

The first of these papers—all of which have been reprinted from the *Anglican Theological Review*—on the Folk Lore of the Old Testament is a timely production, seeing that the presence of Folk Lore elements in the Old Testament is now being more freely recognized in theological circles. The kernel of truth inside these is emphasized. The paper is, in places, mildly critical of Sir James Frazer. The continuity of the spirit of revelation is the contention of the paper, which is decidedly interesting, sensible, and moderate.

The second pamphlet, treating of the Eschatology of the Old Testament, is also a good and useful piece of work. I cannot help thinking, however, that a clearer and more forcible representation was possible—(p. 201)—of the reaction against the Egyptian religion, and of the later attitude to the doctrine of Sheol (p. 206). Surely Hosea xiii, 14, might well have been added to the passages there quoted. These mark a great advance on the unrelieved pathos of the earlier utterances on Sheol. But the idea of personality, whether in the present or the future, was still apt to be over-powered by that idea of the Kingdom, on which Professor Gowen lays proper stress.

The third paper consists of critical and scholarly notes on "The Colour Terms of the Old Testament". Its aim

is to present, without too much detailed tabulation, the results of an analysis of the colour vocabulary of the Old Testament. The author first analyses the Hebrew terms expressive of colour itself, then the terms for particular colours. The result is to show "the surprisingly small range of the colour vocabulary" (p. 150). The paper is a very interesting one.

JAMES LINDSAY.

THEISM IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA. Hibbert Lectures (Second Series). By J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, D.Litt. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xii + 552 pp. London: Williams & Norgate, 1921.

Those who are acquainted with Dr. Carpenter's previous publications will recognize in the present work the ripe product of his long and patient study of the subjects treated in it. The work cannot but be welcome, for the full history of Theism is so vast and unfulfilled a task that every contribution towards any part or section of it is of great value. The opening chapter deals with "The Origins of Theistic Buddhism", and the second with "The Development of Theistic Buddhism". "Popular Theism: Brahmā" forms the theme of the third lecture, and "Religious Philosophy in the Great Epic" that of the fourth. The author then passes, in the fifth lecture, to the treatment of "The Trimūrti", and, in the sixth, to "Philosophy and Religion in Āiavism". Lecture the seventh is concerned with "Religion and Philosophy in Vaiṣṇavism", while the eighth or concluding chapter deals with "Hinduism and Islam".

The work is mainly expository, but in part critical. The author is excellently versed in the literature of the subject, and the expository work throughout is admirably done. On the critical side, there is a good deal of criticism, both philosophic and religious, interwoven with the expository material. The criticism is good, so far as it goes, but I cannot find that it is always thoroughgoing and adequate.

And if criticism is not adequate you leave Brahmanic and Buddhistic conceptions on important matters with the appearance of religious or philosophical value greater than can be claimed for them under more searching analysis. However, the author has given us so much that is valuable, and calculated to be extremely useful, that it would be ungracious to do more than mention this aspect. There is an excellent index.

The work in whole is one to be warmly commended.

JAMES LINDSAY.

PALI TEXT SOCIETY. Translation Series, No. 8. The Expositor (Atthasālinī) Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dhammasaṅgāṇī. The first book of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, vol. i. Translated by MAUNG TIN, M.A. Edited and revised by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, D.Litt., etc. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$, 500 pp. Published for the Pali Text Society by the Oxford University Press, 1920.

The translations issued by the Pali Text Society are all of great interest but vary in attractiveness, like most other series. Some are attractive chiefly to those who have already found their way pretty far into the field of Pali studies. Within the latter class, perhaps, comes the fifth century psychological work now translated in full for the first time. The new volume begins with an editorial note by Mrs. Rhys Davids, whose collaboration as editor has been a matter of course. Without her valuable pioneer work in the Pali Abhidhamma, particularly the fine translation entitled "A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics" (RAS. Oriental Translation Fund Series, 1900), with its Introductory Essay, the work now appearing would have needed a whole volume of introductory matter. Here Mrs. Rhys Davids makes a few further observations on the translation of difficult words, but brings forward chiefly the work of her Burmese colleagues, Maung Tin, translator of the Atthasālinī and Shwe Zan Aung

(translator of the *Abhidhammatthasangaha* under the title "A Compendium of Philosophy", Pali Text Society, 1910). Mr. Shwe Zan Aung is known as a distinguished exponent of Buddhist philosophy as studied in the Burmese Schools from the twelfth century onwards. Mr. Maung Tin, also a keen worker in this field, points out in his preface that the *Atthasālinī* (a title rather heavily translated "The Expositor") is, among all the works of Buddhaghosa, one of the best known in Burma. In the introduction to his commentary the famous Indian doctor exalts the *Abhidhamma* almost at the expense of the *Suttapiṭaka*, on which, however, Buddhaghosa himself spent years of labour. In his commentaries he left a whole *Sutta* literature to posterity. But "it is to be understood", he says, "that the *Abhidhamma* exceeds and is distinguished from the *Dhamma* chiefly in the great fulness of its classifications." The value of thorough classification, among other disciplines, is set forth in phrases so characteristic of Buddhist insistence on the rigorous use of the intelligence that one may well be quoted: "The *Bhikkhu* who is ill-trained in the *Abhidhamma* makes his mind to run to excess in metaphysical abstractions and thinks of the unthinkable. Consequently he gets mental distraction. For it has been said, "*Bhikkhus*, there are four unthinkables, things that should not be thought of. Madness or vexation will be the portion of him who does so" (p. 31).

At the time of writing the *Atthasālinī* Buddhaghosa may have feared a decline in *Abhidhamma* studies. He gives explanations, definitions, and descriptions of the *Abhidhamma* which amount to a defence of that forbidding and indigestible body of teaching. He was against indulgence of metaphysical curiosity and weakening of mental discipline. "Tradition has it," he even says, "that those *Bhikkhus* only who know *Abhidhamma* are true preachers of the *Dhamma*."

But the *Dhammasaṅgani*, the first book of the *Abhidhamma piṭaka*, selected by Buddhaghosa for one of his earlier essays in commentary work, must have been hard reading,

even for the very earnest, till he had expounded it and enriched the school to which he belonged with the *Atthasālini*. The commentary is long—naturally, and discursive—again naturally—and fortunately for us. It provokes questions and leaves puzzles of its own for almost every difficulty of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* that it solves. But to work through it with conscientious translators is to gain insight into the necessity (from the Buddhist point of view) of the *Abhidhamma*; also into the methods of certain of the (Pali) *Abhidhamma* teachers. Without some study in this field Buddhism cannot be quite understood.

Classification—so taught the *Abhidhamma* doctors—is an essential act of the mind in its effort for deliverance. The theory of an ancient school that knew the *Sutta* profoundly was that the highest duty of the Buddhist was to clear away all mental confusion by training the mind to subject its own states to the closest analysis. Words and phrases that had become stock expressions of *Sutta* teaching and the worn currency of the technical terms of conduct (or rather misconduct) and moral discipline in the *Vinaya* must be examined, discussed, and derived from their roots. Thus a system and language of psychology were elaborated on a basis, which, as Mrs. Rhys Davids has shown, was ethical and may be called scientific.

The process of psychological analysis placed first was the considering of "states" (*dhammā*) in groups (twos and threes) of fundamental states holding a certain relation to one another. No state was to be allowed to pass unnamed or to be confused with any other state. Beside the naming and discriminating of psychological states Buddhaghosa is occupied with definition of terms on scriptural authority. Happily for us, he is inspired to add a good deal of description of the "states" in their livelier manifestations. Nothing reveals his quality as a commentator better than what may be called his marginal sketches. These are a welcome help to the student, too, for, as Mr. Maung Tin remarks in his preface, the plan of the work

itself is enough to prejudice the reader. Perhaps so ; if the readers shirks a dry beginning he will feel inclined to skip the first chapter (Table of Contents) and the word-by-word Commentary that follows. A following section of Book I, however, will certainly, or should certainly, be read with attention. The quotations from the Buddha's discourses show on almost every page the identity of thought and expression in Sutta and Abhidhamma. There are some interesting examples of the use of the word "consciousness" (for which, by the way, Mrs. Rhys Davids thinks there is no exact equivalent in Pali, see *Psychological Ethics*, p. xvii). A significant sentence or two in the midst of scriptural quotations lay down, in the fewest words, a distinction that no student of Buddhist terminology should forget : "In worldly phenomena consciousness (*cittaṃ*) is the chief, consciousness is the principal, consciousness is the forerunner. In transcendental (*lokuttara*) phenomena, however, understanding (*paññā*) is the chief, understanding is the principal, understanding is the forerunner" (p. 90). The small boy who recites the first stanza of the Dhammapada speaks Abhidhamma doctrine ; the *mano* of that famous verse and the *cittaṃ* of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi are synonymous terms.

Another sentence that has echoes of many a Sutta sermon in it is the following : "Consciousness, i.e. mind, is capable of producing a variety or diversity of effects in action." Good and bad acts are accomplished by the mind ; from the power of the mind to do this arise variety of *kammas* and difference in destinies. But "no moral states headed by understanding become degraded" (p. 92). The understanding has the task of knowing its busy partner, mind. But indulging in metaphysical abstractions is only to be permitted (if ever) after a course of patient study of consciousness. "The Lord of the Law has classified consciousness as an object of thought on the threefold basis of meritorious act by means of the nine doors of action." The nine doors are the subject of chapters on acts of body, acts of speech, and acts of thought. The

exposition goes on from certain emotions and their expression to the important subject of volition and *Kamma*. In the emphasis given to the importance of thought as action we are reminded of some modern writing on this theme.

Following the chapter on *Kamma* is one "On Courses of Immoral Action", in which the commentator takes the opportunity to dissert on degrees of immorality both for laymen and monks. Buddhaghosa refers here to the *Samantapāsādikā*, his own commentary on the *Vinaya*. A good example of his method is the interesting short instruction on the term "life-taking", applied to the "bodily and vocal doors" (p. 129).

Part IV has the rather attractive title "Of moral consciousness in the world of sense". Here is again psychological science; and again edification is not quite left out. The commentator's treatment of theory, with the frequent application to ethical practice, reminds us how little right we have to emphasize the negative side—abandonment of craving—more than the positive—development of intelligence and will—in Buddhist teaching. At the same time it is rather remarkable that so little sermonizing occurs in the course of so much discussion of human feeling. Or rather, it would seem remarkable if one came to the psychological subtleties of the *Abhidhamma* without remembering the elaborate descriptions of human weakness in the *Vinaya* and the still wider range of the *Sutta*, in which every step of an almost immeasurable moral progress is traced up to the highest destiny—*Arahatship*. The *Abhidhamma* teaching (being like the *Sutta* in this respect, too) has some reference to rebirth in various spheres. Therefore Part V (Discourse on moral consciousness in the realm of attenuated matter) carries the exposition into a field in which modern psychologists do not expect to feel much at home.

Of course there is much pre-supposed in Buddhaghosa's discourse which no Indian novice would fail to understand, but the style is difficult to the European reader. Nevertheless,

to those interested in psychological study at its present phase in Europe the *Atthasālinī* has more than a historical interest. To the Buddhist it is instruction in the *Abhidhamma*, the "*Dhamma par excellence*", not to be learned by sudden religious intuition but by disciplines such as classification and by the methodical development of the understanding. In giving a faithful translation of an ancient treatise (doubly difficult, as the matter demands a scientific language and our own terms are not always exact equivalents), Mr. Maung Tin has done admirable service. His own difficulties are naturally greater from not using his own mother-tongue, but there are few passages in which any hint of this appears. As to his translation of terms of which certain renderings have already general favour, there is nothing to be said against some such changes as each translator has a right to propose; but why such a rendering as "the Ariyan facts" for *ariyasaccāni*? The essential meaning of the word has been far better preserved in the well-known rendering "the noble truths"; "Ariyan facts" is neither a translation nor an interpretation.

Those who can consult the Pali Texts will be glad of the useful notes giving chapter and verse for quotations. The Burmese translation by Pyi Sadaw is occasionally quoted. This translation, issued in the middle of the nineteenth century, is the last of a considerable list of commentaries and studies, showing how carefully the teaching of the old Indian psychologist has been preserved through phase after phase of the changing fortunes of scholarship in Burma.

M. H. B.

L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA LANGUE ÉGYPTIENNE ET LES LANGUES
SÉMITIQUES. By EDOUARD NAVILLE. 10½ × 7½, xiii +
179 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1920.

Professor Naville's interesting and suggestive book appeals in the first instance to the Egyptological specialist, but it appeals also to the linguistic student in general. It is only

in the latter quality that I can profess to deal with it. Professor Naville is now the Nestor of Egyptology, the last survivor of the great masters in Egyptological research, and he therefore possesses a ripe experience and a practical acquaintance with his subject, which is attainable only by those who have helped to make it what it is to-day. What is learnt from a teacher is something very different from what has been painfully elaborated by oneself.

One result is the vein of common sense which characterizes the Professor's work. It is especially evident in the first two chapters, which deal with the Egyptian script and the phonetic values of its symbols, in which he maintains the vocalic nature of certain of the signs. To anyone outside the circle of the so-called Berlin School the prevailing system of representing them is contrary alike to the principles of scientific philology and to common sense. As Professor Naville says: "Voici le nom des Ethiopiens que nous transcrivons *Kaš* ou *Kuš*, et que nous lisons d'après la transcription *Kasch* ou *Kousch*. Ce dernier nom est celui que le pays a en hébreu et en assyrien. Mais cette transcription n'est pas la bonne, ce doit être *'ékšōšej* (SETHE) que je ne sais comment prononcer. Le nom des *'Aχάλoi*, des Achéens, que nous lisons *Akaiou-ra* devient *Ekwesh* (BREASTED). Peut-on admettre que les Egyptiens rendaient ainsi un mot que les philologues des langues indo-européennes nous disent avoir été *Αχαιῶς*?" As a matter of fact, the cuneiform texts of Tel el-Amarna and Boghaz Keui have now told us approximately how many of the Egyptian names were pronounced in the age of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties; needless to say, the true pronunciation bears no resemblance to the forms invented by the Berlin School, although in several instances it agrees with Maspero's transcription, which was based on the Greek and Coptic forms and, it may be added, the application to them of linguistic knowledge and common sense. "By their fruits ye shall know them," and it is impossible for the outsider not

to sympathize with Professor Naville when he asks whether the knowledge of the texts has really been greatly benefited by the grammatical hair-splitting of German scholars: "nous en attendons la preuve par la traduction des textes des pyramides, que Maspero seul a tentée, traduction qu'en Allemagne on déclare vieillée, sans cependant qu'on ait essayé de nous en présenter une nouvelle."

In the third and fourth chapters Professor Naville passes on to the Demotic and Coptic, and points out that the appearance of Demotic belongs to much the same age as that of the Aramaic (or Phœnician) script in Western Asia. Was there any relation between the two events? He further points out that Coptic presupposes a language which belonged to a wholly different form of speech from that demanded for ancient Egyptian by Erman's *Grammar*. "La grammaire copte est avant tout une leçon de particules, car la langue possède à peine des flexions." It is this which has always made me as a comparative philologist wonder whether the view taken of Old Egyptian by Maspero and, more especially Reusuf, is not more correct than that elaborated by Erman and his disciples.

In the last chapter Professor Naville leaves his own province and ventures into the Semitic domain. Here he seems to have forgotten the passage in Gen. xxxi, 47, which fixes the boundary between what we call Aramaic and Hebrew at Mizpah in Mount Gilead. But we are still much in the dark as to the extent and history of the various Aramaic dialects. They were included in what the Babylonians termed "Amorite", and the only early Amorite documents with which we are as yet acquainted are the tablets of Khana (Dêr ez-Zor) on the Euphrates and the Cappadocian tablets of Kara Eyuk, near Kaisariyeh, in Asia Minor. The Cappadocian dialect seems to have been spoken from Ganis (Kara Euyuk) south-eastward to Harran, if not to Assyria. Assyrian, it must be remembered, was the language of Semitic Babylonia and was confined in Assyria to the educated class.

It was "the language of the scribes", not of the lower classes of the country.

A. H. SAYCE.

THE BENGALI RAMAYANAS (being Lectures delivered to the Calcutta University in 1916, as Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellow in the History of Bengali Language and Literature). By Rai Saheb DINESHCHANDRA SEN, B.A. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, xxx + 304 pp. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1920.

This is the most valuable contribution to the literature on the Rāma-saga which has appeared since Professor Jacobi's work on the Rāmāyaṇa was published in 1893. The latter was confined to Vālmiki's famous epic, and the present volume, from the pen of the veteran author of the *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, carries the inquiry on to a further stage, and throws light both on the origins of the story and on its later developments.

The subject covers so wide a ground, and its treatment exhibits so wide a field of Indian learning that, within the limited space available, it is impossible to do more than indicate the more salient points adduced by the author, and, perhaps, to add a few new items of information.

It has long been admitted that the core of the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa—the portion written by Vālmiki himself—consists (with a few interpolations) of the second to the sixth books. The first and the seventh, in which Rāma is elevated from the stage of a heroic mortal to divinity, are later additions. The Rai Saheb, accepting these conditions, has been able to dispel part of the darkness which has hitherto enveloped the sources of Vālmiki's poem, and to trace its origin to three distinct stories, which the great poet combined into a single epic.

The oldest version is that contained in the Dasaratha Jātaka,¹ in which Sītā is said to be Rāma's sister, Rāma is

¹ This was long ago recognized by A. Weber. See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. i, p. 121.

banished to the Himālaya, being accompanied by her and Lakṣmaṇa—under much the same story of palace intrigue as that told by Vālmīki,—and returns to reign after twelve years. He then marries his sister Sītā, and they live happy ever afterwards. She is not abducted by anyone, and there is no mention either of Hanumān or of Rāvaṇa.

The second strand of the epic belongs to Southern India, where there grew up a cycle of legends¹ about a grand and noble Brāhmaṇa hero, Rāvaṇa.² Most of these stories are said to be collected in the Jaina Rāmāyaṇa of Hēmacandra, a work which I have not seen, and which is described by our author as far more a history of Rāvaṇa than of Rāma. On the other hand, a Buddhist work—the Lankāvatāra Sūtra—narrates a long discourse which Rāvaṇa held with the Buddha, and claims him as a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism! He was thus revered by Hindūs, Jainas, and Buddhists alike.

The third strand was the floating group of legends related to ape-worship once widely current in India. In these Hanumān was at first connected with Śaivism, and there are still extant stories telling how Śiva made him over to Lakṣmaṇa for service under Rāma. Even at the present day it is not only the devotees of Viṣṇu who adore him, and Śaivas, but the crypto-Buddhists of Orissa claim him as a powerful divinity.

From materials taken from each of these three sources Vālmīki welded together his immortal poem. He refused sanction to the ancient legend that the Sītā whom Rāma married was his sister, but gave no hint as to her parentage. This was supplied in later works, such as the Adbhuta

¹ We find much of this in that portion of the *Uttara Kāṇḍa* which Jacobi calls the *Rāvaṇeśa*.

² Numerous temples in Southern India are said to have been founded by Rāvaṇa (see *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, i, 190, 454 n. 1; XV, ii, 76, 290ff., 341). He is said to have performed his celebrated austerities at Gokarna, in Kanara (Bombay Presidency), a district which abounds in legends about him. Some of these have spread to very distant parts of India. For instance, the story of the loan to him of Śiva's "self-linga" (*Gaz.* XV, 290) reappears in the Kāshmirī Rāmāyaṇa.

Rāmāyaṇa—a wonderful collection of old and fantastic traditions—in which she is described as the daughter of Mandôdarī, the wife of her abductor.¹

After thus discussing the origins of the Rāma-saga, and its development by Vālmīki, the Rai Saheb proceeds to the main subject of his work—the Rāmāyaṇas of Bengal. None of them are translations of the Sanskrit epic. Like the celebrated *Rāma-carita-mānasa* of Tulasī Dāsa, each author tells his story in his own way, weaving into it his own thoughts and ancient traditions current in his neighbourhood. They secured their general popularity by the thorough Bengalization of their theme. The scenery, the manners and customs, the religious rites, the very food, although placed in Lankā, are all those familiar to Bengal. The most famous, and one of the oldest, of these Rāmāyaṇas is that of Kṛttivāsa (fourteenth century). All these features are already found there, but later writers, falling under the influence of the Vaiṣṇava revival of Caitanya, not only filled their poems with Vaiṣṇava doctrine and with theories about *bhakti*, but even transferred legends concerning Caitanya to pseudo-prototypes in the war before Lankā.² Space will not permit me to mention all

¹ Vide JRAS., 1921, p. 422. This story appears to have been widely spread. It is popular in Kashmīr. According to the Jaina *Uttara Purāṇa*, quoted by our author, she was a daughter of Rāvaṇa himself.

² The Bengali version of the conversion of the hunter Vālmīki is worth noting for the light it throws on the connexion of Bengali with Māgadhi Prakrit. Nārada tried to teach him to pronounce Rāma's name, but he could not do so, owing to sin having paralysed his tongue. Nārada succeeded in getting him to say *maḍā* (pronounced *marā*), meaning "dead". This is the Māgadhi Prakrit *maḍa-* (Vr. xi, 15). It is peculiar to the Bengali language, the more western word being *marā*. Nārada next got him to use this western pronunciation, and to repeat the word rapidly several times,—thus, *marāmarāmarāmarā*. It will be seen that in this way Vālmīki, without his paralysed tongue knowing it, uttered the word *Rāma*, and thus became sufficiently holy to become converted. Á propos of the *bhakti* influence, on page 127, there is a story about Nizāmu'd-dīn Auliā and a robber, which recalls the finale of the Tannhäuser legend. The robber is told that he cannot hope for forgiveness till a certain dead tree bears leaves. In process of time he does feel true repentance, and the dead trunk becomes at once covered with green leaves from top to bottom.

Kṛttivāsa's successors. Each had his own excellencies and his own defects. I therefore confine myself to calling attention to the incomplete Rāmāyaṇa of the Mymensingh poetess Candrāvati. In one of her poems she tells her own beautiful and pathetic story, and there can be no doubt but that her private griefs, nobly borne, inspired the pathos with which her tale of Sītā's woes is distinguished. It is interesting that, like one or two other authors, she ascribes Sītā's banishment to Rāma's groundless jealousy. A treacherous sister-in-law, a daughter of Kaikēyī, named Kukuā, persuaded Sītā, much against her will, to draw for her a portrait of Rāvaṇa. She then showed this to Rāma as a proof that his wife loved, and still longed for, her cruel abductor. This story was not invented by the poetess. It must have been one of those long orally current, but not recorded by Vālmīki or by the writer of the seventh book of the Sanskrit poem, for it reappears in the Kāshmīrī Rāmāyaṇa to which I have previously alluded.

A few words may also be devoted to another curious version of the old tradition. Under various orthodox names Buddhism has survived in Orissa to the present day, and, in the seventeenth century, one Rāmānanda openly declared himself to be an incarnation of the Buddha, and, to prove it, composed a *Rāma-līlā*, or Rāmāyaṇa. I have already alluded to the fact that Hanumān was worshipped by these Orissa Buddhists. It need not therefore surprise us that Rāmānanda stated that he wrote his book under the ape-god's inspiration.

I have drawn attention to only a few features of this excellent work, in the hope that my remarks will induce those interested in the subject to buy the book and study it for themselves. It deserves attention, even if we do not accept all that its author wishes to prove. As a collection of hitherto unknown facts bearing on the development of the Rāma-saga in Bengal it is unique.

I have, however, one serious criticism to offer to the consideration of the authorities of the Calcutta University. It

does not refer to the matter of the work, but to the dress in which it appears. The book comes from a University Press, and a University Press should be impeccable. Unfortunately, this book is disfigured by numerous misprints and by inconsistencies in the transliteration of Indian words. For some of these the author will, I am sure, admit his responsibility, but, even so, we may ask where was the Press proof-reader? It is the duty of a professional proof-reader to cultivate a lynx-eye not only for blunders of the compositor (and there are many of these), but also for evident slips of the author. Had this book issued from an ordinary Calcutta Press, I should have accepted the inevitable and have said nothing. But from a University Press!

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

CAMBERLEY.

21st June, 1921.

ARABISCHE SYNTAX. By H. RECKENDORF. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, viii + 567 pp. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1921.

This lengthy work is the product of vast industry, the treatment of the subject is extremely full, and each rule is exemplified by a number of examples from authors of the best period, in the original Arabic with a translation.

Unfortunately the author has disdained the use of those typographic devices which are so essential in the treatment of a complicated subject like Arabic syntax, and has printed the whole of his book, main rules, subsidiary rules, exceptions, translations of examples, etc., in the same sized type, with the result that it is practically impossible to see the wood for the trees. The excellent analytical table of contents atones to a certain extent for this defect, but even with this the book is of little use to the beginner. As a work of reference or dictionary of syntactical niceties it will no doubt be of permanent value. It is provided with three indices, of subjects, words, and Arabic grammatical technical terms, the last particularly full.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

THE ARABIAN PROPHET. A Life of Mohammed from Chinese Sources. By ISAAC MASON. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, 17 + 315 pp. Plates 20. Shanghai : 1921. London : Luzac, 1921.

This interesting little book is a translation of *The True Annals of the Prophet of Arabia*, by Liu Chih of Nanking, who compiled it from various Arabic works, and finally completed it in A.D. 1724. It is adorned with a number of photographs of Mohammedan buildings in China and pages of bilingual Arabic-Chinese devotional books.

Liu Chih's work on the whole closely follows the original Arabic, but there are occasional interesting divergencies on points where Chinese susceptibilities might be upset by the real facts. The most interesting of these are concerned with the Prophet's matrimonial ventures. His taste, as is well known, ran principally in the direction of widows and *divorcées* ; but in the Chinese account all these ladies become virgins, who, conscious of the high destiny awaiting them, refuse numerous advantageous offers of marriage in order to keep themselves unsullied for the Prophet.

There are certain curious chronological points in connexion with the book which deserve fuller examination than they have hitherto received. The earliest dates in the history of Mahommedanism are pitched about twenty-four years too early. This would seem to indicate that the first historical work on the early history of Mahommedanism was written by some Chinese scholar, who was not aware that the Mahommedan year was a lunar one, in about the year A.H. 800 (A.D. 1498). An attempt to reckon back from about this year would produce the necessary error in the dates of Mahommed's life. Mr. Mason would add much to the value of his Mahommedan studies if he could trace the earlier works on which Liu Chih must have founded his book. He would also be doing a great service to science if he could discover and record briefly any early Arabic books in China ; there is always the possibility of discovering works which have been lost elsewhere in the libraries of the outer fringes of Islam.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

POST-BIBLICAL HEBREW LITERATURE, AN AUTHOLOGY. Vol. I, Text, Notes, and Glossary; Vol. II, English Translation. By B. HALPER, M.A., Ph.D. 8 x 5½, 300 and 251 pp. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1921.

In 1840 the late Joseph Zedner (keeper of the Hebrew books at the British Museum) published his *Auswahl historischer Stücke aus hebräischen Schriftstellern* with vocalized text and translation, and in 1887-95 the late Dr. Neubauer's two volumes of *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles* appeared, but without translation. Whilst the former was an interesting and instructive reading book, the latter was meant to provide the research student with reliable texts of works either unpublished, or not critically edited. Both works are now surpassed, but not superseded by Dr. Halper's Authology, which, not being confined to one branch of literature, is much more comprehensive, and provided with translation, critical notes, and a glossary of difficult words. Each extract is headed by a brief literary introduction. There is more in it than in the two other works, since it contains specimens of nearly every branch of literature, such as Talmud and Midrash, gnomology, liturgy, poetry, tales, legends, philosophy, ethics, politics, and grammar. The compiler deserves praise for not having confined his selections to famous authors, but to have also considered less-known writers whose works are worthy of being saved from oblivion, but whose chances of being published entirely are not very great.

Dr. Halper justly complains that no critical editions of many important works of mediaeval Jewish writers exist. This is unfortunately the case with Sa'adyah's, Bahya b. Baquda's, and, in some respect, even Maimuni's philosophic treatises. The printed editions of their Hebrew translations are so badly made, that they are practically useless for study unless read side by side with their Arabic originals. The evil effect of these conditions is visible in works

on the history of philosophy, which drew their information from modern translations based on these Hebrew versions. The force of this argument is fitly illustrated by instances of Maimuni's *Guide of the Perplexed*, of which our compiler gives an interesting specimen. The word אומה, discussed on p. 248 is to be found in a MS. in the possession of the present writer, a MS. which had remained unknown to the editors both of the Arabic original and the Hebrew translation, but is only a dittography, or rather revised reading of כח. In Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew version a word is missing corresponding to the Arabic والبحث which Al Harize rightly translates by והחקירה. Further והתנברות should be והתנבר as translation of وتسكط. The word ולחפשה should be replaced by והפוששה and the translation should run: "The mind strives to seek the truth thereof, and its investigation is found with every class of thinking men." p. 119, l. 55, the correct reading is להנדילם corresponding to the original تعظيمها.

Wherever the editor vocalizes his texts he does so with the care and correctness to be expected from so tried a scholar. The notes are full and clear, and show his great familiarity with all the subjects concerned. For אצין it might be better to read אצין (الصين) the *aliph* of the Arabic article being commonly omitted in the spelling of North African Jews owing to phonetic writing. The editor is heartily to be congratulated on his publication, which is eminently suitable for academic use. Its only drawback is that it is not of greater bulk.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Professor Ignaz Goldziher

On 13th November, 1921, the *Royal Asiatic Society* lost one of the most distinguished of its Honorary Members by the death of Ignaz Goldziher, Professor at the University of Budapest, who was perhaps the greatest authority on Mohammedan theology that the world has ever seen. He was born in 1850 at Székes-Fehérvár (called by the Germans Stuhlweissenburg) in Hungary, and after studying Semitic languages both in his own country and in Germany received his Doctorate at Leipzig in 1870. Three years later he spent some time in the East, and succeeded in realizing an ambition which he had long cherished—the privilege of attending lectures at the Azhar in Cairo. On his return to Europe he soon acquired a world-wide reputation as an Orientalist, but the fact that he was a Jew rendered him an object of suspicion to the bigoted rulers of Hungary, and it was not till 1894 that he obtained a Professorship. In spite of the ungenerous treatment which he had received from his fellow-countrymen he was, throughout the whole of his career, a fervent patriot.

Of his numerous publications it is impossible here to give any adequate account. His reading was of enormous extent, and he never treated any subject without throwing fresh light upon it, for he possessed, in a high degree, the faculty of selecting out of the vast mass of details that lay before him those which were of real interest. Among his contributions to the study of Arabic poetry it is sufficient to mention his edition of the *Diwān* of Jarwal ibn Aus al-Huṭai'ah (published originally in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society and afterwards in a separate form, 1893), and his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (1896, 1899). But by far the most important of his works are those which deal with the origin and internal development of Islām, in particular his

Muhammedanische Studien (1889, 1890) and his *Vorlesungen über den Islām* (1910). Here, as in everything that he wrote, his standpoint is that of a strictly impartial scientific investigator, and for this reason the conclusions at which he arrived will be pleasing neither to the blind admirers nor to the fanatical opponents of the Mohammedan religion. It had long been recognized, not only by European scholars, but also by intelligent Mohammedans, that the books of Sacred Tradition, such as the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and the other so-called "canonical" collections of *Ḥadīth*, contain much that is untrustworthy. Nevertheless it may be truly said that Goldziher was the first to discover how large a part of the Sacred Tradition was deliberately fabricated in the interest of one or another of the various parties which arose during the first three centuries after the Prophet. Moreover, Goldziher had the merit of pointing out in detail the influence exercised by other religious systems, in particular by Christianity, Gnosticism, and Neoplatonism, on the development of Mohammedan theology. Thus we are now enabled to perceive, much more clearly than was possible forty years ago, that Islām, as it has existed from the Middle Ages to the present day, is an amalgam of many elements which are often quite inconsistent with one another.

Most of Goldziher's writings were published in German, but unfortunately some of them remain shrouded in the impenetrable obscurity of the Hungarian language. It is most earnestly to be wished that all his contributions to learning should, as soon as possible, be rendered generally accessible to Orientalists, for even his briefest articles have a permanent value.

To him we may apply, in the deepest and truest sense, the verse of al-Ḥusain ibn Muṭ'air—

Fatan 'īsha fī ma'rūfihī ba'da mawtihi

Kamā kāna ba'da 's-saili majrāhi marta'ā.

A. A. BEVAN.

Sir 'Abdu'l-Baha 'Abbas

DIED 28TH NOVEMBER, 1921.

The death of 'Abbás Effendi, better known since he succeeded his father, Bahá'u'lláh, thirty years ago as 'Abdu'l-Bahá, deprives Persia of one of the most notable of her children and the East of a remarkable personality, who has probably exercised a greater influence not only in the Orient but in the Occident than any Asiatic thinker and teacher of recent times. The best account of him in English is that published in 1903 by G. P. Putnam's Sons under the title of the *Life and Teachings of Abbas Effendi*, compiled by Myron H. Phelps chiefly from information supplied by Bahiyya Khánam. She states that her brother's birth almost coincided with the "Manifestation" of Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad the Báb (24th May, 1844), and that she was his junior by three years. Both dates are put three years earlier by another reputable authority,¹ but in any case both brother and sister were mere children when, after the great persecution of the Bábis in 1852, their father Bahá'u'lláh and his family were exiled from Persia, first to Baghdád (1852-63), then to Adrianople (1863-8), and lastly to 'Akká (St. Jean d'Acre) in Syria, where Bahá'u'lláh died on 28th May, 1892, and which his son 'Abdu'l-Bahá was only permitted to leave at will after the Turkish Revolution in 1908. Subsequently to that date he undertook several extensive journeys in Europe and America, visiting London and Paris in 1911, America in 1912, Budapest in 1913, and Paris, Stuttgart, Vienna, and Budapest in the early summer of 1914. In all these countries he had followers, but chiefly in America, where an active propaganda had been carried on since 1893 with very considerable success, resulting in the formation of important Bahá'í centres in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and other cities. One of the most notable practical results of the Bahá'í ethical teaching in the United States has been, according to the recent testimony

¹ See E. G. Browne's *Materials for the Study of the Bábi Religion* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 320-1.

of an impartial and qualified observer, the establishment in Bahá'í circles in New York of a real fraternity between black and white, and an unprecedented lifting of the "colour bar", described by the said observer as "almost miraculous".

Ample materials exist even in English for the study of the remarkable personality who has now passed from our midst and of the doctrines he taught; and especially authoritative are the works of M. Hippolyte Dreyfus and his wife (formerly Miss Laura Clifford Barney), who combine intimacy and sympathy with their hero with sound knowledge and wide experience. In their works and in that of Mr. Myron H. Phelps must be sought those particulars which it is impossible to include in this brief obituary notice.

E. G. B.

Robert Watson Frazer, LL.B.

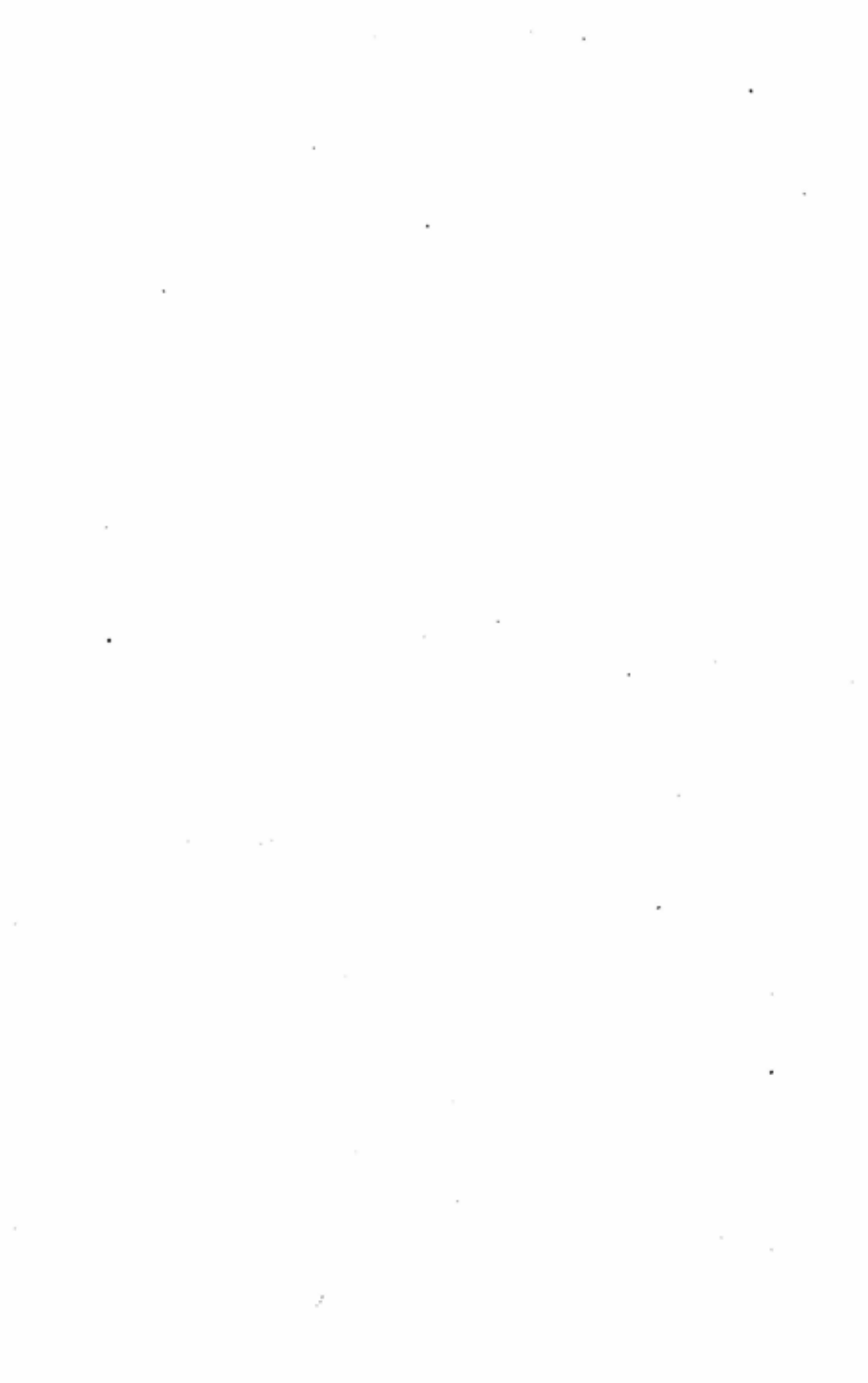
The world of Indian studies is poorer by the death of Mr. Frazer, a man of very wide reading and interests, acute intuitions and refined literary taste. He had been connected with the Society in several ways, both personally as member (1886-1918), member of Council from time to time, and secretary, and also through his marriage with Miss Hughes (1917), whose long service as secretary is so appreciatively remembered. His studies were concerned mainly with the Dravidian languages, especially the Telugu and Tamil, in which he was lecturer at University College, London, during over thirty years (1885-1916), and at the School of Oriental Studies from 1917 to 1919. He had also a good knowledge of the Sanskrit literature, especially in the sphere of philosophic and religious ideas, and he was intimately acquainted with Indian life. Of his publications the ablest and most interesting was no doubt the last, *Indian Thought, Past and Present* (1915), a work of ripe reflection and wide knowledge. His *Literary History of India* (1898) was stimulating, and, in illustrating the Dravidian literatures in connexion with the Sanskrit, original. *Silent Gods and Sun-steeped Lands*

(second edition 1896) shed interesting lights upon the social life of the Telugu country. In 1897 he wrote the *Story of India* in the well-known series, and in 1907 he compiled for the League of the Empire a Text-book of Indian History.

By birth (1854), temperament, and intellect, Mr. Frazer was an Irishman. He belonged to a notable group of the famous Professor Atkinson's pupils in the Dublin University, who have contributed in an eminent degree to the knowledge of Indian languages, sociology, and history. His work as an Indian civilian (1877-86) was unfortunately cut short by ill-health. Returning to England, he became Principal Librarian and Secretary of the London Institution, as well as Lecturer at University College. In the transfer of the Institution's building to the School of Oriental Studies he played, by way of initiation and influence, an important part. Pensioned in consequence of the transfer, he returned in 1917 as lecturer in Telugu and Tamil, a post which he finally resigned in 1919. As recently as the latter year he was appointed (by the India Office) to the Governing Body.

F. W. T.

The Society has just sustained a loss in the person of Mr. Longworth Dames, a much-esteemed member of Council. An obituary notice will appear in the April Journal.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(November, 1921-January, 1922)

The following honorary members have been elected by the Council :—

Monsenhor Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, Professor de Sanscrito na Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Shāstrī, C.I.E., M.A., Professor of the University of Dacca.

Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Sāstrī, Curator of the Department for the Publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Trivandrum.

The following seventy-six have been elected as members during the quarter :—

Mr. Ali Afzal.

Mr. S. A. Ahmed.

Mr. Md. Z. Ali, M.A.

Mrs. F. Ayscough.

Mr. M. S. D. Azar.

Mr. R. Basak, M.A.

Major W. Cyprian Bridge.

Monsieur P. Cardeillac.

Prof. T. Chand, M.A.

Mr. S. C. Chakravarty.

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee.

Mr. N. Mohan Chatterjee.

Mr. M. S. Cheema.

Mr. O. A. K. C. Chetty.

Mr. J. D. Darnvalla.

Mr. S. N. Das-Gupta.

Mr. Susil Kumar De.

Pandit B. Dutta, Shastri.

Mrs. A. de Zoete Elliot.

Mr. I. H. N. Evans.

Babu C. B. Gahlot.

Babu J. C. Ghatok, M.A.

Mr. Ong Thye Ghee.

Maj. G. W. Gilbertson.

Mr. F. N. Gilbert.

Mr. S. A. A. Gitani.

Most Rev. A. S. J. Goodier,
S.J., Archbishop of Bombay.

Mr. B. L. Sen Gupta.

Rev. E. Norman Harris.

Mr. J. H. Hutton, C.I.E.

Mr. W. H. Ingram.

Mr. C. St. John Ives.

Mr. B. V. K. Iyer, M.A.

Miss C. M. John.

Mr. K. C. Jones.

H.H. the Mir of Khairpur.

Mr. J. S. Khan, M.B.E.

Pandit C. B. Kishore.

Rai Sahib Pandit G. Lal.

Rev. J. V. Lewis, M.A., B.A.

Rev. J. I. MacDonald.

Mr. M. S. Mangalik.

Mr. Philip Mills.

Mr. K. R. A. Minhas.

Mr. K. R. Mirasdar.

Pandit B. P. Misra, M.A.	Mr. M. L. Sharman.
Mr. S. T. Mohammed.	Mr. H. K. Sherwani.
Capt. C. J. Morris.	Mr. L. F. Shroff, B.A.
Mr. Y. Nath.	Mr. G. P. Stavrides.
Miss F. Parbury.	Mr. E. de la M. Stowell.
Kunwar S. S. Parihar.	Mr. M. Subramanyam.
Mr. D. D. Parmar.	Mr. A. P. Tampi.
Mr. W. R. Plowes.	Mr. R. H. Tangri.
Mr. R. K. Pillai.	Mr. A. C. Trott.
Mr. J. T. Rankin.	Mr. V. V. Vadnerkar.
Mr. Md. J. Rehman.	Kunwar G. S. Varma.
Mr. Md. N. Rehman.	Mr. L. Rama Varma.
Mr. B. Rubenstein.	Mr. P. N. Lal Varma, B.Sc.
Mr. S. Sandapan.	Mr. B. J. Williams.
Mr. M. A. Varesi Sahib.	Mr. E. J. Williams.
Mr. G. Shankar.	

Nine members have resigned during the quarter :—

Dr. M. B. Davar.	Prof. Nasiri.
Mr. Deb.	Mr. H. Phipps.
Mr. Edwards.	Mr. Proctor.
H.H. the Thakor of Gondal.	Miss E. Trotter.
Mr. Jinaradasa.	

and three have died :—

Rev. W. Campbell.	Mr. A. Renjo.
Mr. C. Pittar.	

The Siamese Legation, at the request of H.R.H. the Prince of Chandaburi, has forwarded to the Society a gift of publications on Buddhaghosa's Commentary on Four Nikāyas of the Sūtantapitaka. These were issued by his Holiness the Supreme Patriarch of Siam, the late Prince Vajiranana.

Professor Margoliouth has presented to the Society 275 copies of an Arabic work which he has edited. It is by Muḥassin Tanukhi, and is a collection of anecdotes illustrating the political and social life of the Caliphate in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Lectures

Professor Sayce read a paper in November entitled "New Light from the East"; Mr. Campbell Thompson one on "Modern Babylonia" in December; and Dr. F. W. Thomas's paper in January is entitled "Notes on a recent tour in India". In February Colonel Hodson reads a paper on "Head Hunters at Home"; in March Mr. Lee Shuttleworth speaks on "Some Peoples and Religions of the Punjab Himalayas"; and in April Mr. Perceval Yetts describes "A Buddhist Pilgrim Shrine in China".

THE SOCIETY'S TUESDAY AFTERNOONS

It was agreed by Council that on every Tuesday, except on the second Tuesday in the month, the Council Room on the entrance floor should be open from 3.30 to 5.30 for the use of members and students wishing to meet other members. Tea may be obtained.

The Royal Asiatic Society's Public School Medal has been won by Geoffrey Francis Hudson, of Shrewsbury School, and the prize of books by Humphrey Charles Baskerville Mynors, of Marlborough College. The subject for competition was "The part taken by India in the late War". Owing to unforeseen circumstances the presentation of the gold medal and books has been postponed to February. Viscount Chelmsford has kindly consented to present the Medal and Prize.

Members are asked to sell or present the following numbers of the R.A.S. *Journal* :—

Old Series . . . 1842, Vol. XIII.
 1848, Pt. II.
 1861, Pt. III.

<i>New Series</i> . . .	1870, Vol. IV,	Pt. II.
	1873, Vol. VI,	Pt. II.
	1879, Vol. XI,	Pt. III.
	1881, Vol. XIII,	Pt. I.
	1882, Vol. XIV,	Pts. III, IV.
	1883, Vol. XV,	Pts. I, II.
<i>Present Series</i> . .	1885, Vol. XVII,	Pt. IV.
	1903, Pts. I, III.	
	1904, Pts. I, II, III.	
	1919, Pts. I-IV.	

LIBRARY FUND

A special Library Fund has been started for the purpose of buying, repairing, and binding books. The Librarian would welcome contributions to this fund as well as additions to the Library.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

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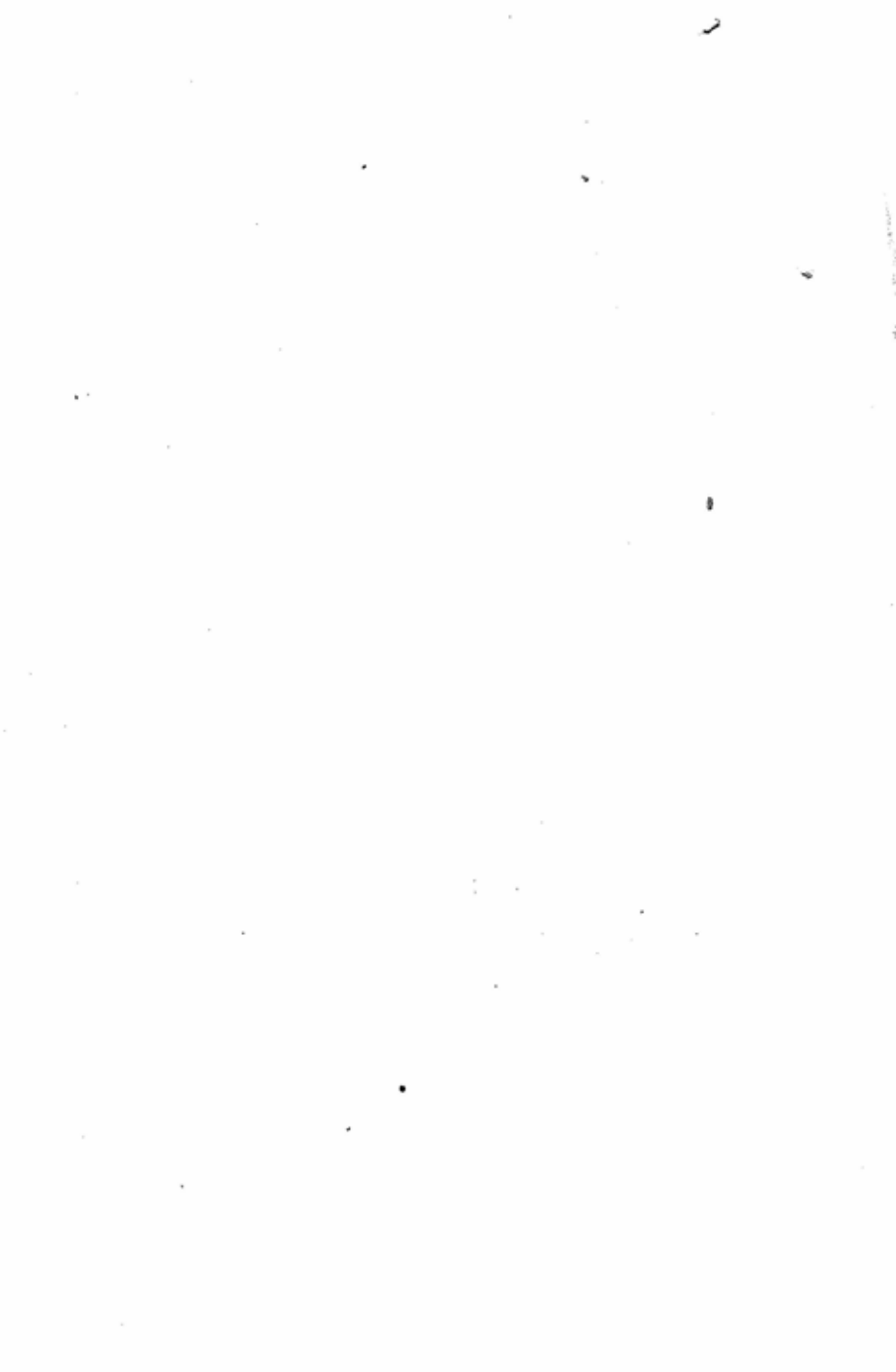
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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1922

PART II.—APRIL

An Unidentified Territory of Southern India

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A.

FREE intercourse with Malabar was long denied to the rest of Southern India by the formidable natural obstacle of the Western Ghats with their impenetrable fastnesses and few passes. Owing chiefly to this circumstance that part of the country remained to a great extent isolated and secure from frequent invasions by other southern powers. This isolation, coupled with the conservative nature of the people of this tract, accounts for the preservation intact of several ancient customs of the Indians. Even in later times, whenever there had been any general disaster affecting the whole of the Dekhan, such as an invasion by the Muhammadan kings of the Khilji and Taghlak lines, the west coast afforded a safe asylum to the rest of the south. There is nothing unnatural in the following exclamation of the poet-composer of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of the eleventh century A.D. :—

“Excepting Paramēśvara, who else in this world could contemplate even in mind the humiliation of that country which is protected by the glory of the crest jewel of the Bhṛgu race (i.e. Paraśu-Rāma) and the austerities of its chiefs, and which had not been injured by enemies.”

It was given to that sturdy warrior of the Chōla line, Rājarāja I, who braved and courted danger, to invade this tract and to conquer the country of Kollam and Kolla-dēsam, breaking for once the naval supremacy of the Chēras by destroying many of their ships at a place named Kāndaḷūr. Leaving open the question of the identity of the two places Kollam and Kāndaḷūr, about whose existence in Malabar there is not the least doubt, we may proceed to point out that the Chōla king was accompanied in his expedition and assisted by his valiant son, Rājēndra-Chōla I, who later on carried further the intention of his father. There is every justification for declaring that Rājēndra-Chōla was the greatest of the Chōla sovereigns, greater even than many of those who stand prominently forth in the ancient history of India. By the success of his arms he was able to leave the Chōla empire much more extended than could have been thought possible. When his activities ceased, Chōla supremacy was acknowledged everywhere in the Dekhan. Chōla arms were felt in the Gangetic region, in the island of Ceylon, in distant Burmah, and in the several islands of the Indian Ocean. He even sent an embassy to far distant China, though what his intentions in that direction were it is not at present possible to fathom. The wars of Rājēndra-Chōla were mostly conducted by his eldest son, Rājādhirāja I. The latter, as is natural, records in the historical introductions of his inscriptions all the military feats performed by him, though in truth they were effected for Rājēndra-Chōla I and during that king's reign. The nomination of Prince Rājādhirāja to succeed Rājēndra-Chōla I appears to have taken place in A.D. 1018, although he actually came to rule in about A.D. 1045 and held the reins of government till A.D. 1050. It is impossible to conceive that in the short period of his actual rule of four or five years he could have done all that is claimed for him in his inscriptions. The isolation of which we have spoken accounts for the want of references to the political history of the Chēras in the historical documents of other

parts of southern India. There is thus dearth of information in early Chōla and Pāṇḍya records regarding the territorial divisions of the west coast.

One such division that still remains to be identified occurs in the historical introductions of the inscriptions of the Chōla king Rājākēsarivarman Rājādhirāja I. After conquering the Pāṇḍyas this Chōla sovereign is said to have marched against the Chēra country. The feats performed by him in that quarter are described in the following words¹ :—

Olgaḷ-il Vēṇāṭṭ-araśai-chchēṇāṭṭ-oḍukki
mēvu-pugaḷ-Irāmaḱuḍa-mūvar-keḍa-muṇindu
viḍaḷ² -keḷu-Villavan kuḍar-maḍi-kkoṇḍu taṇ-
nāḍu-viṭṭ-ōḍi = kkāḍu-pukk-oḷippa
vaṇṇiy-am-pudu-malar malaind-āṅg-eṇṇal-il
vēlai-keḷu Kāndaḷūr-chchālai kaḷam aṟuttu.

The whole of the passage extracted here relates to a distinct campaign of the king. A translation will show the order in which the events of this campaign took place :—

“ Having despatched the irreducible king of Vēṇāḍu to heaven (or to a distant country) and having fought (so fiercely) as to destroy the three (kings) of the famous Irāmaḱuḍam, and the powerful Villavan (i.e. the Chēra) having run away carrying his folded bowels, abandoning his country, and hid himself in forests, (the Chōla king) put on (a garland of) beautiful fresh *vaṇṇi* flowers (as token of his victories) and then destroyed the large (number of) ships (floating) on the sea at Kāndaḷūr-chchālai.”

In his *South-Indian Inscriptions*³ Dr. Hultsch has translated the passage as under :—

“(He) sent the undaunted king of Vēṇāḍu to the country of heaven and destroyed in anger the three (princes) of the famous Irāmaḱuḍam. While the strong Villavan (i.e. Chēra)

¹ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. iii, pt. i, No. 28, text-ll. 2 ff.

² Another reading of this word is *mūḍaḷ*.

³ See vol. iii, p. 56.

was attacked by pains in the bowels, fled from his country and hid himself in the jungle, (the Chōla king) destroyed (his) ships (at) Kāndaḷūr-Śālai on the never-decreasing ocean as (easily as he) would have put on a beautiful fresh flower of the Vañji (tree)."

It will be seen that my rendering of the passage differs in some respects from that given by Dr. Hultsch. I take *odukki*, *minindu*, *malaindu*, and *aruttu* as past participles; consider that *kalam* has two adjuncts, viz. *vēlai-kēlu* and *Kāndaḷūr-Chchālai*; and regard *maḍi* as an adjective qualifying *kuḍar*. The material difference is that the Chēra king did not run away from the field of battle, abandoning his country, because he had pains in his bowels, but that he fled, not being able to stand against the enemy. Though it may not be incorrect to take *maḷaindāngu* to mean "as he would put on", it is more appropriate to separate the compound and make *malaindu* a finite past participle. Being left without opponents, the Chōla king put on the garland of *vañji* flowers as token of his victory. *Āngu* means "when", i.e. "at the time or place".

The proper names that occur in the passage extracted above are Vēṇāḍu, Irāmakuḍam, Villavaṇ, and Kāndaḷūr-Chchālai. Though difference of opinion exists as regards the derivation of the word Vēṇāḍu, there is so far none as to what it denotes. It signifies the country comprising the Travancore State. The late Mr. Sundaram Pillai made the following note on Vēṇāḍu¹ :—

"Vēṇāḍu is one of the twelve districts of low or vulgar Tamil according to Tamil grammarians. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* makes it one of the divisions of Kēraḷa. It is derived from *vēḷ* 'love or desire', either directly or through *vēṇ*. Vēṇāḍu would mean, therefore, 'the land of love or the lovely land.'"

The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao expressed the view that Vēṇāḍu should be divided into *vēḷ* and *nāḍu*, and that it means

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxiv, p. 254, n. 21.

the country of the Vēls. He was of opinion that there was no justification for taking Vēnmaṇṇan as the ruler of Vēṇ.¹

Though it is not improper to regard Vēṇāḍu as a compound of Vēḷ and nāḍu and interpret it as the country of the Vēls, yet the special application of the term Vēṇāḍu to a particular country ruled by one of the several families of Vēls—and not to others—would clearly indicate that the proper division of the compound Vēṇāḍu is Vēṇ and nāḍu. If it is incorrect—and it is so—to call by the term Vēṇāḍu the country of Kōṇāḍu, of which Koḍumbālūr was the principal town, of Milāḍu, of which Tirukkoilur was the capital, of Parambunāḍu and several others which were ruled by Vēḷ chiefs, its separation into vēḷ and nāḍu is open to serious objection. In this connexion it is also worthy of consideration that the Tamil grammars call the country by the mere name Vēṇ.

Of the other names, *Villavan* stands for the Chēra, whose emblem was the bow; and *Kāndaḷūr-Chchālai* for a port town in the Chēra territory.

Now as regards the country indicated by the term Irāmaḱuḍam. The word may be split up into either *Irā* and *maḱuḍam* or *Irāma* and *kuḍam*. The first does not yield much sense, while the second admits of a better meaning, as will be shown below. In the latter case, the Sanskrit equivalents of the two words, of which the name is the compound, are *Rāma* and *ghaṭa*. Hence, Irāmaḱuḍam of Rājādhirāja's inscriptions may answer to Rāmaghaṭa. It is not unlikely that in the numerous collection of the king's epigraphs in the Madras Epigraphist's office we may meet with another possible variant Irāmakaḱam, in which case *kaḱam* may be regarded as a simple adoption of the Sanskrit *ghaṭa*. And it may be noted that even in Tamil *kaḱam* is a synonym for *kuḱam*.

Having shown that Irāmaḱuḍam is the same as Rāmaghaṭa, we proceed to point out that the country indicated by the term Irāmaḱuḍam is the Mūshaka territory and to find out its modern representative. But, before doing so, it is

¹ *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. i, p. 188.

necessary to consider here a few statements in the *Mūshaka-vamśa*, from which extracts have been given in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*¹, which are of help in identifying and locating the country in question. It says :—

A Kshatriya having been killed by Paraśu-Rāma, his queen attempted to undergo *sati*; but the *purōhita* of the family dissuaded her and took her to a mountain cavern, where he kept her concealed. Here a rat, as big as an elephant, appeared to devour her, but was killed by the fire of her anger. The soul of it then appeared in the form of a Parvata-rāja and explained its behaviour. The queen soon brought to bed a male child. When he came of age, Paraśu-Rāma was pleased with him and crowned him king of the country in which the rat-mountain stood, and performed the *pañjābhishēka* ceremony by pouring potfuls of consecrated water on his head. On this account the prince acquired the name Mūshaka-Rāmaghaṭa. He chose for his minister Mahānāvika, a native of Māhishmatī, and made Kōla his capital. On his way to the capital he learnt that the town of Māhishmatī, which belonged to him and which is described as the capital of the Haihayas, had been taken by Mādhavavarman, the king of Magadha.

Shorn of the legendary garb in which it is clothed, the above account reflects the fact that at a remote age the Mūshakas were obliged by some stress of events to leave their country and to take shelter in the mountain fastnesses of the south. There may be a kernel of truth in the statement that Rāmaghaṭa's mother was a queen of the country in which Māhishmatī was situated, and that she was taken for safety to a southern hill where Rāmaghaṭa was born. This account of the queen-mother reminds us of what inscriptions state concerning the Chālukyan ancestor Vijāyaditya and of the Purāṇic account concerning the feud between Kārtavīry-ārjuna and Paraśu-Rāma. Since the husband of Rāmaghaṭa's mother, who was a ruler of a province, is said

¹ Vol. ii, pp. 87 ff.

to have been killed by Paraśu-Rāma and since Māhishmatī was a city in Mid-India, it may be thought that the city was included in his kingdom and that he was one of the hundred sons of Kārtavīrya and a brother of Sūrasēna.¹ The Purāṇas state that the town of Māhishmatī was founded by Mahishmat the fifth in descent from Haihaya, who was the fourth descendant of Yadu. This reference is only of use as indicating that the Mūshakas, who traced their line from one of this branch, must be Yādavas. So were the Kōlādiri kings of Irāmakuḍam.

The name Rāmaghaṭa, as applied to a king, may be regarded as a pure invention; and the story that Paraśu-Rāma anointed him king by pouring potsfuls of water may have been woven simply to account for the origin of such a queer name. We cannot consider that Rāmaghaṭa is anything more than an eponym, similar to Pallava, Chōḷa, or Pāṇḍya. It is not improbable that the name of the country was Kuḍam or Rāmakuḍam, as distinguishing it from Kuḍamalai-nāḍu (i.e. the Coorg Province), another southern territorial division. Further, it may be pointed out that Kuḍam is mentioned in Tamil grammars as the name of one of the outlying provinces where vulgar Tamil was in use; it figures along with Kuṭṭam (in Malabar) and Vēṇ (Travancore). With respect to the name Elimalai also the poet has similarly introduced the story of the huge rat, and its subsequent transformation into a king of mountains. The fact may be that the hill in whose cavern the Mūshaka queen was hid came to be called Elimalai by the Tamil inhabitants of the place. This substratum of fact may have excited the imagination of the poet to account for its names in the ingenious way he did. It is quite significant that, as soon as Rāmaghaṭa was anointed king of the region in which his mother was sheltered, his first thought was to

¹ That there is little possibility of this will be shown by the fact that the date of the movement of the Mūshakas from Mid-India to the W. Ghats, if it really occurred in early times, must have been after the reign of Khāravēla and before the date of the *Bharata-nāṭya-sāstra*.

recover Māhishmatī, which, he was informed, had been taken by Mādhavavarman, the king of Magadha. This statement makes the facts appear in their proper light. When a prince newly installed as ruler of a small territory on the west coast of the Deccan lays claim, all of a sudden, to the possession of a principal city in Mid-India, there must be a tale behind it. The fact seems to be that the town belonged to him originally, and the country whence his mother came, after her husband's death, lay in the Vindhyan region and had for its capital Māhishmatī. Kālidāsa¹ refers to Māhishmatī, and his reference takes us to the Narmadā river. Mr. Pargiter identifies it with Mandhata.² We have enough reason to believe that in early days the Mūshaka territory was located near the Vindhya mountains not far from the southern Kōsala and the Kalinga countries. From what is stated in the *Mūshakavamsa* it is clear that the Haihaya and the Chēdi countries were included in that of the Mūshakas. Another fact that is made plain is that the southern Mūshaka territory on the Malabar coast was not due to a gradual expansion of the original Mid-Indian territory. The establishment of the southern Mūshaka is in several respects analogous to the foundation of the Pallava power in the Deccan. In both cases the emigrants came from the north and were governors of provinces and held dependent positions under some suzerain power and were forced by circumstances to quit their homes. The truth of that part of the mythical account which states that the southern Mūshaka kings were able to get back the Haihaya and Chēdi countries which once belonged to them cannot be guaranteed.

Now a word about the time when the kingdom of Irāmakuḍam or the southern Mūshaka may have come into

¹ Verse 43 of canto vi of the *Raghuvamśa* runs as under:—

अस्याङ्गलक्ष्मीर्भव दीर्घबाहोर्माहिष्मतीवप्रणितम्बकाक्षीम् ।
 प्रासादजालैर्जलवेगिरम्यां रेवां यदि प्रेक्षितुमस्ति कामः ॥

² Colonel Todd identifies Māhishmatī with Chuli Maheswar.

existence supposing the statements of the book are based upon facts. In the second century B.C. the Kalinga king Khāravēla (173-160 B.C.) is said to have invaded the Mūshaka country, which lay to the west of Kalinga.¹ As we do not find a Mādhavavarman in the list of kings who ruled over Magadha down to the time of the Kalinga king Kharāvēla, the aggressor who caused the uprooting of the Mūshakas from their original home must be regarded as having flourished later than 160 B.C. It could not be much later. Since the Mūshakas are described in the *Bharata-nāṭya-sūtra*,² as Kalingas, it appears that the territory of the former had been annexed to, and was included in, that of the latter. Hence it may be concluded that the dispossession alluded to in the *Mūshakavamsā* had taken place some time prior to the date of the composition of Bharata's work and not long after the reign of Khāravēla. In the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, Mūshaka is mentioned along with Strīrājya and several other kingdoms of the Vindhyan region.³ It may be that the original Mūshaka country lay to the west of the southern Kōsala and extended along the Narmadā as far as the sea. In the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription (A.D. 601) of the Western Chalukyan king Maṅgalīśa Raṇavikrānta, it is said that Kirtivarman I, who reigned at the end of the sixth century A.D., defeated, among others, the kings of Kēraḷa, Gaṅga, Mūshaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramiḷa, and Chōḷa.⁴ It is not unlikely that the Mūshaka herein referred to denotes a southern power as it is mentioned along with the Kēraḷa, Gaṅga, and Pāṇḍya. The Mahābhārata groups the Mūshakas with distinctly southern countries, such as the Drāviḍa, Kēraḷa, Prāchya, and Vanavāsika.⁵

From the foregoing it may be observed that the Mūshakas originally occupied a territory in the Vindhyan region and subsequently moved southwards and permanently settled in

¹ *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, vol. i, p. 425.

² *Ibid.*, p. 148.

³ p. 148.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xix, p. 16.

⁵ Verse 58 of ch. 9, Bhīṣma-Parva: द्राविडाः केरलाः प्राच्याः मूषिका वनवासिकाः

the Deccan; that the Elimalai was the spot to which the Mūshakas repaired after they had been overthrown in Mid-India, and that over a small region a prince of the original Mūshaka line was installed king and the new kingdom came to be known as Rāmaghāṭa or Irāmakuḍam; and the kings themselves were styled Mūshikēśvaras or Rāmaghāṭa-Mūshikēśvaras. The hill of Elimalai was included in this new country of Irāmakuḍam. As a rule, the chieftains of the Deccan were lords of one or more divisions (*nāḍu*), possessed a favourite hill (*malai*) and a capital city (*ūr*). The principal hill of the Mūshaka king was the Elimalai, his *nāḍu* was Irāmakuḍam, and his capital Kōlam. Here it may be noted that the *Kēraḷōlpatti* gives four divisions of Malai-nāḍu. These are the Tuḷu, Kūpaka, Kēraḷa, and Mūshaka, whose other name, as we have now shown, was Irāmakuḍam. In the description of these there appear two versions, according to one of which the Mūshaka kingdom would extend from Kannetti to Cape Comorin, while according to the other it would comprise all the tract of land lying between Perumbulai and Pudukkottai. That the first of these versions is wrong and that the second correct will be evident from what has been said already and from what follows also.

A few points of geographical and historical interest are found in the *Mūshakavamsa*. We note them below. An attempt will be made at the same time to trace the modern representatives of places mentioned in the *Mūshakavamsa*, in the very tract of country where we located the ancient territorial division of Irāmakuḍam, as nothing else would prove better the correctness of the identification.

Kōlam, the capital of the kingdom, was on the bank of the river Prathanā. Starting from here, one has to cross in succession the two rivers, the Vaprā and the Killā, and proceed along the sea-coast to reach the mountain Elimalai. The temple at Chellūr, dedicated to Śiva, was built by one of the Mūshaka kings, Śatasōma by name. At Śambarapura, a suburb of this place, there is a famous temple of Viṣṇu.

The temple of Vaṭukēśvara at Ālasuddhi and that of Ahīraṇēśvara on the west bank of the Prathanā were constructed by Vaṭukavaraman and Ahīraṇa, two kings of the Mūshaka line. At the foot of the Elimalai, the city of Achalapattāṇa was founded by Achala, another Mūshaka king. On the bank of the Parushṇī river a battle once took place between the Kēraḷa king Raghupati *alias* Jayarāga and the Mūshaka king Īśānavarman II. A town named Nārāyaṇapuram was founded by king Kundavarman. One has to go southwards to reach the Kēraḷa country, and in this route lies the temple of Sugata (Buddha) at the holy and religious town of Mūlavāsa. Bhaṭasthalī and Marupura are two other places in the Mūshaka country. Religions with dreadfully opposed doctrines flourish harmoniously in the country of Rāmaghaṭa-Mūshikēśvara. Vaḷabha, another king of the Mūshaka dynasty, built the town of Mārāhi at the mouth of the Kiḷḷā river. This place became replete with articles of merchandise brought in ships from distant lands by foreign merchants. The king also erected high fort walls and cut a deep moat round the city of Vaḷabhapaṭṭaṇam, which was on the bank of the Prathanā river.

The Tamil equivalent of *mūshaka* being *eli*, the country indicated by the term must be the tract of land surrounding the Elimalai hill. As will be pointed out presently, this hill was known to early European and Muhammadan navigators and traders by various names more or less connected with the term *Eli*. The dental *l* of the word was sometimes changed into the lingual *ḷ* which gave rise to the name *Saptaśaila* applied to the same territory in some of the Sanskrit works such as the *Kēraḷa-māhātmya*. Local tradition also perpetuated this name. The rulers of the country were called *Kōlātiri-rājas*, i.e. kings of *Kōlam*. The suffix *tiri* is nothing but an adaptation of *śrī*.

Albērūnī (A.D. 970-1039) mentions the country of *Eli* and places it on the Malabar coast, immediately after *Manjarūr* and before *Sadarsa*. According to him the people of the place

were Śamaṇas, by which he may have meant either Bauddhas or Jains. The position assigned by this authority is the same as that furnished by another Muhammadan historian Rashid-ud-din. In the latter case Col. Yule observed that Sadarsa was a clear misreading for Fandarina. The correction is applicable to the reading of the passage from Albērūnī. The identity of Manjarūr, Hili, and Fandarina with Maṅgalur, Elimalai, and Pandalāyani, which are all stations in the Shoranur-Maṅgalur branch of the South Indian Railway, is beyond doubt. The most handy map that indicates the exact situation of all the three places with distances marked between them is the South Indian Railway map. Here it will be found that Pandalāyani (429 miles from Madras) is 58 miles south of Elimalai (486 miles from Madras), and that the latter is 66 miles south of Maṅgalur (551 miles from Madras). It may be noted that Pandalāyani is not different from Kōlam, the capital of the Mūshaka kingdom. In fact, there having existed in ancient times two famous cities bearing the same name Kollam, the distinction seems to have been made by terming the one Pandalāyani-Kollam and the other Kurakkēṇi-Kollam. Since the *Mūshakavaṃśa* says that Kōlam was on the bank of the Prathanā, the latter must be identical with the Agalappualai river, at whose mouth Pandalāyani is situated. Al Idrisī, writing about the eleventh century A.D., describes Fandarina as a town built at the mouth of a river where vessels from the Sindh cast anchor. The temple of Ahiraṇēśvara, which is said to have been built by the Mūshaka king Ahiraṇa on the west bank of the Prathanā, must therefore be looked for in the vicinity of Pandalāyani-Kollam.

Albērūnī observes that the people of this country were Śamaṇas, by which he must have meant that there were many Buddhists in the land. We have for consideration a few important references in this respect. The *Mūshakavaṃśa* states that a famous temple of Sugata (i.e. Buddha) existed at Mūlavāsa, which lay on the route to the Kēraḷa country from

Kōlam, the capital of the Rāmaghaṭa-Mūshakaśvaras. This temple was in a very flourishing condition in the time of king Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, belonging to the Yādava lineage, who ruled in about the ninth century A.D., and by whom it was greatly patronized. The plates from which we gather the above information give us also to understand that that king had a strong leaning to the cardinal points of the Bauddha religion, Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. After making a grant of land to the Buddhist temple at Mūlavāsa, the king, with a bowed head, implored his successors and the friends of their devotees in the following words :—

“ This meritorious dynasty of yours should not be ruined and this land should always be kept in heart and personally safe-guarded by you from time to time from the possibility of enjoyment by others. The God of Death, terrible with mouth wide open, is roaming near, awaiting his time ; and, as if to show him favour, his father, the lord of day, with quick marches, hurriedly leads away the remainder of your lives.”¹

The discovery by Monsieur Foucher, in distant Gandhāra, of an image of Buddha with an inscription engraved on its pedestal, stating that it was the figure of “ Lōkanātha of Mūlavāsa in the Dakṣiṇāpatha ” proves how widely known and in what great esteem this Buddhist *vihāra* was held in ancient times throughout the Buddhist world.² China's trade with the Malabar coast, especially with the region near about Elimalai and Quilandy, led to a settlement of Chinese Buddhists in that part of the country and to the foundation of Buddhist *vihāras*.

A word more has to be said regarding other religions that found favour among the people of Irāmakuḍam in early days. The *Mūshakavamsa* says, “ Religions with dreadfully opposed doctrines flourish harmoniously in the country of Rāmaghaṭa-Mūshakēśvara.” In this connexion, we have to draw attention to the fact that besides Hindus and Buddhists,

¹ *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. i, p. 193.

² *L'Iconographie Bouddhique*, par A. Foucher, pt. i, p. 105, pt. iv, No. 5.

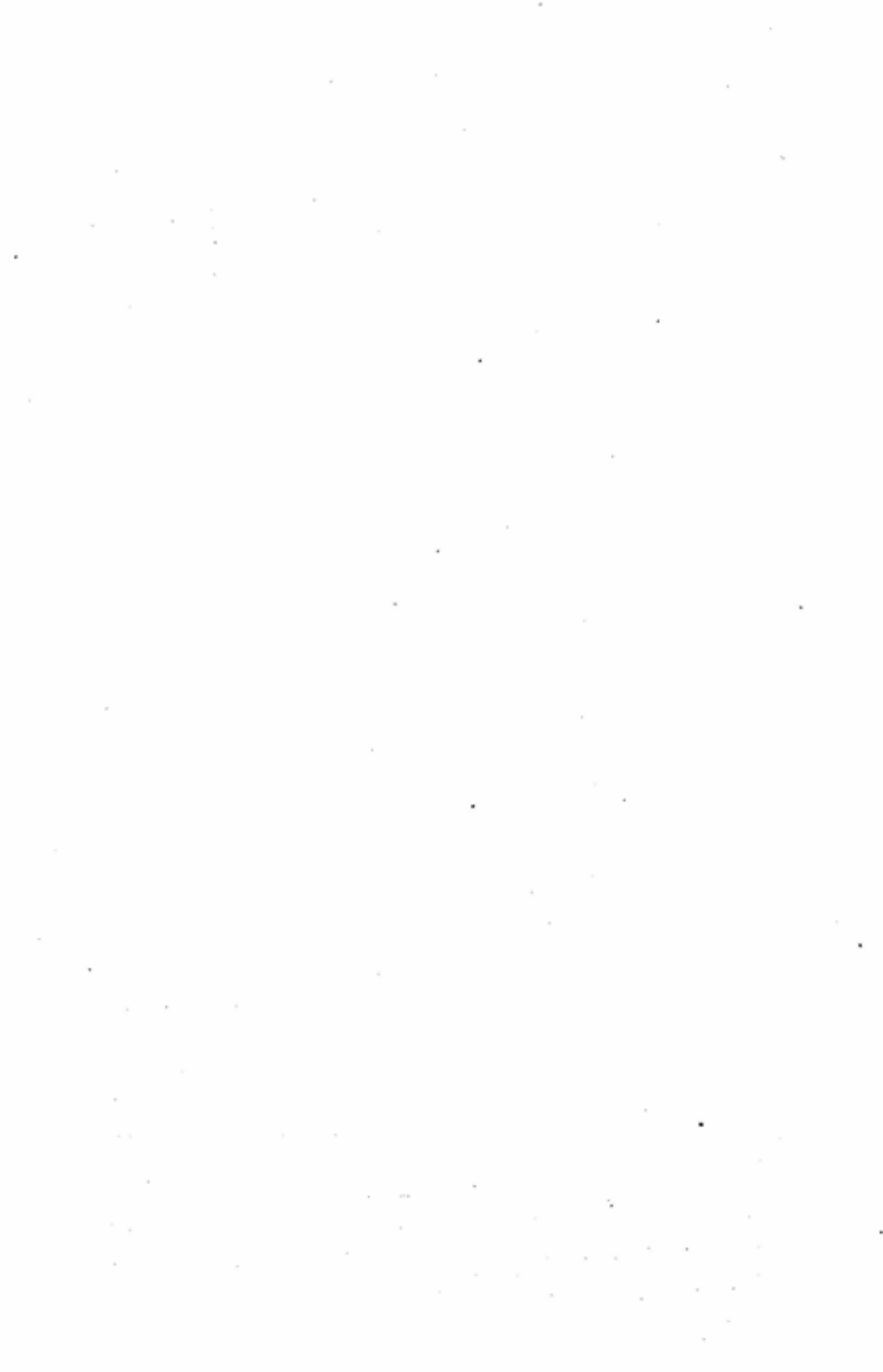
there was a large number of Jews, Christians, and Moors settled in the country. The Cochin Jews' grant of Bhāskara-Ravivarman of the tenth century A.D., the Kōṭṭayam plates of Sthānu-Ravi of the ninth century A.D., granting concessions and privileges to the founders of early Christian Churches at Quilon, and the Virarāghava-Chakravartin's tablet, allowing similar favours to Ravi-Korttan of Mahōdayarpattinam, reflect the tolerant spirit of the kings of Malabar and the establishment in the land of foreign settlements and religious institutions. Of early Muhammadan settlements and the Arab trade with the west coast, which continued without much obstacle till the appearance of Europeans any book relating to early European settlements will give an idea. Thus the statement as regards the religion of the country is amply borne out by facts that could be well established in history. Nothing needs be said concerning the antiquity of Christianity on the Malabar coast.

Marco Polo (A.D. 1293) states that Eli is a kingdom towards the west about 300 miles from Comari (Comorin). The people are idolators; pepper, ginger, and other spices grow in abundance; the kingdom is strong by nature; there is no proper harbour, but there are many great rivers; the ships of Manzi (China) and other countries come hither. Abul-Feida calls it Ras Haili, and says that it is a great mountain projecting into the sea and discerned from a great distance. Ibn Batuta (A.D. 1342-4) reached it after leaving Manjarūr (Mangalore). He describes it as a great and well-built city, situated on a large estuary accessible to great ships, and says that Chinese vessels call at it. Vasco De Gama, Nicolo Conti, and others visited the place. It was burnt by the Portuguese under Simon De Melo. This mountain city of Elimalai contains one of the oldest palaces of the ancient line of Kōlāttiri Rājas, at a very short distance from its northern shore, and is almost surrounded on all sides by water. The Nilēśwar and Elimalai rivers unite together immediately to the north of the mountain, flow southward, and then, taking

a turn, enter the sea. In its neighbourhood is the town of Cāchal-paṭṭaṇam—a settlement of foreign traders—which we may identify with the Achalapattana of the *Mūshakavamśa*, said to have been founded by Achala at the foot of the Eli mountain. The abode of Paraśu-Rāma referred to in the same work is probably represented by the modern Rāmantalli temple, lying close in under the mountain on its western or sea face. The town of Mārāhi, built by the Mūshaka king Vaḷabha at the mouth of the Kiḷḷā River, retains its name in the slightly altered form of Mādāyi. Colonel Yule has the following very interesting note on the place:—

“ When De Gama was on his way from Baticola (in Canara) to Cannanore, in his second voyage, a squall having sprung his mainmast, the Captain-major anchored in the bay of Marabia, because he saw there some Moorish ships, in order to get a mast from them. Indeed, the name of Marabia, or Marawi, is still preserved in Madavi or Madia, corruptly termed Maudoy, a township upon the river which enters the bay about 7 or 8 miles south-west of Mount De’ Ely, and which is called by De Barros the Reo Marabia. Mr. Ballard informs me that he never heard of ruins at Madai; but there is a place on the river just mentioned and within the Madai township, called Payaṅgāḍi which has the remains of an old fort of the Kōlātiri Rājas. A palace at Madai is alluded to by Dr. Gundert in the Madras journal, and a Buddhist *vihāra* is spoken of in an old Malayāḷam poem as having existed at the place. He gives an extract from Barbosa, wherein it is stated that Moors, gentiles, and Jews have long dwelt there.” We have only to note here that Palayangadi is a station in the South Indian Railway only 2 miles off Elimalai. It is situated on the bank of the Taliparamaba river, which must be the modern representative of the Kiḷḷā river referred to in the *Mūshakavamśa*.

From the above account it will be seen that Irāmakuḍam is the name given to the ancient Mūshaka kingdom on the west coast of the Dekhan, extending from Tuḷu or South Canara to the Keraḷa dominion.



Hittite Legend of the War with the Great Serpent

BY A. H. SAYCE

AMONG the Boghaz Keui tablets is one which, though terribly mutilated, is of considerable interest. It is the story of the war between the gods and the Serpent of Evil told from the Hittite point of view and connected with the institution of the festival of Purulliyas. The original text has been published in the *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi*, iii, No. 7. The following is my translation of it so far as it is preserved:—

Col. I.

1. umma D.P. Killa [AN-UT] . . . AL Perik
 Thus (speaks) Killa-Samsi [seer] of the city Perik.
 2. nebisas AN IM . . .
 'Tesub of heaven [has revealed]
 3. purulliyas uddar numân
 concerning the Purulliyas festival the word: accordingly
 4. kissan taranzi
 thus he repeats (it).
-
5. UD-NI-ya mâu sesdu nuwa
 "At dawn the cakes (?) let them receive; also
 UT-NI-e
 at dawn
 6. pakhsanuwan sesdu numân
 an alliance let them make." Accordingly
 7. mâi seszi nu EZEN
 the cakes (?) they received. So the festival
 purulliyas
 of Purulliyas
 8. iyanzi
 they celebrated.

9. mân AN-IM-as MUS Illa-yankass-a
Now Tesub and the serpent Illa-yankas
10. ina AL Kiskilussa argatieur
in the city Kiskilussa had joined in marriage.
11. nu-za MUS Illu-ânkas AN-IM AN-MES
Afterwards the serpent Illu-ânkas to Tesub gods
 [kh]asta
 bore.

12. AN-IM-as tass-a khuman[-das an-]da
 Tesub and she to all (of them)
13. mugit anda-ma
 gave instructions : "To
 Khattiya . . . ten
 the Hittite people be ye [kind]."
14. nu-za AN Inaras EZEN-an ieit
 Afterwards the god Inaras a feast made.

15. nu-khuman mekki khandait
 On a very great scale was it instituted.
16. wiyanas DUK palkhi MAR-NU-wandas
 Wine in barrels, milk
 DUK palkhi
 in barrels,
17. . . . rakhiyas DUK palkhi . . . [DUK] palkhas
 . . . in barrels, . . . in barrels
18. an[d]an iyâku (?) i[yanzi ?]
 there . . . [they had ?].

19. nu AN [Inaras] . . .
 So the god [Inaras] [feasted ?]
 zigguratt-a pait
 and to the temple-tower marched :

20. nu D. P. Khûpasiyan NISU-ALU-LU
and Khupasiyas the citizen
 uemit
he took (with him).
-
21. umma AN Inar D. P. Khûpasiya
Thus (spake) Inar to Khupasiyas :
 kâsawa
"As to this,
22. kieya kieya uddar iyami
this and that word I utter :
23. nu-wa mussan zigga-qa kharabkhut
to me also as to thee one was hostile."
-
24. umma D. P. Khûpaliya ana AN Inar
Thus (spake) Khupaliyas to the god Inar :
25. mâwa kitti-ti sesmi [nu]wa uwami
"A cake (?) for thee I receive ; so I am come :
26. kardias-tas iyami . . . si
thy offerings I make " [Accordingly] for him
 sesta
he received (it).
-

The next line begins: "Then Inaras to Khupaliyas," after which the tablet is broken. The commencement of Column II is lost: after a paragraph in which the words "back he came" (*makhkhat uit*) occur, we have:—

9. [um]ma AN Ina[ras] . . .
Thus (speaks) Inaras . . .
10. arkha wa[tkut ?] . . .
away he goes (?) . . .
11. sù ta . . .
 . . .
12. kharan . . .
a road (?) . . .

13. AN-IM-as u-salli . . .
Tesub magnify . . .
14. apâs nan nak . . .
he him . . .
-
15. AN Inaras ina AL Kiskilus[sa] . . .
Inaras in the city of Kiskilussa [remains ?];
16. [ana] BIT-SU khunkhuwanas pa[it]
to his temple the . . . goes,
17. [ana] qati sarri mân dâis
into the hand of the king when he had given
18. kha[n]teizziyan purul[liyan]
the first purulliyas
19. kuit iyaueni û qat [sarri ?]
which we made; and the hand [of the king ?]
20. AN Inaras khunkhuwanass-a a . . .
Inaras and the
-
21. KHAR-SAG Khaliyanu khûmandas khan[dis]
On the mountain Khaliyanus they all stood;
22. mân ina AL Perik kheûs
while in the city of Perik provisions
23. khinikta nu AL Periqqa-z
were abundant. So from the city of Perik
24. AMIL GIS-KHAT NIG khursin bêdâi
the scribe the mill ordered.
-
25. nu KHAR-SAG Kha[liyan]u kheiûn
On mount Khaliyanus the provisions
eikta
he devoured;
26. nan-si NIG [khursin . . .] bêdâi
him for it the mill [to use] he had ordered
27. nass-a . . . bêdâi
and he . . . ordered
-

Col. III.

4. nu-za TUR-SAL sa AMIL asiwandas
 After that the daughter of a friend
 5. ana DAM-SU dâs nu-za TUR-us
 to be his wife was given, and after that children
 khasta
 she bore,
 6. mânas sallista-ma
 and they had grown up;
 7. nu-za TUR-SAL MUS Illuyankas
 After that a daughter the serpent Illu-yankas
 8. DAM-anni dâs
 for a wife gave.
-
9. AN IM TUR-an watar-nakhhes-kizzi
 Tesub the son appointed as (his) envoy,
 10. mân-wa ana BIT DAM-KA pâisi
 saying: "to the house of thy wife thou shalt go.
 11. mân-wa-s-mass-a GÛ SAG sakuwaya
 And then also the flesh of the heart
 12. u-eik
 devour!"
-
13. mânas pâita nû-s-mas GÛ SAG
 Then they went, and they the flesh of the heart
 14. u-eikta nas-si bieir
 devoured; one to the other gave (it),
 15. abbizziyannas-mas sâ mawa[ya]
 and what remained of the cakes (?)
 16. u-eikta nû-ssi abêya bieir
 they devoured; to him there they gave (it).
 17. nat AN IM atti-ssi bêdas
 This to Tesub his father he offered.

18. nu-za-n AN IM-as GŪ SAG sakuwa-sseta
Thereupon Tesub the flesh of the heart aforesaid
 19. makhkhat-dâs
handed back.
-

20. mân êsre-ssi âppa
"If thou [prevailed?] forthwith
 21. karû ili atta SIG atta
to-day a god art thou; happy art thou."
 22. nas namma aruni zakhkhiya pait
He then to the sea to battle proceeded.
 23. mân-si zakhkhain pâis
Then with him battle he joined;
 24. nan-za namma MUS Illu-yankan
him afterwards, even the serpent Illu-yankas,
 25. tarakhkhûwan-dâis û TUR AN IM
he attacked, but the son of Tesub
 26. MUS Illu-yankas kittâ . . .
the serpent Illu-yankas over[powered];
 27. nu sarâ- . . . bi-si atti-ssi
so: "bring help to (me)" to his father
 28. khalzâis
he cried.
-

29. ammu-g tâpa anda eip
"To me assistance send!"
 30. lie-mu GI-EN-ZU wisi
not to me a support art thou!"
 31. nu-gan AN IM-as MUS Illi-yan[kan] . . .
So Tesub the serpent Illi-yankas [smote]
 32. û TUR-SU kuenta
and his son killed (him).
 33. nu-kâs apâ[ni?] AN IM-as . . .
Thus him Tesub [destroyed?].
-

34. umma Killa-[AN UD] . . .
 Thus (spake) Killa-[Samsi] . . .
35. mânass-a AN-MES . . .
 and they the gods [obeyed ?]

Col. IV.

Of the first three lines only the name of Perik is preserved. They probably introduced the priest Takhbutallis: "Thus (speaks) the priest Takhbutallis, the priest of Tesub of Perik."

4. . . . ana AMIL IM-ME Takhbutalli
 . . . to the priest Takhbutallis
5. [û a]na AN IM AL Perik
 [and] to Tesub of Perik
6. paiwini nuwa-ssa-n kuwabit
 we will go, and he it in return
7. esuwassati
 will bring to pass.
-
8. umma AMIL IM-ME Takhbutallis
 Thus (says) the priest Takhbutallis :
9. mâwassan TAK SU-O-BAR-A êstummat
 "The subari-stone of the cake (?) . . .
10. nu-za AMIL IM-ME mân bûl-tianzi
 Afterwards the priest when (?) he . . .
11. AMIL IM-ME an za li-nu-un kuis kharzi
 the priest . . . who took.
12. nuwa-ttar waser TAK SU-O-BAR-A kitta
 So they made (?) the cake (?) on the subari-stone ;
13. nas-san abiya esari
 he it there will have.
-
14. nu AN-MES-is khûmantes anda-aranzi
 So all the gods flock thither.
15. nu-za bûl-tianzi nu AN-MES-nas
 After that he . . . , the gods

16. khûmandass-a AL Kastama
and all the city Kastama's
17. AN Zaskhabunâs sallis
Zaskhabunas-deities are mighty.
-

The next four lines, in which mention is made of the city Tanibiya, are too mutilated for translation.

22. nu âppa khatrâ BE ina AL Tanibiya
So from henceforth as before in the city Tanibiya
23. A-SAG kueras SARRU-waz biyanza
the estate from the king is a gift.
-
24. VI kabunu A-SAG I kabûnu GIS-SAR
6 kabunu of field, 1 kabunu of orchard
SAR[-RI]
belonging to the king,
25. bit-tim û KIZLAKH III BIT-ZUN
a house and court, 3 houses
SAK amat-tim
belonging to the chief of the concubines
26. [a]abbi-ma êszi ammuga
theirs are; and to me
27. . . . na(?)s nakhkhân
. . . .
28. nu [ma ?]-i memakhkhun
So the cakes (?) I have described.
-

Colophon.

DUB I-KAM qati sa Killa-[AN UD]
First tablet by the hand of Killa-[Samsi]
AMIL IM-ME-usnas Kaskha AMIL [GIS-PA] pani
the priest; Kaskha the [scribe] before
Ur-makh RAB DUB-[SAR]-MES is-dhur
the Big-Dog the chief scribe has written (it).

NOTES

The composition does not say much for the literary ability of the Hittites. But the mutilated condition of the text may be partly answerable for this. Its object is to explain the origin of the Purulliyas-festival, which, it would appear, was instituted by the god Inaras, who thereby drew upon himself the hostility of Tesub (?) and Illu-yankas. But the loss of all the central part of the story prevents this from being certain, and renders it impossible to know what connexion there is between the earlier and later parts of the narrative. Eventually, however, the battle took place between the serpent and the son of Tesub, whom he had appointed to fight against her. She is the Tiamat of Babylonian cosmology, "the dragon" of the Apocalypse. But whereas in the Babylonian legend it is the god Merodach himself who contends with the dragon, the Hittite version like the Apocalypse makes it the deputy and representative of the god.

Illu-yankas is a compound of the Assyrian *ilu* "god" and the Hittite *yankas* "serpent". According to my decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions, in them also *agus*, *akus*, signified "snake", and gave a name to the deity *Agusimis*, who in the Tell Ahmar text (*Annals of Archaeology*, ii, 4, pl. xxxviii, 2) is called "Agusimis of Tyana" (D.P. *Agusimis Tuananis-mi*, with a picture of the serpent here accompanying the name of the deity). At Carchemish *Agusimis* is the monster-god who sits on a throne supported upon lions; his consort was *Agusaya*, whom Khammurabi in a poem of his own composition claims to have reconciled with the Babylonian goddess *Istar* and to have united the two divinities in one. *Ankas*, *agus*, are clearly the Indo-European *anguis*, ἄχης, our *eel*, though whether the borrowing of the word took place on the Indo-European or the Asianic side it is impossible to determine.

Purulliyas is a derivative from *puru*, which Professor Hrozný may be right in connecting with the Hebrew *Purim*. It was one of the chief Hittite festivals, and is called "the

great festival". As Hrozný remarks, it probably took place in the spring, since it immediately preceded the beginning of a campaign. In *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi*, ii, No. 7, 14-16, "five festivals" are enumerated—*khurpas*, *SE-khurbiya* (the festival "of the cold weather"), a lost name which is probably *purulliyas*, *lielas*, and URUDU-SU-QIN ("of copper-polishing").

Col. I.—1. Killa-[Samsi] is a name similar to that of Kili-Tesub, king of Kummukhi, according to Tiglath-pileser I. Perik seems to have been next to Boghaz Keui the most important city in the Hittite kingdom, and therefore, probably, an old capital. It is named in the Treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites. I would identify it with the modern Eyuk of Alaja, north of Boghaz Keui.

2. Hrozný is certainly right in rendering *nebis* "heaven". In K.A.B., iv, No. 1, 35-40, we read: *samanus kittan sa BABAR GUSKIN-ya dâir GUSKIN AL Bi . . . uteir BABAR kuzza-z uteir TAK ZAGIN KHAR-SAK Takniyara-z [uteir] TAK AS [sic]-SIR-GAL MAT AL Kaniskha-z uteir TAK GAB-SU-A MAT-AL Ilamda-z uteir TAK kunkunuzzin daganzipa-z uteir AN-BAR MI nebisas nebisa-z uteir URUDU UT-KA-BAR AL Alasiya-z KHAR-SAK Taggata-z uteir*, "For the columns silver and gold they gave; gold [from] the city of Bi . . . they brought; silver from the mine (?) they brought; lapislazuli from Mount Takniyara [they brought]; alabaster from the land of the city of Kanis (Kara Eyuk) they brought; ¹ *dusu*-stone from the land of the city Ilamda they brought; a jewel from the wine-cup they brought; black meteoric iron from heaven they brought; copper and bronze from the city of Alasiya, from Mount Taggata, they brought."

5. I have not found *mâu*, *marwa*, elsewhere, and my translation is a mere guess.

¹ Dr. Scheil has shown that *assirgallum* denotes "alabaster" (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, xiv, p. 90). The Hittite text informs us that the reading is *assirgallum* and not *gissirgallum*. Scheil suggests that the *dusu*-stone was chalcedony.

6. The verbal noun *seskiuwan* is found in the inscription of Telibinus (Hrozný, *Hethitische Texte*, p. 100). The sense of the verb seems to be settled by K.A.B., ii, 7, 14, so much meal, wine, beer, etc., "the god receives" (IL-LUM *seszi*).

13. The verb *mugit* is found in the "Yuzghat" tablet, where I was unable to translate it two years ago (YUZGHAT, *Rev.* 10, 13). The rendering should be: "I (i.e. Telibinus) have instructed the gods," "the instructions of Telibinus."

16. MAR is *labanu* "milk"; NU, which generally follows it in the Hittite texts, is the phonetic complement of the Assyrian *labanu*.

23. There is no subject to the verb; was it Tesub or the serpent who was hostile to Inaras? The suffix *-qa* is new to me, but the sense seems clear.

II.—13. The verbal suffix *u-*, which we find again in *u-eikta* (III, 14), and is commonly met with in *u-danzi* by the aid of *danzi* "he gave", is still unexplained.

22. *Khéus* must be borrowed from the Sumerian, since the vowel *e* is written after *khe*. Otherwise *khe* could be regarded as used ideographically.

23. Literally "was joyful".

24. *Khursin* or *kharsin* is another Sumerian loan-word.

III.—4. For *asiyatar* "friendship" see K.A.B., ii, 9, 31.

9. A trilingual vocabulary translates *watar-nakkkhanza* by *múeru* "envoy".

11. For *sakuya* see the text I have published in *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 914, where the reading must be corrected *sa-ku-ya*. The belief that to eat the heart of an enemy is to transfer his courage and valour to the recipient has been widespread.

29. From *tápa* is formed *tapassas* "assistant" or "assistance", which Professor Hrozný, misled by the Indo-European mirage, would connect with the Latin *tepor*. The unknown ideograph occurring along with *tapassas*, which Hrozný transcribes "KIL + DA?", has been shown by Sommer to be an equivalent of the Hittite *arkha bessi*. Sommer supposes this to signify "give an oracle", but

6. summa daqarrar kur[ra] . . .
If thou settest on fire, the flame . . .
7. û D. P. Katterkhe ana [Biriya ikabbi]
And Katterkhe to [Biriya replies]:
8. minam umdalla . . .
"What shall I fulfil? . . .
9. umma D. P. Biriya [ana Katterkhe ikabbi]
Thus Biriya [to Katterkhe answers]:
- Rev. 1. [a]na bit AN Mar[duk] . . .
To the temple of Merodach . . .
2. amilum istu . . .
the man from . . . [goes]
3. amilum sibu ina ali (?) . . .
the old priest in the city (?) . . .
4. ana bit AN Marduk uste[rib] . . .
to the temple of Merodach des[cended] . . .
5. AN Marduk bi-su ipte [ikabbi] . . .
Merodach his mouth opened; he says: . . .
6. umma AN Marduk ana Kat[terkhe ikabbi]
Thus Merodach to Kat[terkhe says]:
7. GAR-ZUN sa dâkuluni u[l ? dhabu ?]. . .
"The food which you have eaten [is not good?] . . .
8. û D. P. Biriya ana AN [Marduk ikabbi]
And Biriya to [Merodach says:]
9. ammini aninamma la da . . . [sa ina]
"Why and what didst thou not . . . [which by]
10. [b]i AN UD EN GAL
the mouth of the Sun-god the great lord
 iskuna . . .
he has established . . .
11. [is]tu bit AN Marduk D. P. Ka[terkhe illik]
From the temple of Merodach Ka[terkhe departed];
12. . . . di-tum û GIS erini GIS . . .
the . . . and the cedar, the wood . . .

13. [û i]na mukhkhi
 and in addition to
 GIS erini GIS . . .
the cedar, the wood . . . [he carried away ?]
-

14. . . . itbi-anni GIS erini . . .
 . . . *he came against me ; the cedar [he carried away ?]*
 In Obv. 8 the verb may be *umdalla[ka]* " shall I counsel ".
-

Notes on the Phonology of Southern Kurmanji

By E. B. SOANE

THE allocation of its proper place among Iranian languages to Kurmanji (Kurdish) has been rendered well-nigh impossible up to the present by the lack of material available for examination. The most careful Orientalists tend to consider it a non-Persian language, notably Justi, Darmesteter, and Socin (in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*). The first emphatically states that it is in no way a degraded New Persian, and that a description of the peculiarities of Iranian speech would not be exhaustive if the phonetics and etymology of Kurdish be disregarded.¹

The second, confronted with many apparent phonological incongruities, leaves it an open question, but places importance upon the preservation of the Avestic *z*, which both in Old Persian and New Persian is represented by *d* in certain conditions. Examples of this will be seen in the notes below.

Darmesteter furthermore lays stress upon the necessity of studying the material of a single dialect in order to avoid confusion. I have carefully excluded from the following notes consideration of any but the great southern section of Kurmanji.

As bearing upon the apparent incongruities mentioned above I would quote a speculation of Darmesteter which study of the language has now proved to me to have been of the greatest importance. He says: "Ici se pose la question inextricable des emprunts au persan: l'identité de forme entre un mot persan et un mot kurde est, en général, un indice que le mot kurde est emprunté."²

¹ Justi, Introduction to *Kurdische Grammatik*.

² Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes*, vol. ii, p. 89.

In the section on Kurdish in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, Socin prefaces his general remarks with the statement that Kurdish does not stand either to Pehlevi or New Persian in the relation of "sister-dialect", but that there is something remoter in the relationship. He further considered that Kurdish does not come from Old Persian, and advised the comparison of the former with New Persian, in order to determine in which particulars it exhibits older or younger word-forms.

I hope that the following notes may throw some new light upon the subject, and serve as a preliminary step to further investigation of a widely-spoken language which has hitherto suffered neglect because of our ignorance of it.

I venture to think that sufficient individuality will be seen to invite further research, for though, as might be expected, KurmanjĠ is in consonance with Pablevi and New Persian in many of its differences and developments from Avestic, it has quite enough characteristics of its own to render its description as a dialect of one of the two younger languages very hazardous.

Of its well-preserved grammar there is not space to treat here, nor of its peculiar affinities with Pushto, Baluchi, and Ossethian.

I am aware that I have not done full justice to the vowel sounds, which require further subdivision, but the subject is a very large one, which demands separate treatment.

Abbreviations used are :—

Av. = Avestic.	Phl. = Pehlevi.
NP. = New Persian.	Skt. = Sanskrit.
Tk. = Turkish.	Ar. = Arabic.
Kj. = KurmanjĠ.	OP. = Old Persian.

VOWELS

Short : *a e i o u*.

Long : *ā ē ī ō ū y*.

I. SHORT *a*

1. Kj.
- a*
- = Av.
- a*
- , Phl.
- a*
- , NP.
- a*
- .

*vaf*r, snow: Av. *vafra*, Phl. *vaf*r, NP. *barf*. *pas*, small cattle: Av. *pasu-*, Phl. *pa*h, NP. —. *wan*, a common mountain tree: Av. *vanā*, Phl. *van*, NP. —. *hakar*, *aka*, *hagar*, if: Av. *ha-kara*, Phl., NP. *agar*. *hamār*, a store-room: Av. *ham*√*bere*, Phl., NP. *ambār*. *angust*, finger: Av. *angushta*, Phl. *angust*, NP. *angusht*. *arwa*, that: Av. *ava*, Phl. *ava*, NP. —. *han-*, verbal prefix: Av. *han-*, Phl., NP. *an-*. *warāz*, boar: Av. *warāza-*, Phl. *varāz*, NP. *gurāz*. *asr*, tears: Av. *asru*, Phl., NP. *ars*. *az*, *azē*, I: Av. *azem*, Phl., NP. —.

2. Kj.
- a*
- = Av.
- a*
- , Phl.
- ā*
- , NP.
- ā*
- .

bar, loose, free: Av. *fra-*, Phl. *frāj*, NP. *firāz*. *man*, appertaining to: Av. *manah-*, Phl., NP. *-mān*. *awand*, that so much: Av. *avavant*, Phl. *hāvant*, NP. —.

3. Kj.
- a*
- = Av.
- aē*
- , Phl.
- i*
- , NP.
- i*
- .

am, this: Av. *aēm*, Phl. *ima*, NP. *im-*.

4. Kj.
- a*
- = Av.
- ai*
- , Phl.
- a*
- , NP.
- a*
- .

gar, mountain: Av. *gairi-*, Phl., NP. —. *kanī*, maiden: Av. *kainē*, Phl. *kanīk*, NP. *kanī*[z].

5. Kj.
- a*
- = Av.
- ā*
- , Phl.
- ā*
- , NP.
- ā*
- .

a, to: Av. *ā*, Phl. *ā*, NP. —. √*aparmū*, trust: Av. *ā*√*parmū*, Phl., NP. —. *danik*, a pip: Av. *dāno-*, Phl. *dānak*, NP. *dānah*. *ga*, time, place: Av. *gātu-*, Phl. *gās*, NP. *gāh*. *pata*, a pen for animals: Av. *pāta-*, Phl., NP. —.

II. LONG *ā*

Pronunciation very much lighter than the NP. *ā*, practically the same as in English "half", "father".

1. Kj.
- ā*
- = Av.
- ā*
- , Phl.
- ā*
- , NP.
- ā*
- .

ās-, gazelle: Av. *āsu-*, Phl. *āhūk*, NP. *āhū*. *māl*, nouse, family: Av. *nmāna-*, Phl. *mān*, NP. *mān*. *pānā*, heel: Av. *pāshna-*, Phl. *pāshnak*, NP. *pāshna*. *āst*, alignment: Av. *rāsta-*, Phl. *rāst*, NP. *rāsta*. *āgir*, fire: Av. *ātar-*, Phl.

ātār, NP. *āḡar*. *brā*, brother : Av. *brātar-*, Phl. *brāt*, NP. *barādar*. *wā*, wind : Av. *vāta-*, Phl. *vāt*, NP. *bād*. *hāwīn*, summer : Av. *hāmin-*, Phl. *hāmīn*, NP. —. *bā*, certainly : Av. *bā-*, Phl., NP. —. *kār*, relatives, people : Av. *kāra-*, Phl., NP. —. *√āzhu*, drive, urge : Av. *ā√zi*, *az*, Phl., NP. —.

2. Kj. *ā* = Av. *a*, Phl. —, NP. —.

āwā, down : Av. *ava* (seen in Phl. and NP. only as prefixial *ō* to verbal roots). *√nāsh*, become interred : Av. *√nash*.

2a. Kj. *ā* = Av. *a*, Phl. *a*, NP. —.

hawār, an encampment or camping ground : Av. *vara-*, Phl. *var*, NP. —.

2b. Kj. *ā* = Av. *a*, Phl. *a*, NP. *a*.

pāsh, after, behind : Av. *pascha*, Phl., NP. *pas*. *sār*, cold : Av. *sareta-*, Phl. *sart*, NP. *sard*.

3. Kj. *ā* = Av. *a*, Phl. *ā*, NP. *ā*.

jūān, young : Av. *yuvan-*, Phl. *yovān*, NP. *javān*. *kānī*, a spring : Av. *khan-*, Phl. *khānik*, NP. *khānī*. *ferā*, broad : Av. *fraḡah*, Phl. *frāh*, NP. *firākh*. *hazhār*, miserable : Av. *√zar*, Phl. *zhār*, NP. *zār*. *māsī*, fish : Av. *masya-*, Phl. *māhik*, NP. *māhī*.

4. Kj. *ā* = Av. *aθ*, Phl. *ah*, NP. *ah*.

zhār, poison : Av. *jaθra*, Phl., NP. *zahr*. *pān*, broad : Av. *paθan*, Phl. *pahan*, NP. *pahn*.

5. Kj. *ā* = *ah*, *aḡ* in loan-words.

jāsh, a donkey foal : Ar. *jaḡsh*. *kārēz*, a conduit : NP. *kāhriz*.

III. SHORT *e*.

1. Kj. *e* = Av. *ə*, Phl. *u*, NP. *u*.

dahem, tenth : Av. *dasəma*, Phl., NP. *dahum*. *berz*, high : Av. *bəraz*, Phl., NP. *burz*. *perd*, bridge : Av. *pəratu-*, Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, NP. *pul*.

2. Kj. *e* = Av. *āi*, Phl. *āy*, NP. *ā*, *āy*.
 √*e*, come : Av. √*ā-i*, Phl. √*āy*, NP. √*ā*, *āy*.
3. Kj. *e* = Av. *a*, Phl. *a*, NP. *a*, *u*.
est, bone : Av. *asta-*, Phl. *ast*, NP. *ust* (in *ustakhwan*).
nezik, near : Av. *nazda-*, Phl., NP. *nazd*.

IV. LONG *ē*

Pure vowel sound as *é* in French *bête*, not *ai* diphthong.

1. Kj. *ē* = Av. *ē*, Phl. *ē*, NP. *ē*.
ēma, we : Av. *ēhmā*, Phl. *ēmā*, NP. —. *ēwārē*, evening :
 Av. —, Phl. *ēwārak*, NP. *ēwār*.
2. Kj. *ē* = Av. *ai*, Phl. *a*, NP. *a*.
pērī, fairy : Av. *pairika-*, Phl. *parīk*, NP. *parī*. *pē*, to :
 Av. *paiti*, Phl. *pat-*, NP. *ba*. *kēnī*, girl : Av. *kainē*, Phl.
kanīk, NP. *kanī* z.
3. Kj. *ē* = Av. *āi*, Phl. *āi*, NP. *a*.
nēr, male : Av. *nāīrya-*, Phl. *nāīrik*, NP. *nar*.
4. Kj. *ē* = Av. *a*, Phl. *a*, *ā*, NP. *a*, *ā*.
mērg, turf : Av. *mareghā-*, Phl. —, NP. ? *margh*. *pērē*,
 yester : Av. *parōāyar*, Phl. *parēr*, NP. *parīr-*. *stēr*, star :
 Av. *star-*, -Phl. *star*, NP. *sitar*. √*bēzh*, speak : Av. *vach-*,
 Phl. *vāj*. NP. —. *kērd*, knife : Av. *karata*, Phl. *kārt*, NP.
kārd. *jēzhn*, festival : Av. *yasna-*, Phl. *yashn*, NP. *jashn*.
kēl, cultivation : Av. *karsh-*, Phl. *kār*, NP. *kār*. *pē*, foot :
 Av. *pad-*, Phl. *pāī*, NP. *pā*. *mēshik*, brain : Av. *mazga-*, Phl.
mazg, NP. *maghz*.
5. Kj. *ē* = Av. *a*, Phl. *ī*, NP. *ī*.
 √*hēl*, refrain, permit, leave alone : Av. √*harz*, Phl., NP.
 √*hīl*.
6. Kj. *ē* = Av. *ā*, Phl. *ā*, NP. *a*, *ā*.
drēzh, long : Av. *drājo-*, Phl. *drāj*, NP. *dirāz*. *chēsht*,
 a meal : Av. ?, Skt. √*chāsh*, Phl. *chāsht*, NP. *chasht*.
 √*ēnā*, √*hēnā*, bring : Av. *ā-√nay*, Phl. —, NP. —.

khuē, owner : Av. *khvadā*, Phl. *khutāi*, NP. *khudā*. -ēn, the agent : Av. *ī*, Phl., NP. -ān.

6a. Kj. *ē* = *ā* in loan-words.

kirē, hire, rent : Ar. *kirā*. *ktēb*, book : Ar. *kitāb*.

7. Kj. *ē* = Av. *a*, Phl. *ō*, NP. *ū*.

pēst, skin, bark : Av. *pasto-*, Phl. *pōst*, NP. *pūst*.

8. Kj. *ē* = Av. *ae*, *aə*, Phl. *ē*, NP. *ī*.

bēn, nose : Av. *vaəna-*, Phl. *vēnā*, NP. *bīnā*. *kēm*, pus, mucus : Av. *haəm-*, Phl. *khēm*, NP. *khīm*. *ē*, terminal indefinite article : Av. *aeva*, Phl. *ēv*, NP. *ī*. *nēwa*, vicinity : Av. *naəma*, Phl. *nēmak*, NP. —.

9. Kj. *ē* = Av. *ao*, Phl. *ā*, NP. —.

√*ēzh*, speak : Av. √*aoj*, *aoghzh*, Phl. √*vāj*, NP. —.

10. Kj. *ē* = Av. *ao* (*i*), Phl. *o*, *ō*, NP. *ō*, *ū*.

hēz, *hēzh*, strength : Av. *aoja-*, Phl. *ōj*, NP. —. *bēn*, smell : Av. *baoidhi-*, Phl. *bōd*, NP. *bō*, *bōi*. *mēr*, ant : Av. *maoiri-*, Phl. *mōr*, NP. *mūr*.

11. Kj. *ē* = Av. *au*, Phl. *ō*, NP. *ū*.

kēf, mountain : Av. *kaufa-*, Phl. *kōf*, NP. *kūh*.

12. Kj. *ē* = Av. *e*, Phl. *ō*, NP. *ū*.

rēwī, fox : Av. *revish-*, Phl. *rōbās*, NP. *rūbāh*.

13. Kj. *ē* = Av. *iθ*, Phl. *ēδ*, NP. —.

ēra, *hēra*, here : Av. *iθra*, Phl. *ēdar*, NP. —.

14. Kj. *ē* = Av. *ya*, Phl. *ya*, NP. *ja*.

ēsh, pain, affliction : Av. *yaska-*, Phl. *yask*, NP. *jask*.

15. Kj. *ē* = *o* in loan-word.

hēldāsh, travelling companion : Tk. *yoldāsh*.

V. SHORT *i*

1. Kj. *i* = Av. *i*, Phl. *i*, NP. —.

gisht, all : Av. *vispo-*, Phl. *vist*. *nizm*, low : Av. *nitem-*, *nisma*, Phl. —.

2. Kj. *i* = Av. *a*, Phl. *a*, NP. *a*.

nīm, dampness : Av. *namna-*, Phl., NP. *nam*. *min*, me :

Av. *mana*, Phl., NP. *man*. *kirdin*, to do : Av. $\sqrt{\text{kar}}$, Phl. *kartan*, NP. *kardan*.

3. Kj. *i* = Av. *a*, Phl. *a*, NP. *u*.

girō, gullet : Av. *garah-*, Phl. *garūk*, NP. *gulū*. $\sqrt{\text{kir}}$, gnaw : Av. $\sqrt{\text{kar}}$, Phl. $\sqrt{\text{karin}}$, NP. —.

4. Kj. *i* = Av. *a*, Phl. *u*, NP. *u*.

$\sqrt{\text{bir}}$, cut : Av. $\sqrt{\text{bar}}$, Phl., NP. $\sqrt{\text{bur}}$. $\sqrt{\text{mir}}$, die : Av. $\sqrt{\text{mar}}$, Phl., NP. $\sqrt{\text{murd}}$.

5. Kj. *i* = Av. *a*, Phl. —, NP. —.

girj, wrinkle : Av. $\sqrt{\text{garez}}$, Phl., NP. —.

6. Kj. *i* = Av. *ə*, Phl. *u*, NP. *u*.

mirishk, hen : Av. *mərəgha-*, Phl., NP. *murgh*. $\sqrt{\text{pirs}}$, ask : Av. $\sqrt{\text{porəs}}$, Phl., NP. $\sqrt{\text{purs}}$.

7. Kj. *i* = Av. *aə*, Phl. *ē*, NP. *ē*.

mizh, mist : Av. *mægha-*, Phl., NP. *mēgh*.

8. Kj. *i* = Av. *u*, Phl. *u*, NP. *u*.

diz, thief : Av. *duzhdā-*, Phl. *duzhd*, NP. *duzd*. *dizhmin*, enemy : Av. *dushmainyu-*, Phl., NP. *dushman*. *bin*, bottom : Av. *buna-*, Phl., NP. *bun*. *bizin*, goat : Av. *buja-*, Phl. *bu*, NP. *buz*. *mist*, fist : Av. *mushti-*, Phl. *must*, *musht*, NP. *musht*. *hishk*, dry : Av. *hushka-*, Phl. *khushka*, NP. *khushk*. *jigā*, separate : Av. *yuta-*, Phl. *jutak*, NP. *judā*.

9. Kj. *i* = Av. *aē*, Phl. *ē*, NP. *ī*.

-in, adjectival suffix : Av. *-aēna*, Phl. *-ēn*, NP. *-in*.

10. Kj. *i* = Av. *i*, Phl. *i*, NP. *ī*.

$\sqrt{\text{chin}}$, pluck, cull : Av. $\sqrt{\text{chinv}}$, Phl. $\sqrt{\text{chīn}}$, NP. $\sqrt{\text{chīn}}$.

VI. LONG *ī*.

1. Kj. *ī* = Av. *ī*, Phl. *ī*, NP. *ī*.

bīr, reason, understanding : Av. *vīra*, Phl., NP. *vīr*. *shīr*, milk : Av. *khshīra-*, Phl., NP. *shīr*. $\sqrt{\text{dī}}$, see : Av. $\sqrt{\text{dī}}$, Phl., NP. $\sqrt{\text{dī}}$.

2. Kj. \bar{i} = Av. i , Phl. \bar{i} , NP. \bar{i} .

shîn, wailing: Av. *khshim-*, Phl. *shîn*, NP. —. $\sqrt{zh\bar{i}}$, live: Av. \sqrt{jiv} , Phl. $\sqrt{z\bar{i}v}$, NP. $\sqrt{z\bar{i}}$.

3. Kj. \bar{i} = Av. i , Phl. —, NP. a .

bîânû, pretext: Av. *vi-* $\sqrt{dh\bar{a}}$, Phl. *vhānak*, NP. *bahāna*.

4. Kj. \bar{i} = Av. i , Phl. u , NP. i .

ispî, louse: Av. *spish*, Phl. *shapush*, NP. *shapish*.

5. Kj. \bar{i} = Av. *ae*, Phl. \bar{i} , \bar{e} , NP. \bar{i} .

spî, white: Av. *spaeta*, Phl. *spēt*, NP. *safîd*. *qîzh*, locks: Av. *gaesa-*, Phl. *gēs*, NP. *gīs*. *pîm*, fat: Av. *paem-*, Phl. *pîm*, NP. *pî*. *shîn*, blue, green: Av. *khshaena-*, Phl., NP. *khshîn*. *nîw*, half: Av. *naema-*, Phl., NP. *nîm*.

6. Kj. \bar{i} = Av. \bar{a} , Phl. \bar{a} , NP. \bar{a} .

$\sqrt{sh\bar{i}}$, being worthy: Av. $\sqrt{khsh\bar{a}y}$, Phl., NP. $\sqrt{sh\bar{a}y}$. *shîw*, evening meal: Av. *khshāfniya*, Phl., NP. *shām*.

VII. SHORT *o*

This vowel is not common, nor are there sufficient words of which the derivation is clear, for comparison. In the case of *o* "and", the equivalent in Av., Phl., and NP. is *u*, while in the word *mort* "myrtle", *u* is seen in the NP. *murad*. In the word *mokh* "marrow of bones", it appears to represent Av. *a* in *mazga-*, and Phl., NP. *a* in *mazg* and *maghz* respectively. It occurs in the words *mor* "goggle-eyed", *polk* "pea, pod", *rong*, a kind of felt, the etymology of none of which is clear. The word *tor* "anger, chagrin, offence" appears to have a NP. counterpart in *tôr*. It also appears in the loan-words from Turkish, *otrâq*, *qonâgh*, *komîte*.

VIII. LONG \bar{o}

1. Kj. \bar{o} = Av. a , Phl. \bar{a} , NP. a .

dôl, a dale: Av. *darena-*, Phl. \bar{a} , NP. *darra*.

2. Kj. \bar{o} = Av. *ae*, Phl. \bar{a} , NP. \bar{o} .

jôsh, white heat of iron: Av. \sqrt{yaesh} , Phl. \bar{a} , NP. *jôsh*.

3. Kj. \bar{o} = Av. *ao*, Phl. \bar{o} , NP. \bar{o} , \bar{u} .
rō, day : Av. *raochah-*, Phl. *rōch*, NP. *rōz*, *rūz*. *bōr*, brown : Av. $\bar{?}$, Phl. $\bar{?}$, NP. *būr*. *dōsh*, a load for the back : Av. *daosha-*, Phl. *dōsh*, NP. *dūsh*.
4. Kj. \bar{o} = Av. *ava*, Phl. *ava*, NP. *aw*.
ōra, there : Av. *avaθra*, Phl. —, NP. —. *nō*, new : Av. *nava*, Phl. *navak*, NP. *naw*.
- 4a. Kj. \bar{o} = Av. $\bar{?}$ *ava*, Phl. \bar{o} , NP. —.
-ōk, attributive suffix : Av. $\bar{?}$ *avaka-*, Phl. *ōk*, NP. —.
5. Kj. \bar{o} = Av. *aw*, Phl. $\bar{?}$, NP. \bar{u} .
gōza, a large jar : Av. *kawza-*, Phl. $\bar{?}$, NP. *kūza*.
6. Kj. \bar{o} = Av. *u*, Phl. \bar{o} , NP. \bar{o} .
hōsh, reasoning : Av. *ushi-*, Phl., NP. *hōsh*. $\sqrt{dōsh}$, milk : Av. \sqrt{duz} , Phl., NP. $\sqrt{dōsh}$.
7. Kj. \bar{o} = Av. *u*, Phl. *af*, NP. —.
gōra, large : Av. *ugra-*, Phl. *gafra*, NP. —.
- 7a. Kj. \bar{o} = *u* in loan-word.
 $\sqrt{tōq}$, bursting out : Ar. طغیان
8. Kj. \bar{o} = *uh* in loan-word.
mōr, seal : NP. *muhr*.
9. Kj. \bar{o} = Phl. *va*, NP. \bar{u} in loan-word.
khōsh, pleasant : Phl. *khvash*, NP. *khūsh*.
10. Kj. \bar{o} = \bar{o} in loan-words.
tōp, cannon : NP. *tōp*. *tōz*, dust : Tk. *tōz*.

IX. SHORT *u*

1. Kj. *u* = Av. *u*, Phl. *u*, NP. *u*.
amust, finger : Av. *angushta-*, Phl. *angust*, NP. *angusht*.
dawā, the rear, behind : Av. *dum-*, Phl. $\bar{?}$, NP. *dum-* (in *dumbāl*).
2. Kj. *u* = Av. *u*, Phl. *u*, \bar{u} , NP. \bar{u} .
kutik, a fragment, small piece : Av. *kutaka-*, Phl. —,

NP. —. *zhuzhik*, hedgehog : Av. *duzhaka*-, Phl. *zhūzhak*, NP. *zhūzha*.

3. Kj. *u* = Av. *a*, Phl. *a*, NP. *a*.

√*wush*, sway, wave : Av. √*vaza*, Phl. √*vaz*, NP. —.
gurna, corner, border : Av. *karana*-, Phl. *kanārak*, NP. *kanār*.
mughāgh, a low-lying place : Av. *magha*-, Phl. *magh*, NP. *maghāk*.
pursha, sleet : Av. *parshva*-, Phl. *parashveh*, NP. —.

4. Kj. *u* = Av. *a*, Phl. *a*, NP. *u*.

gurg, throat, gullet : Av. *garah*-, Phl. *garōk*, *galōk*, NP. *gulū*.

5. Kj. *u* = Av. *ao*, Phl. *o*, *u*, NP. *u*, *ū*.

dush, last night : Av. *daosh*-, Phl. *dosh*, NP. *dūsh*. √*kush*,
 kill : Av. √*kaosh*, Phl. √*kush*, NP. √*kush*.

6. Kj. *u* = Av. *ū*, Phl. *ū*, NP. *ū*.

tu, thou : Av. *tū*, *tūm*, Phl. *tū*, NP. *tū*.

7. Kj. *u* = Av. *e*, Phl. *u*, NP. *u*.

gurchik, kidney : Av. *veretka*-, Phl. *gurtak*, NP. *gurda*.
gurg, wolf : Av. *vehrka*-, Phl. *gurg*, NP. *gurg*.

8. Kj. *u* = Av. *i*, Phl. —, NP. —.

√*nus*, sleep : Av. *nī*- √*si*, Phl. —, NP. —.

X. LONG *ū*

1. Kj. *ū* = Av. *ū*, Phl. *ū*, NP. *ū*, *u*.

gū, excrement : Av. *gūdha*-, Phl. *gūh*, NP. *guh*. *anu*-,
 now : Av. *nū*, Phl. *nūn*, NP. *aknūn*. *azhnū*, knee : Av. *zhnū*-,
 Phl. *zānūk*, NP. *zānū*. *zū*, quick : Av. √*zū*, Phl. *zūt*,
 NP. *zūd*. *būm*, earth : Av. *būmi*-, Phl. *būm*, NP. *būm*.
 √*aparmū*, hope : Av. *a*- √*parmū*, Phl. —, NP. —.

2. Kj. *ū* = Av. *a*, Phl. *ak*, NP. *a*.

biānū, pretext : Av. —, Phl. *vhānak*, NP. *bahāna*. *zhingū*,
 alive : Av. —, Phl. *zīvandak*, NP. *zinda*. *hamū*, all : Av. *hama*,
 Phl. *hamak*, NP. *hama*. *khānū*, house (probably
 loan-word) : Phl. *khānak*, NP. *khāna*.

3. Kj. *ū* = Av. *aw*, Phl. *aw*, *ap*, NP. *ab*.

hastūr, thick, heavy, strong : Av. *stawra*-, Phl. *stawr*, *stapr*, NP. *sitabr*.

4. Kj. *ū* = Av. *ao*, Phl. *ō*, *u*, NP. *ō*, *ū*.

√*rū*, grow : Av. √*raoδ*, Phl. √*rō*, NP. √*rō*. *rūn*, light, refulgent : Av. *raokhshna*-, Phl. *rōshan*, NP. *rōshan*. *rūn*, butter : Av. *raoghna*-, Phl. *rōkan*, NP. *rōghan*. √*khurūsh*, noise, confusion : Av. *khraosh*-, Phl. *khrust*, NP. *khurōsh*. *pūch*, empty : Av. *paosh*-, Phl. —, NP. *pūch*.

5. Kj. *ū* = Av. *av*, Phl. *av*, NP. *u*.

√*dū*, answer, retort : Av. √*dav*, Phl. √*dav*, NP. —. √*chū*, go : Av. √*shav*, Phl. —, NP. √*shu*.

6. Kj. *ū* = Av. *u*, Phl. *u*, NP. *u*.

jūt, a plough : Av. *yukhta*-, Phl. *yukht*, NP. *juft*. *sūr*, red : Av. *sukhra*-, Phl. *sukhr*, NP. *surkh*. *sūchar*, porcupine : Av. *sukuruna*-, Phl. *sukur*, NP. *sugur*.

7. Kj. *ū* = Av. *u*, Phl. *ū*, *ō*, NP. *ū*, *ō*.

parasū, rib : Av. *paresu*-, Phl. *pahlūk*, NP. *pahlū*. *drū*, lie : Av. √*druj*, Phl. *darōg*, NP. *durōgh*. *shū*, husband : Av. *shudra*-, Phl. *shōi*, NP. *shū*, *shō*. *kūderī*, where : Av. *kuθra*, Phl. *?*, NP. —.

XI. *u* SIMILAR TO FRENCH *u*

Generally speaking this vowel shows the same equivalents in other languages as does *ū*, and is sometimes interchangeable therewith.

1. Kj. *u* = Av. *ao*, Phl. *ō*, NP. *ū*, *aw*.

gūe, ear : Av. *gaosha*-, Phl. *gōsh*, NP. *gūsh*. *sūind*, oath : Av. *saokenta*-, Phl. —, NP. *sawgand*.

2. Kj. *u* = Av. *a*, Phl. *ē*, NP. *ī*.

tūzh, sharp : Av. *taezha*-, Phl. *tēj*, NP. *tīz*.

3. Kj. *u* = Av. *va*, Phl. *u*, NP. *u*.

khue, owner : Av. *khvadāta*-, Phl. *khudāi*, NP. *khudā*.

4. KJ. *y* = Av. *va*, Phl. *vā*, NP. *wā*.

✓*khūin*, read, sing: Av. ✓*khvan*, Phl. *khvān*, NP. ✓*khwān*.

THE COMMONER DIPHTHONGS

1. *āo*.

In *bāosh*, the upper part of the side, the side of the bosom, *āo* represents Av. *aro* with loss of *r*, for other examples of which see consonant tables, cf. Av. *barozhda-*. There does not appear to be any equivalent word in Phl. or NP.

The diphthong *āo* also occurs in *blāo*, scattered, dispersed, which has no counterpart as a separate word in either Phl. or NP., of which the origin from Av. *para-*, OP. *parā-*, suggests itself. In *klāo*, a hat, an equivalent *ā* is seen in NP. *kulāh*, from which it is quite possibly a loan-word.

2. *ao*.

In the word *draosh*, shining, glinting, *ao* represents NP. *af* in *dirafsh*. *Draosh* is probably a NP. loan-word. *ao* occurs in a number of words of which the etymology is not clear, and in loan-words from Ar., when it usually represents *aw*, as in *haoz*, Ar. حوض, *kaolī*, Ar. خول, etc.

3. *ai*.

This only occurs in loan-words, as *aiwān*, NP. *aiwān*; *aib*, Ar. 'aib; *ain*, Ar. 'ain.

4. *iē*.

This combination is very common. In loan-words it represents original *i*, as in *giēlās*, from NP. *gīlās*, the sweet cherry. In the word *kiērd* it represents Av. *a*, Phl., NP. *ā* (see also *ē* in this value). It occurs in many words as a result of the diminutive *ēla*, being added to a word already ending in *i* or *ī*, as *pshiēla*, a cat = *pshī-ēla*; *birsiēla*, unripe grapes = *bir-√si-ēla*.

ANAPTYXIS

Unlike its neighbour, NP., Kurmanji displays a repugnance to much-vocalized words, and in many cases where NP. has

introduced anaptyxis, Kj. has perpetuated the original form. This is most noticeable in the case of initial pairs of consonants.

Examples: *drēzh*, Av. *drājo-*, NP. *dirāz*. *drū*, Av. *draogha-*, NP. *durūgh*. *stēr*, Av. *star-*, NP. *sitāra*. \sqrt{shka} , Av. \sqrt{schan} , NP. \sqrt{shik} . *spī*, Av. *spaeta-*, NP. *sifid*. *stūn*, Av. *stūna-*, NP. *sutūn*, and many others. In all these examples Phl. does not show anaptyxis.

Kj. rejects short vowels in initial positions before two consonants, or short vowels between them.

Examples: $\sqrt{spār}$, Av. *us-* \sqrt{par} ; *slām*, Ar. اسلام

ktēb, Ar. كتاب; *mgħērī*, NP. *bukhārī*; $\sqrt{bwār}$, Av. *vi-* \sqrt{tar} ;

\sqrt{kr} , Av. \sqrt{kar} ; *sbē*, Ar. صَبَح, and numerous others.

In many cases Kj. is not averse to a word of two or three consonants entirely unvocalized. Such are *psr*, a rent or tear; *pr*, full; *qng*, anus; *sht*, thing; *pchk*, small; *fshk*, a spark; \sqrt{brzk} , scorch; and many others.

XII. SEMI-VOWEL *w*

1. Kj. *w* = Av. *w*, Phl. *f*, NP. *f*.

wa, towards, against: Av. *aiwi*, Phl., NP. *af-* (in verb forms).

2. Kj. *w* = Av. *w*, Phl. *w*, NP. *b*.

hawr, cloud: Av. *awra*, Phl. *awr*, NP. *abr*.

3. Kj. *w* = Av. *w*, Phl. —, NP. —.

chwār, four: Av. *chaθwār*.

4. Kj. *w* = Av. *v*, Phl. *v*, NP. *b*.

ward, a patch of ploughing: Av. \sqrt{varz} , Phl. *varz*, NP. *barz*. *wach*, twig, shoot: Av. \sqrt{vakhsh} , Phl. *vakhsh*, NP. —. *wārān*, rain: Av. *vāra-*, Phl. *vārān*, NP. *bārān*. *wafr*, snow: Av. *vafra*, Phl. *vafr*, NP. *barf*. *wan*, tree: Av. *vanā-*, Phl. *van*, NP. —. *wā*, wind: Av. *vāta-*, Phl. *vāδ*, NP. *bād*.

5. Kj. *w* = Av. *v*, Phl. *v*, NP. *v*.

dīw, devil : Av. *daeva*-, Phl. *dēv*, NP. *dīv*.

6. Kj. *w* = Av. *v*, Phl. *v*, NP. *g*.

wenāsa, violent offence, quarrel : Av. *?*, Phl. *vinās*, NP. *gunāh*. *wer*, circular motion : Av. *√vereθ*, Phl. *√vart*, NP. *√gard*. Note also Kj. *win*, lost, where NP. shows *gum*; and *āwr*, fire, against Kj. *āgir*.

7. Kj. *w* = Av. *f*, Phl. *f*, NP. *h*.

kew, mountain : Av. *kaofa*-, Phl. *kōf*, NP. *kūh*.

8. Kj. *w* = Av. *f*, Phl. *f*, NP. *f*.

nāwik, navel : Av. *nāfah*-, Phl. *nāfak*, NP. *nāf*. *wer*, over, forward : Av. *fra*-, Phl. *fra*-, NP. *far*-.

- 8a. Kj. *w* = *f* in loan-words.

kawsh, footgear : NP. *kafsh*. *kawgīr*, ladle : NP. *kafgīr*.

9. Kj. *w* = Av. *p*, Phl. *p*, *f*, NP. *b*, *p*, *v*.

aw, water : Av. *āpo*-, Phl. *āp*, NP. *āb*. *√nwīs*, write : Av. *nī-√pish*, Phl. *nīpishstan*, NP. *navishtan*. *√rew*, go : Av. *√rap*, Phl. *√raf*, NP. *√raf*, *√rav*. *-wān*, a guardian : Av. *pāna*, Phl. *-pān*, NP. *-bān*. *√wa*, flee : Av. *√pad*, Phl. —, NP. —.

10. Kj. *w* = Av. *m*, Phl. *m*, NP. *m*.

chaw, eyes : Av. *chashman*-, Phl., NP. *chashm*. *zāwā*, bridegroom : Av. *zāmātār*-, Phl. *dāmād*, NP. *dāmād*. *hāwīn*, summer : Av. *hāmīn*, Phl. *hāmīn*, NP. —. *nāw*, name : Av. *nāman*-, Phl., NP. *nām*. *nāw*, half : Av. *naema*, Phl. *nēm*, NP. *nīm*. *√nwā*, display : Av. *nī-√mā*, Phl., NP. *√nimā*. *nwēzh*, prayer : Av. *nemah*-, Phl. *namāch*, NP. *namāz*. This last word is probably a loan-word from Phl. or NP.

- 10a. Kj. *w* = *m* in modern loan-words.

awīn, safe : Ar. أمين. *hawīr*, dough : Ar. خمير. *kut*, chestnut-coloured : Ar. کُیت. *laqāw*, bridle : NP. *laqām*.

11. Kj. *w* = Av. *h*, Phl. *kh*, NP. *kh*.

wishk, dry : Av. *hushka*, Phl., NP. *khushk*. *wash*, pleasant : Av. *hush*, Phl. *khvash*, NP. *khūsh*.

Initial *w* in *wirch*, a bear, Av. *aresha-*, may be a change from the *h* augment of *hirch*, which is also commonly heard ; similar to *h* to *w* in *wishk* (see above), Phl. and NP. both show *khirs*.

√*wīs*, wish, desire: invites comparison with Av. √*vas*, √*vīs*, as apart from Av. *hvād*, *hvāst*, and Phl., NP. √*khvāst*.

In the word *wurd*, small, broken small (which also occurs as *hur*, *hurd*), *w* appears to represent *kh* in Av. √*khvar*, Phl. *khurtak*, and NP. *khurda*.

12. Kj. *w* as augment.

wushtir, camel : Av. *ushtra-*, Phl. *ushtr*, NP. *shutur*. *wulākh*, beast of burden : NP. *ulāgh*. *wutū*, flat iron : NP. *utū*.

13. Kj. *w* = Av. *t*, Phl. *t*, NP. *d*, *δ*.

√*bwār*, crossing over : Av. *vi-* √*tar*, Phl. √*vitar*, NP. √*guḍar*. *āwr*, fire : Av. *ātar*, Phl. *ātār*, NP. *āḍar*. *saw*, hundred : Av. *sata-*, Phl. *sat*, NP. *sad*.

The words *bwār* and *āwr* are seen also as *bgār* and *āgir*, and may be developments therefrom. See XVI, 6.

XIII. *y*

This letter is rare, and is usually seen only in loan-words, as *yākhud*, NP. *yākhud*; *yasākh*, Tk. *yasākh*. It appears as an augment in *yakhsīr*, a prisoner of war : Ar. أسير, but this is probably borrowed from Oriental Tk. *yesīr*.

CONSONANTS

Guttural	<i>k kh g gh ʔ</i>
Palatal	<i>ch j</i>
Dental	<i>t d</i>
Labial	<i>p f b m</i>
Nasal	<i>n ñ ng</i>

Liquids	<i>r</i>	<i>r̥</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l̥</i>
Sibilant	<i>s</i>	<i>sh</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>zh</i>
Aspirate	<i>h</i>	<i>h̥</i>		

GUTTURALS

XIV. *k*

1. Kj. *k* = Av. *k*, Phl. *k*, NP. *k*.

kamar, rock : Av. *kamarā*-, Phl., NP. *kamar*. √*kan*, dig, carve : Av. √*kan*, Phl., NP. √*kan*. *wishk*, dry : Av. *hushka*, Phl., NP. *khushk*. *tak*, rutting : Av. *taka*-, Phl., NP. *tak*.

2. Kj. *k* = Av. *?*, Phl. *kh*, NP. *kh*.

kirin, to buy : Av. *?*, Phl. *kharītan*, NP. *kharīdan*.

3. Kj. *k* = Av. *h*, Phl. *kh*, NP. *kh*.

kēm, pus, temper : Av. *haēm*, Phl. *khēm*, NP. *khīm*.

4. Kj. *k* = Av. *kh*, Phl. *kh*, NP. *kh*.

kānī, spring, source : Av. *khan*-, Phl. *khānik*, NP. *khānī*. *kar*, ass : Av. *khara*-, Phl., NP. *khar*. √*kand*, laugh : Av. √*khvand*, Phl., NP. √*khand*.

5. Kj. *k* = Av. *ch*, Phl. *k*, NP. *k*.

kerā, spawn : Av. *chitra*, Phl., NP. —. √*shka*, break : Av. √*scha*, Phl. √*shika*, NP. √*shika*.

6. Kj. *k* = Av. *g*, Phl. *g*, NP. *g*.

kirch, wrinkle : Av. √*garez*, Phl., NP. —. *kisht*, finger : Av. *angushta*-, Phl. *angust*, NP. *angusht*.

XV. *kh*

1. Kj. *kh* = Av. *hv*, Phl. *khv*, NP. *khv*.

kho, self : Av. *hva*-, Phl., NP. *khud* (Av. *hvatō*). *khēz*, relatives : Av. *hvastrush*-, Phl., NP. *khvēsh*. *khuē*, owner : Av. *hvaḍāta*, Phl. *khutai*, NP. *khudā*. *khōshk*, sister : Av. *hvanhar*, Phl., NP. *khvāhar*. *khur*, sun : Av. *hvare*-, Phl., NP. *khūr*.

The influence of the *v* in *hv* is seen in most of the vowels following the Kj. *kh*.

2. Kj. *kh* = Av. *k*, Phl. *k*, NP. *g*.

sikhur, a porcupine : Av. *sukuruna*-, Phl. *sukur*, NP. *sugur*.

3. Kj. *kh* = *gh* in loan-words.

kham, sorrow : Ar. غم. *khalat*, error : Ar. غلط. *kharīb*,

stranger : Ar. غريب. *khuncha*, bud : NP. غنچه. *zākh*,

alum : Ar. NP. زاغ. *bākhcha*, garden : NP. باغچه.

4. Kj. *kh* = Ar. ح.

khaml, body ornaments : Ar. حمل. *khenā*, henna : Ar. حنا.

5. Kj. *kh* = Tk. and North Kj. *q*, Ar. *q*.

khanjīla, a pretty, small child : Tk., North Kj. *qenj*.

nakhtī, ready money : Ar. نقد. *takhdīr*, fate : Ar. تقدير.

XVI. *g*

1. Kj. *g* (initial) = Av. *g*, Phl. *g*, NP. *g*.

ga, time, place : Av. *gātu*-, Phl. *gās*, NP. *gāh*. *gan*, fetid : Av. *gainti*-, Phl. *gand*, NP. *gand*. *ganum*, wheat : Av. *gantaoma*-, Phl. *gantum*, NP. *gandum*. *germ*, warm : Av. *garema*-, Phl., NP. *garm*. *ger*, hill : Av. *gairi*, Phl. —, NP. —. *gā*, ox : Av. *gāv*-, Phl. *gav*, NP. *gāv*. *gāw*, pace : Av. *gāma*, Phl., NP. *gām*. *girīfān*, pouch, pocket : Av. *garēwa*-, Phl. *garīvpān*, NP. *giribān*.

2. Kj. *g* = Av. *k*, Phl. *g*, NP. *g*.

-ger, a worker in, maker of : Av. *-kara*, Phl., NP. *gar*.

3. Kj. *g* = Av. *k*, Phl. *?*, NP. *k*.

gōza, earthen pot : Av. *kavza*-, NP. *kūza*.

4. Kj. *g* = Av. *v*, Phl. *g*, NP. *g*.

gurch, kidney : Av. *veretka*-, Phl. *gurt*, NP. *gurda*. $\sqrt{gūr}$, change : Av. \sqrt{varet} , Phl. *gāsh*, NP. $\sqrt{gāsh}$, *gār*. *gurg*,

wolf : Av. *vehrka-*, Phl., NP. *gurg. gund*, village : (Skt. *vr̥nda-*), Phl. *gund*, NP. *ghund*.

5. Kj. *g* = Av. *v*, Phl. *v*, NP. *g*.

√*gar*, turn, wander : Av. √*varet*, Phl. √*vart*, NP. √*gard*.
gish-k, all : Av. *vispo-*, Phl. *visp*, NP. —.

6. Kj. *g* = Av. *t*, Phl. *t*, NP. *d*, *δ*.

āgir, fire : Av. *ātar-*, Phl. *ātār*, NP. *ādar*. *jigā*, separate :
Av. *yuta-*, Phl. *jutāk*, NP. *judā*. *reg*, line, row : Av. *areta-*,
Phl. —, NP. *rada*.

Compare also *zerg*, yellow, with NP. *zard*; *tagbîr*, loan-word from Ar. *تابير*; *pîāga*, loan-word from NP. *pîāda*.

7. Kj. *g* = Av. *gh*, Phl. ?, NP. *gh*.

mêrg, turf, meadow : Av. *maregha-*, Phl. ?, NP. *margh*.

8. Kj. *gi* = Av. *ga*, Phl. *j*, NP. *j*.

giān, soul : Av. *gaya-*, Phl., NP. *jān*.

XVII. *gh*

The sound is rarely heard except in loan-words, usually having been hardened to *kh* (which see). It appears in the place-name *Mughāgh*, a low-lying marshy place, which is a loan-word from NP. *mughāk*.

In the loan-word *mghêrî*, it represents NP. *kh* in *bukhārî*.

XVIII. *q* (Ar. *ق*)

1. Kj. *q* = Av. *k*, Phl. *k*, NP. *k*.

qurna, corner, edge : Av. *karana-*, Phl. *kanārak*, NP. *kanār*.
qîn, anger : Av. *kaēna-*, Phl. *kēn*, NP. *kîn*. *quz*, vulva : Av. ?,
Phl. ?, NP. *kus*. *qng*, anus : Av. ?, Phl., NP. *kūn*.

k is seen unchanged in *kun*, a hole. There are several cases where, although *k* is seen changed to *q*, the original form is still in use, as in *pishqîl*, *pishkîl*; *qaladar*, *kaladar*; *qôl*, *kôl*; *qāliq*, *kālik*.

2. Kj. *q* = Av. *g*, Phl. *g*, NP. *g*.

qurg, gullet : Av. *garah-*, Phl. *garūk*, NP. *gulū*. *qizh*, locks :

Av. *gaēsa-*, Phl. *gēs*, NP. *gēs*. *qirch*, wrinkle : Av. $\sqrt{garez-}$, Phl., NP. —.

The last word is also seen as *girj*, *chirch*, and *kirch*.

3. Kj. *q* = *kh* in loan-words.

qira, dotard : Ar. خرف. *qirzhānk*, crab : NP. *kharchang*.

PALATAL

XIX. *ch*

1. Kj. *ch* = Av. *ch*, Phl. *ch*, NP. *ch*.

chwār, four : Av. *chaθwār*, Phl., NP. *chahār*. *chaw*, eye : Av. *chashman*, Phl., NP. *chashm*. $\sqrt{chē}$, cultivate, sow : Av. \sqrt{chay} , Phl. $\sqrt{chē}$, NP. $\sqrt{chē}$. *chār*, face : Av. *chiθra-*, Phl. *chihrak*, NP. *chihra*.

2. Kj. *ch* = Av. *sh*, Phl. *s*, NP. *s*.

hirch, *wirch*, bear : Av. *aresha-*, Phl., NP. *khirs*.

3. Kj. *ch* = Av. *sh*, Phl. *sh*, NP. *sh*.

gōchka, ear : Av. *gaosha-*, Phl., NP. *gōsh*.

4. Kj. *ch* = Av. *s*, Phl. *s*, NP. *s*.

\sqrt{chri} , call, cry : Av. \sqrt{sru} , Phl. \sqrt{sru} , NP. $\sqrt{surū}$. *pach-*, cattle : Av. *pasu-*, Phl. —, NP. —.

5. Kj. *ch* = Av. *s*, Phl. *z*, NP. *s*.

pirch, locks : Av. *varesa-*, Phl. *varz*, NP. *gares*.

6. Kj. *ch* = Av. —, Phl. *sh*, NP. *sh*.

chaqāl, jackal : (Skt. *śṛgāla-*), Phl., NP. *shaghāl*.

7. Kj. *ch* = Av. *z*, *δ*, Phl. —, NP. —.

chirch, wrinkles : Av. $\sqrt{gareδ}$, *garez*. *china*, chin : Av. *zanva-* (cf. NP. *zanakh*).

8. Kj. *ch* = Av. *k*, Phl. *k*, NP. *g*.

suchar, porcupine : Av. *sukuruna-*, Phl. *sukur*, NP. *sugur*. *cherā*, shears : Av. \sqrt{keret} , Phl., NP. —.

9. Kj. *ch* = Av. *g*, Phl. —, NP. —.

chirch, wrinkles : Av. \sqrt{garez} , Phl., NP. —.

10. Kj. *ch* = Av. *t*, Phl. *t*, NP. *d*.
gurch, kidney : Av. *veretka*-, Phl. *gurtak*, NP. *gurda*.
11. Kj. *ch* = Av. *?*, Phl. *?*, NP. *kh*.
chilm, mucus : Av. *?*, Phl. *?*, NP. *khilm*.
12. Kj. *ch* = Av. *?*, Phl. *?*, NP. *k*.
kēch, flea : Av. *?*, Phl. *?*, NP. *kēk*.

XX. *j*

1. Kj. *j* = Av. *j*, Phl. *j*, *z*, NP. *z*.
jindū, alive : Av. *√ji*, Phl. *zīvandak*, NP. *zinda*. *ārejū*, desire : Av. *√arēj*, Phl. *arj*, NP. *ārzū*. *-jār*, a place of : Av. *?*, Phl. *jār*, NP. *zār*.
2. Kj. *j* = Av. *y*, Phl. *y*, *j*, NP. *j*.
jūt, plough : Av. *yukhta*-, Phl. *yukht*, NP. *juft*. *jēzhn*, festival : Av. *yasna*-, Phl. *yashn*, NP. *jashn*. *jerg*, liver : Av. *yākar*-, Phl. *jakar*, NP. *jigar*. *jigā*, separate : Av. *yuta*-, Phl. *jutāk*, NP. *judā*. *jūn*, to chew : Av. *?*, Phl. *jūtan*, NP. *jāvidan*.
3. Kj. *j* = Av. *ch*, Phl. *ch*, NP. *z*.
rōj, light, day : Av. *raochah*-, Phl. *roch*, NP. *rūz*.
4. Kj. *j* = Av. *g*, Phl. *g*, NP. *g*.
jā, time : Av. *gātu*-, Phl. *gās*, NP. *gāh*.
5. Kj. *j* = Av. *?* (Skt. *t*), Phl. —, NP. *d*.
janjar, a threshing appliance : Skt. *yantrā*-, Phl. —, NP. *jandara*.

DENTAL

XXI. *t*

1. Kj. *t* = Av. *t*, Phl. *t*, NP. *t*.
tūw, seeds : Av. *taokhma*-, Phl. *tokhm*, NP. *tukhm*. *√tw*, melt, flow : Av. *√tach*, Phl. *√vitākh* (NP. *gudākh*tan). *stēr*, star : Av. *star*-, Phl. *stārak*, NP. *sitāra*. *twr*, hatchet : Av. *?*, Phl. *tabrak*, NP. *tabar*. *jūt*, plough : Av. *yukhta*-, Phl. *yukht*, NP. *juft*. *√tāsh*, carve, cut : Av. *√tash*, Phl. *√tash*, NP. *√tarāsh*.

2. Kj. *t* = Av. *t*, Phl. *t*, NP. *d*.
nwt, felt: Av. *nimata*-, Phl. *namat*, NP. *namad*.
3. Kj. *t* = Av. *d*, Phl. *d*, NP. *d*.
tush, difficulty, obstruction: Av. *duzh*-, *dush*-, Phl. *dush*-, NP. *dush*-.
4. Kj. *t* = *d* in loan-word.
nakhṭē, some: Ar. *أخ*.
5. Kj. *t* = Av. *ch*, Phl. *ch*, NP. *z*.
√sūt, burn: Av. *√such*, Phl. *sōc*, NP. *√sōz*.
6. Kj. *t* = Av. *s*, Phl. *?*, NP. *ch*.
pūt, empty, rotten, rubbish: Av. *paosh*-, Phl. *?*, NP. *pūch*.
Nos. 5 and 6 are more fully exemplified in Northern Kj.

XXII. *d*

1. Kj. *d* = Av. *d*, Phl. *d*, NP. *d*.
dān, tooth: Av. *dantan*, Phl. *dantān*, NP. *dandān*. *danik*, pip: Av. *dānō*-, Phl. *dānak*, NP. *dānah*. *derzī*, needle: Av. *√darez*, Phl. *darz*, NP. *darzī* (tailor). *√der*, tear: Av. *√dar*, Phl., NP. *√dar*. *√da*, give: Av. *√dā*, Phl., NP. *√da*.
2. Kj. *d* = Av. *j*, Phl. *z*, NP. *z*.
√da, strike: Av. *√jan*, Phl., NP. *√zan*. Compare also Kj. *√doz*, seek, find, with NP. *justan* from OP. *√jad*.
3. In the following two words—*dast*, hand, *dōst*, friend—lie one of the incongruities of Kj. As original *z* does not become *d* it would appear that *dast* and *dōst* must (a) have been borrowed from Phl. or NP. if Kj. is a non-Persian language, and supplanted the words *zast* and *zōst*, which would have followed Av. *zasta*- and *zaosha*-, (b) be original words in a Persian language.

A further difficulty is, however, presented by the word *ward*, a cultivated plot, against which *z* is seen in Av. *√varz*, Phl. *√varz*, NP. *√barz*.

LABIALS

XXIII. *p*

1. Kj.
- p*
- = Av.
- p*
- , Phl.
- p*
- , NP.
- p*
- .

√*aparmū*, trust, hope: Av. *ā-*√*parmū*, Phl., NP. —.
spī, white: Av. *spaēta*, Phl. *spēt*, NP. *safīd*. *spār*, trust,
 entrust: Av. *us-*√*par*, Phl. √*spar*, NP. √*sipār*. *pas*,
 small cattle: Av. *pasu-*, Phl. *pah*, NP. —. *parasū*, ribs:
 Av. *paresu-*, Phl. *pahlūk*, NP. *pahlū*. *pert*, bridge: Av.
pərtu-, Phl. *puhl*, NP. *pul*. *pursha*, sleet: Av. *parshva-*,
 Phl. *parashveh*, NP. —.

2. Kj.
- p*
- = Av.
- p*
- , Phl.
- p*
- , NP.
- b*
- .

pai, to: Av. *paiti*, Phl. *pat*, NP. *ba*.

3. Kj.
- p*
- =
- b*
- in loan-words.

pirinj, rice: NP. *birinj*. *sharāp*, wine: Ar. word borrowed
 through NP. *sharāb*. *kharāp*, bad: Ar. خراب. *taḡl*, drum:

Ar. طبل.

4. Kj.
- p*
- = Av.
- v*
- , Phl.
- v*
- , NP.
- g*
- (see also Kj.
- b*
- , 3 and 4).

pirch, locks: Av. *varesa-*, Phl. *varz*, NP. *gars*. √*psr*,
 break, apart: Av. *vi-*√*sard*, Phl. *visastan*, NP. *gusistan*.
 √*pshēw*, being confused, perturbed: ? Av. *vi-*√*khshēw*, Phl.,
 NP. —.

5. Kj.
- p*
- =
- f*
- in loan-words.

sipla, humble, mean: Ar. سفله. *pata*, the Ar. proper
 name فتاح.

XXIV. *b*

(*b* is seldom seen except initially, changing to *w* medially
 and finally.)

1. Kj.
- b*
- = Av.
- b*
- , Phl.
- b*
- , NP.
- b*
- .

bā, certainly: Av. *bā*, Phl., NP. —. *bar*, breast, front:
 Av. *para-*, Phl., NP. —. *berz*, high: Av. *berəz*, Phl. *burz*,
 NP. —. *brā*, brother: Av. *brātar*, Phl. *brātar*, NP. *berūdar*.

bin, the bottom : Av. *buna-*, Phl., NP. *bun*. *bizin*, goat : Av. *buja-*, Phl. *buj*, NP. *buz*.

2. Kj. *b* = Av. *v*, Phl. *v*, NP. *b*.

bafr, snow : Av. *vafra-*, Phl. *vafr*, NP. *barf*. *bēn*, snout : Av. *vaena*, Phl. *vēnik*, NP. *bīnē*. *bā*, wind : Av. *vāta-*, Phl. *vāt*, NP. *bād*.

3. Kj. *b* (*i*) = Av. *v* (*i*), Phl. *v* (*i*), NP. *gu*.

√*bwār*, passing over : Av. *vi-* √*tar*, Phl. √*vitar*, NP. *gudhar*. √*bzhār*, choosing from : Av. *vi-* √*char*, Phl. √*vchar*, NP. √*guzar*. *bināsa*, quarrel, violent offence : (Skt. *vi-* √*naç*), Phl. *vinās*, NP. *gunāh*. *barāz*, hog : Av. *varāza-*, Phl. *varāz*, NP. *gurāz*.

4. Kj. *b* = Av. *?*, Phl. *g*, NP. *g*.

birs, hunger : Av. *?*, Phl. *gursak*, NP. *gurs*.

5. Kj. *b* = Av. *f*, Phl. *f*, NP. *f*.

bar, cause, reason : Av. *fra-*, Phl. *freh*, NP. *firih*. *bar*, loose, free : Av. *fra-*, Phl. *frāj*, NP. *firāz*.

XXV. *f*

1. Kj. *f* = Av. *f*, Phl. *f*, NP. *f*.

ferā, broad, ample : Av. *fraθah*, Phl. *frāh*, NP. *ferākh*. √*frūsh*, sell : Av. *fra-* √*vakhsh*, Phl. *ferūsh*, NP. *ferūsh*.

2. Kj. *f* = Av. *f*, Phl. *f*, NP. *h*.

kēf, mountain : Av. *kaufa-*, Phl. *kōf*, NP. *kūh*.

3. Kj. *f* = Av. *p*, Phl. *p*, NP. *f*.

√*kaft*, fall : Av. √*pat*, Phl. √*kaft*, NP. √*ōft*.

4. Kj. *f* = Av. *p*, Phl. *p*, NP. *p*.

√*fer*, fly : Av. *parena-*, Phl., NP. √*par*.

5. Kj. *f* = NP. *kh*.

fēnūk, cool : NP. *khunūk*.

XXVI. *m*

1. Kj. *m* = Av. *m*, Phl. *m*, NP. *m*.

mēsh, fly : Av. *makhshi-*, Phl. *magas*, NP. *magas*. *pīm*, fat : Av. *paeman*, Phl. *pīm* (NP. *pī*). *nīm*, dampness :

Av. *namna-*, Phl., NP. *nam. maz, mas*, large: Av. *mas*, Phl. *mas*, NP. *mih. māsī*, fish: Av. *masya-*, Phl. *māhik*, NP. *māhī*.

2. Kj. *m* = Av. *ū*, Phl. *v*, NP. *b*.

zmān, tongue: Av. *hizū-*, Phl. *uzvān*, NP. *zabān*.

3. Kj. *m* = *b* in loan-words.

ghumār, mist: Ar. غبار. *mgħērī*, stove: NP. بخاری.

mhāna, pretext: NP. بهانه.

4. Kj. *m* = Av. *ng*, Phl. *ng*, NP. *ng*.

amust, finger: Av. *angushta*, Phl. *angust*, NP. *angusht*.

NASAL

XXVII. *n*

1. Kj. *n* = Av. *n*, Phl. *n*, NP. *n*.

ganum, wheat: Av. *gantaoma-*, Phl. *gantum*, NP. *gandum*.
chan, some: Av. *chvant-*, Phl. *chvant*, NP. *chand. nawa*,
 offspring: Av. *napa*, Phl. *nūf*, NP. *navādah. nēr*, male:
 Av. *nairya-*, Phl., NP. *nar. nizm*, low: Av. *nitem*, Phl.,
 NP. —. $\sqrt{nwā}$, display: Av. *nī- $\sqrt{mā}$* , Phl. $\sqrt{nimā}$, NP.
 $\sqrt{nimā}$.

2. Kj. *n* = Av. *m*, Phl. *n*, NP. *n*.

han-, verbal prefix: Av. *ham*, Phl., NP. *an- shīn*,
 lamentation: Av. *khshim-*, Phl. *shīn*, NP. —.

3. Kj. *n* = Av. *?*, Phl. *n*, NP. *m*.

bān, roof: Av. *?*, Phl. *bān*, NP. *bām*.

XXVIII. *n̄*

I have used this symbol to indicate nasalization following a long vowel. The sound is nearly the same as that heard in Urdu, but is less marked. There are but few words in Kj. which possess it.

The NP. words *tāzī* greyhound, *tāj* crown, *bāzī* gaming, have been borrowed and nasalized to *tānzhī*, *tānj*, and *bānzī*.

Other words in which it occurs are *kōnder*, where, for *kūder*; *lawēnderī*, there, for *lawēderī*; *lāṅgir*, a partisan, for *lāṅgir*; *spīndār*, poplar, for *spīdār*; and possibly *Kurmānj*, for *Kur(d)-mād*.

XXIX. *ng*

This is the guttural nasal, pronounced as in English "hang", "bang".

1. Kj. *ng* = Av. *n*, Phl. —, NP. —.

māng, moon: Av. *maonha-*, *māh*, Phl., NP. *māh*.

2. Kj. *ng* = Av. *n-g*, Phl. *n-g*, NP. *n-g*.

angust, finger: Av. *angushta-*, Phl. *angust*, NP. *angusht*.
angwēn, honey: Av. ?, Phl. *angumēn*, NP. *angubīn*. *rang*,
 colour: (Skt. *ranga-*), Phl. —, NP. *rang*.

3. Kj. *ng* = Av. ?, Phl. *n*, NP. *n*.

qng, anus: Av. ?, Phl., NP. *kūn*. Loan-word *kānga*,
 a mine: NP. *kān*. Loan-word *dānga*, a pimple: NP. *dāna*.

4. Kj. *ng* = Av. *nt*, Phl. *nt*, NP. *nd*.

chang, some: Av. *chvant*, Phl. *chvant*, NP. *chand*. *pang*,
 idea: Av. *pantan*, Phl., NP. *pand*.

5. Kj. *ng* = Av. *nd*, Phl. *nd*, NP. *nd*.

bang, bond: Av. $\sqrt{\text{band}}$, Phl., NP. *band*.

6. Kj. *ng* = *nd* in loan-word.

mangūl, kerchief: Ar. مندیل.

LIQUIDS

XXX. *r*

1. Kj. *r* = Av. *r*, Phl. *r*, NP. *r*.

asr, tears: Av. *asru*, Phl. *ars*, NP. *ars*. *āgir*, fire: Av.
ātar-, Phl. *ātār*, NP. *ādhar*. *bar*, a reason: Av. *fra-*, Phl. *freh*,
 NP. *firih*. *hushtir*, camel: Av. *ushtra*, Phl. *ushtir*, NP.
shutur. $\sqrt{\text{rēsh}}$, flow: Av. $\sqrt{\text{rech}}$, Phl., NP. $\sqrt{\text{rēz}}$. *rān*,
 thigh: Av. *rāna-*, Phl., NP. *rān*.

2. Kj. *r* = Av. *r*, Phl. *r*, NP. *l*.

gerū, gullet: Av. *garah-*, Phl. *garūk*, NP. *gulū*.

XXXI. *r* (alveolar, strongly trilled)

The use of *r*, though quite distinct from that of *r*, does not appear to be the subject of any readily detected rule. In the words *par* feather, \sqrt{bir} cut, the *r* has its counterpart in NP. In other words, such as *pr*, full, many: Av. *per^sna*, Phl., NP. *pur*; *rawa*, a drove: NP. *rama*; \sqrt{rif} , snatch away: NP. \sqrt{rub} ; *rash*, black: NP. *rakhsh* (Firdausi), the cause of its strengthening is not evident. The sound is very widely used, and is one of the commonest characteristics of the language.

XXXII. *l*

1. Kj. *l* = Av. *r*, Phl. *l*, NP. *l*.
gilā, complaint: Av. *gereza-*, Phl. *gilak*, NP. *gileh*.
2. Kj. *l* = Av. *r*, Phl. *r*, NP. *r*.
gil, detention, holding: Av. \sqrt{garw} , Phl. \sqrt{graf} , NP. *gir*. *halata*, hill: Av. *haraiti-*, Phl. *har*, NP. —.
3. Kj. *l* = Av. *n*, Phl. *n*, NP. *n*.
kul, blunt: Av. ? (Skt. *kuntha-*), Phl. ?, NP. *kund*. *jūāl*, young, pretty: Av. *yuvan*, Phl. *javānak*, NP. *javān*. *māl*, house: Av. *nmana-*, Phl. *mān*, NP. *mān*. *ruwāla*, *rōla*, beloved, soul: Av. *urvan-*, Phl. *ruvān*, NP. *rawān*. *zīl*, large, powerful, heavy: Av. *zainti-*, Phl. *zand*, NP. —. *la*, at upon, from: Av. *ana*, Phl., NP. —.
4. Kj. *l* = Av. *t*, Phl. *t*, NP. *t*.
kul, short: Av. *kutāha-*, Phl. *kūtāk*, NP. *kūtāh*.
5. Kj. *l* = Av. *t*, Phl. *d*, NP. *d*.
khulā, God: Av. *khvadhāta-*, Phl. *khudāk*, NP. *khudā*.
6. Kj. *l* = *d* in loan-word.
klīl, key: NP. *kitīd*.

XXXIII. *l*

Similar to the Russian *l*

1. Kj. *l* = Av. *r*, Phl. *r*, NP. *r*.
gulch, kidney: Av. *veretka-*, Phl. *gurtak*, NP. *gurda*. *dōl* vale: Av. *darenā*, Phl. ?, NP. *darah*. $\sqrt{kēl}$, cultivation:

Av. $\sqrt{\text{karsh}}$, Phl. $\sqrt{\text{kāsh}}$, *kār*, NP. $\sqrt{\text{kār}}$. *sipul*, spleen :
Av. *spereza-*, Phl. *sparz*, NP. *sipurz*.

2. Kj. *l* = Av. *r*, Phl. *l*, NP. *l*.

sāl, year : Av. *sareta-*, Phl., NP. *sāl*. $\sqrt{\text{māl}}$, rub, sweep :
Av. $\sqrt{\text{marz}}$, Phl., NP. $\sqrt{\text{māl}}$. $\sqrt{\text{hēl}}$, allow : Av. $\sqrt{\text{harz}}$,
Phl., NP. $\sqrt{\text{hāl}}$.

SIBILANT

XXXIV. *s*

1. Kj. *s* = Av. *s*, Phl. *s*, NP. *s*.

asr, tears : Av. *asru-*, Phl., NP. *ars*. *sipul*, spleen : Av.
spereza-, Phl. *sparz*, NP. *sipurz*. *sāl*, year : Av. *sareta-*,
Phl., NP. *sāl*. *est*, bone : Av. *asta-*, Phl. *ast*, NP. *ust-*.
hastūr, thick, heavy : Av. *starwa-*, Phl. *stapr*, NP. *sitabr*.

2. Kj. *s* = Av. *s*, Phl. *sh*, NP. *sh*.

ispī, louse : Av. *spish-*, Phl. *shupush*, NP. *shipish*. *kēs-*,
tortoise : Av. *kasyapa-*, Phl. ?, NP. *kashaf*.

3. Kj. *s* = Av. *sh*, Phl. *s*, *sh*, NP. *sh*.

añust, finger : Av. *angushta-*, Phl. *angust*, NP. *angusht*.
mist, fist : Av. *mushti-*, Phl., NP. *musht*.

4. Kj. *s* = Av. θ (*r*), Phl. *s*, NP. *s*.

awis, pregnant : Av. *apuθra*, Phl. *āwus*, NP. *ābis*. *pās*,
guarding : Av. *paθra*, Phl. *pās*, NP. *pās*.

5. Kj. *s* = Av. *z*, Phl. *z*, NP. *z*.

bāsik, arm : Av. *bāzū-*, Phl. *bāzāk*, NP. *bāzū*. *brus-*,
flashing, sparks : Av. $\sqrt{\text{braz}}$, Phl., NP. —.

6. Kj. *s* = *z* in loan-word.

temīs, clean : Ar. تمیز .

7. Kj. *s* = Av. *s*, Phl. *h*, NP. *h*.

pas, sheep, small cattle : Av. *pasu-*, Phl. *pah*, NP. —.
āsik, gazelle : Av. *āsu-*, Phl. *āhik*, NP. *āhū*. *māsī*, fish :
Av. *masya-*, Phl. *māhik*, NP. *māhī*.

8. Kj. *s* = Av. *s* (*z*), Phl. *s*, NP. *h*.

mas, great : Av. *mas-*, *maz*, Phl. *mas*, NP. *mih*. *āsin*,

iron : Av. —, Phl. *āsīn*, NP. *āhan*. *benāsa*, quarrel, offence of violence : Av. —, OP. *vi-nātha*, Skt. *vi-√nac*, Phl. *vinās*, NP. *gunāh*.

XXXV. *sh*

1. Kj. *sh* = Av. *sh*, Phl. *sh*, NP. *sh*.

drawsh, awl : Av. *drafsha*, Phl. *drafsh*, NP. *dirafsh*. *dush*, last night : Av. *daoshatara*, Phl. *dosh*, NP. *dōsh*. *hishk*, dry : Av. *hushka*, Phl., NP. *khushk*. *hushtir*, camel : Av. *ushtra*, Phl. *ushtir*, NP. *shutur*. *nishw*, precipice : Av. *nikhshwaepa*, Phl. *nishēp*, NP. *nishw*. *pursha*, sleet : Av. *parshva*, Phl. *parashveh*, NP. —. *√sh*, wash : Av. *√shud*, Phl., NP. *√shust*. *shā*, glad, rejoicing : Av. *√shā*, Phl. *shāt*, NP. *shād*.

2. Kj. *sh* = Av. *s*, Phl. *s*, NP. *s*.

āsh, millstone : Av. *as-man*, Phl. *as-yāw*, NP. *ās-yāb*. *gisht*, all : Av. *vispo*-, Phl. *-vīst*, *-vīsp*, NP. —. *ēsh*, pain, hurt : Av. *yaska*, Phl. *yask*, NP. *jask*.

3. Kj. *sh* = Av. *s*, Phl. *s*, NP. *sh*.

lash, dead flesh : Av. *nasu*-, Phl. *nasāy*, NP. *lāsh*.

4. Kj. *sh* = *s* in loan-words.

yakhshir, prisoner of war : Ar. loan-word through Tk. *يسير*.

5. Kj. *sh* = Av. *ch*, Phl. *ch*, NP. —, *z*.

-sh, enclitic meaning, and, also : Av. *-cha*, Phl. *-ch*, NP. —. *√rish*, outpour : Av. *√rech*, Phl. *√rēch*, NP. *√rīz*.

6. Kj. *sh* = Av. —, Phl. *h*, NP. *h*.

kāsh (in *kāshkēshān*), chaff : Av. ?, Skt. *kāca*, Phl., NP. *kāh*.

7. Kj. *sh* = Av. *z*, Phl. *z*, NP. *z*.

mēshik, marrow, brain : Av. *mazga*-, Phl. *mazg*, NP. *maghz*.

8. Kj. *sh* = Av. *z*, Phl. *sh*, NP. *sh*.

√dōsh, milk : Av. *√duz*, Phl., NP. *√dōsh*.

9. Kj. *sh* = Av. *sch*, Phl. *s*, NP. *s*.

pāsh, after, behind : Av. *pascha*, Phl. *pas*, NP. *pas*. *shūen*, traces, place, consequences : Av. ? *√scha*, Phl., NP. —.

XXXVI. *z*

1. Kj. *z* = Av. *z*, Phl. *z*, NP. *z*.
√za, be born : Av. *√zan*, Phl., NP. *√zā*. *barāz*, boar : Av. *varāza-*, Phl. *varāz*, NP. *gurāz*. *mīz*, urine : Av. *√maez*, Phl. *√mēz*, NP. *√mīz*. *zamān*, tongue : Av. *hizū-*, Phl. *uzvān*, NP. *zabān*.
2. Kj. *z* = Av. *z*, Phl. *d*, NP. *d*.
√zān, know : Av. *√zān*, OP. *√dān*, Phl., NP. *√dān*. *zāwā*, bridegroom : Av. *zāmātar*, Phl. *damādh*, NP. *dāmād*. *az*, I : Av. *azem*, OP. *adam*, Phl., NP. —. *zer*, heart : Av. *zereḏ-*, Phl., NP. *dīl*.
3. Kj. *z* = Av. *zh*, Phl. *z*, *zh*, NP. *z*.
ḏīz, thief : Av. *ḏaozhda-*, Phl. *ḏuzhd*, NP. *ḏuzd*. *muz*, wage : Av. *mizhda-*, Phl., NP. *muzd*.
4. Kj. *z* = Av. *j*, Phl. *j*, NP. *z*.
bizin, goat : Av. *buja-*, Phl. *buja*, NP. *buz*. *√zar*, bray : Av. *√jar*, Phl. *?*, NP. *√zār*.
5. Kj. *z* = Av. *ch*, Phl. *j*, NP. *z*.
√pārēz, abstain, protect, defend : Av. *paiti-* *√raech*, Phl. *√pahvrēj*, NP. *parhīz*.
6. Kj. *z* = Av. *t*, Phl. *sh*, NP. *sh*.
khīz, relatives : Av. *khvaetu-*, Phl., NP. *khvēsh*.
7. Kj. *z* = Av. *s*, Phl. *s*, NP. *s*.
zīw, silver : Av. *simā*, Phl. *asīm*, NP. *sīm*. *nizm*, low : Av. *nisma*, Phl., NP. —. *quz*, uterus : Av. *?*, Phl. *?*, NP. *kus*.
8. Kj. *z* = Av. *?*, Phl. *sh*, NP. *sh*.
zik, belly : Av. *?*, Phl. *shikambu*, NP. *shikam*.
9. Kj. *z* = Ar. ذ ظ *ḏ ṣ*.

azāb, Ar. عذاب. *zāfet*, Ar. ضیافت. *zarar*, Ar. ضرر.

qāzī, Ar. قاضی. *zālim*, Ar. ظالم. *haz*, Ar. حظ.

XXXVII. *zh*

1. Kj. *zh* = Av. *zh*, Phl. *z*, j, NP. *z*.
zhnū, *azhnū*, knee: Av. *zhnū*-, Phl., NP. *zānū* = Av. *zānū*.
tūzh, sharp: Av. *taezha*-, *tizhi*-, Phl. *tēj*, NP. *tēz*.
2. Kj. *zh* = Av. *z*, Phl. *z*, NP. *z*.
āzhār, torment: Av. *ā*-√*zar*, Phl., NP. *āzār*. √*āzhū*,
urge, drive: Av. *ā*-√*az*, Phl., NP. —.
3. Kj. *zh* = Av. *z*, Phl. *zh*, NP. *z*.
hazhār, wretched, miserable: Av. √*zar*, Phl. *zhār*, NP. *zār*.
4. Kj. *zh* = Av. *j*, Phl. *j*, NP. —.
hāzh, strength: Av. *aoja*-, Phl. *ōj*, NP. —.
5. Kj. *zh* = Av. *j*, Phl. *z*, NP. *zh*.
zhūr, chamber, cellar: Av. *jafra*-, Phl. *zufar*, NP. *zharf*.
6. Kj. *zh* = Av. *j*, Phl. *z*, NP. *z*.
zhin, woman: Av. *jēnī*-, Phl., NP. *zan*. √*zhī*, live: Av.
√*jī*, Phl. √*ziv*, NP. √*zī*. √*zhan*, churn, beat: Av. √*jan*,
Phl., NP. √*zan*. *zhār*, poison; Av. *jaθra*, Phl., NP. *zahr*.
7. Kj. *zh* = Av. *ch*, Phl. *ch*, NP. *z*.
√*rēzh*, pour: Av. √*rech*, Phl. √*rech*, NP. √*rīz*. *rōzh*,
light, day: Av. *raochah*-, Phl. *rōch*, NP. *rūz*.
8. Kj. *zh* = *ch* in loan-word.
halōzha, plum: NP. *ālūcheh*.
9. Kj. *zh* = Av. *s*, Phl. *s*, NP. *s*.
qizh, locks: Av. *gaesa*-, Phl., NP. *gēs*.
10. Kj. *zh* = Av. *s*, Phl. *sh*, NP. *sh*.
jēzhn, festival: Av. *yasna*, Phl. *yashn*, NP. *jashn*.
11. Kj. *zh* = Av. *sh*, Phl. *s*, *sh*, NP. *s*, *sh*.
√*chēzh*, taste: Av. √*chash*, Phl., NP. √*chash*. √*kuzh*,
kill: Av. √*kaosh*, Phl., NP. √*kush*. *mizh*, midge: Av.
makshī-, Phl., NP. *magas*.
12. Kj. *zh* = Av. *d*, Phl. *z*, NP. *zh*.
zhuzhik, hedgehog: Av. *duzhaka*-, Phl. *zūzak*, NP. *zhūzhī*.

ASPIRATE

XXXVIII. *h*

Occurs only initially, not having survived medially or finally.

1. Kj. *h* = Av. *h*, Phl. *h*, NP. *h*.

hāwan, mortar : Av. *hāvana-*, Phl., NP. *hāvan*. *hāwīn*, summer : Av. *hāmin*, Phl. *hāmīn*, NP. —.

2. Kj. *h* = Av. *h*, Phl. —, NP. —.

hagar, if : Av. *ha-kara-*, Phl., NP. *agar*. *han-*, verbal prefix : Av. *ham-*, Phl., NP. *an-*. *hī*, genitive particle : Av. *hē*, OP. *hya*, Phl. *i*, NP. *i*. (the *izāfa*).

3. Kj. *h* = Phl. *h*, NP. —.

harmī, pear : Phl. *hormod*, NP. *armūd*.

4. Kj. *h* = Av. *h*, Phl. *kh*, NP. *kh*.

hishk, dry : Av. *hushka-*, Phl., NP. *khushk*. *hu*, hog : Av. *hu-*, Phl., NP. *khūk*.

5. Kj. *h* = Av. —, Phl. *kh*, NP. *kh*.

hālka, *hēk*, egg : Av. ?, Phl. *khāik*, NP. *khāya*. *hirsch*, bear : Av. *aresha-*, Phl., NP. *khirs*.

6. Kj. *h* = NP. *kh*.

hēnik, cool : NP. *khunūk*.

7. Kj. *h* = *kh* in loan-word.

hawīr, dough : Ar. خمير.

8. Kj. *h* = *y* in loan-words.

hatīw, orphan : Ar. يتيم. *hēldāsh*, travelling companion : Tk. *yoldāsh*. *hēwāsh*, gently : Tk. *yawāsh*.

9. Kj. *h* = Kj. *w*.

hirsch = *wirsch*. *hishk* = *wishk*. *henāsa* = *wenāsa*. *hurd* = *wurd*.

10. Kj. *h* occurs as augment before *a* or *ā*.

(a) In the following original words it is an augment : *√hasā*, be easy : Av. *√sī*. *hasp*, horse : Av. *aspo-*. *hawr*,

cloud: Av. *awra-*. *hawrāz*, ascent: Av. *aiwi-rāsta*. $\sqrt{hā}$, come: Av. $\sqrt{āi}$. *hāzh*, power: Av. *aoja-*. $\sqrt{hān}$, bring: Av. *ā-* \sqrt{nay} .

(b) In the following loan-words: *halōzha*: NP. *alūcha*. *hanār*: NP. *anār*. *hanjīr*: NP. *anjīr*. *harzān*: NP. *arzān*.

hasūr: Ar. أسير. *hājiz*: Ar. عاجز. *halak*: Tk. *alak*; and many others.

(c) In *hastūr*, Av. *staurā-*, Phl. *stavr*, NP. *sitabr*; and in *hawār* (camping ground), Av. *vara-*, Phl. *var*, NP. —, it appears with *-a*, as *ha* augment.

XXXIX. *h*

The guttural aspirate, which is not natural to Kġ., being borrowed from Arabic. It is not always preserved in loan-words from Arabic, tending to become a simple aspirate, as

in *haz*, Ar. حظ; *hafr*, Ar. حفر; *hazir*, Ar. حاضر.

In one case only has *h* become *h*, namely in *hawt*, seven: Av. *hapta-*, which is, however, only thus pronounced in a small area in the south.

LOSSES OF ORIGINAL LETTERS AND TREATMENT OF SOME CONSONANT GROUPS

1. The commonest loss is that of original *d* and *t*, which is supported by hundreds of examples both ancient and modern. The dental is, however, preserved in the initial position. After a long vowel, between vowels, and after *n*, it invariably disappears.

In all the following examples both Phl. and NP. preserve the original *t*, the former as *t* or *d*, the latter as *d*.

ganum, wheat: Av. *gantaoma-*. *wā*, wind: Av. *vāta-gan*, fetid: Av. *gainti-*. \sqrt{gar} , turn: Av. \sqrt{veret} . *kām*, which: Ab. *katama-*. *āzā*, brave; Av. *āzāta-*. *bī*, willow: Av. *vaeiti-*. *spī*, good, pretty, white: Av. *spaeta-*, etc.

2. Original *thr* preceded by a short vowel becomes *ār*, while

in Phl. and NP. original short vowel is preserved and *thr* changed to *tr* or *hr*.

chār, face : Av. *chithra*-, Phl. *chihr*, NP. *chihra*.

zhār, poison : Av. *jathra*-, Phl., NP. *zahr*.

shār, district, township : Av. *khshathra*-, Phl. *shatr*, NP. *shahr*.

The group *ēra*, *awra*, and *kūra*, seen in their proper forms in Central and Northern Kurdistan as *īder*, *avder*, and *kūder* (Kj. *koñder*), suggest comparison with Av. *iθra*, *avathra*, and *kuthra*, with simple loss of *th*, as in *chwār*, where the *w* of Av. *chathwār*, is preserved and *th* lost, as against the reverse process in Phl. and NP., where the *th* has been preserved in the *h* of *chahār*, and no trace of *w* survives.

3. Original medial *kh*r only appears to be represented in the word *sūr*, red ; Av. *sukhra*. Phl. has preserved the group in *sukhr*, while NP. has inverted it in *surkh*. From the presence of *suhr* in Central and Northern Kj., it would appear the *sūr* is the result of loss of *kh* before *r* with the vowel lengthening noticeable with the loss of original *th* before *r*.

Original medial *fr* is preserved intact in one case, and as *ūr* in another, without inversion as in Phl. and NP.

wafr, snow : Av. *vafra*-, Phl. *vafr*, *varf*, NP. *barf*.

zhūr, chamber, cellar : Av. *jafra*-, Phl. *zafr*, NP. *zharf*.

In the second example *af* appears to have passed through *aw* to *ū*. The form *zhawr* is heard in the extreme south.

4. Original *mr* only appears in *nerm*, Av. *namra*, Phl., NP. *narm*, which may be a loan-word from Phl. or NP.

5. Original *sr* appears in *asr*, tears, Av. *asru*-, Phl., NP. *ars*, i.e. not inverted, as in Phl. and NP.

6. The word *chawr*, fat, grease = Phl. *charp*, NP. *charb*, indicates the preservation of a possible *br*, *pr* group.

7. Original consonant(s) plus *n*. This may be subdivided into *khshn*, other consonant plus *n*, and group *r-n*.

In the first case Kj. loses *khsh*, while Phl. and NP. preserve *sh*, losing *kḥ*.

√*nās*, know, recognize : Av. √*khshnās*, Phl. √*shnās*, NP. √*shinās*.

rūn, light : Av. *raokhshna* = Phl., NP. *rōshan*.

In the second case K_j. loses any consonant preceding *n*, while Phl. and NP. preserve it.

rūn, oil : Av. *raoghna*-, Phl., NP. *rōghan*.

tīn, thirst : Av. *tarshnia*, Phl., NP. *tashna*.

pāni, heel : Av. *pāshna*, Phl., NP. *pāshna*.

The treatment of original *r-n* is the same as Phl. and NP. viz. loss of *n*, as *par* : Av. *parena*-, etc.

8. Treatment of original *kh*.

As an initial, before *sh*, K_j., like Phl. and NP., drops *kh*, as in *shaw*, *shūr*, etc., from Av. *khshapa*-, *khshīra*-, Phl. *shap*, *shūr*, NP. *shab*, *shūr*.

As an initial, where Phl. and NP. preserve *kh*, K_j. loses it, as :—

wash, pleasant : Av. ?, Phl. *khvash*, NP. *khūsh*.

wurd, small : Av. √*khvar*, Phl. *khurtak*, NP. *khurd*.

shīn, blue, green : Av. *khshaena*-, Phl. *khashīn*, NP. *khashīn*.

As a medial, where Phl. and NP. preserve *kh*, K_j. loses it, as :—

bash, part, lot : Av. *bakhsh*, Phl., NP. *bakhsh*.

mēsh, fly : Av. *makhshi*-, (Phl., NP. *magas*).

tūm, seeds : Av. *taokhma*-, Phl. *tokhm*, NP. *tukhm*.

wach, twig : Av. *vakhsha*-, Phl. *vakhsh*, NP. —.

9. K_j. loses original *sh* where it is the final consonant, while Phl. and NP. preserve it.

ispī, louse : Av. *spish*-, Phl. *shupush*, NP. *shepish*.

gūe, ear : Av. *gaosha*-, Phl., NP. *gōsh*.

mē, ewe : Av. *maasha*-, Phl., NP. *mēsh*.

rēwī, fox : Av. *revish*-, Phl. *rōbās*, NP. *rūbāh*.

rē, beard : Av. *raasha*-, Phl. *rēsh*, NP. *rīsh*.

10. In the word *sipul*, Kj. has lost the *z* of Av. *spereza*-, which is preserved in Phl. and NP. in *sparz* and *sipurz*. In *brīka*, "flashing, sparks," a similar loss of *z* (Av. $\sqrt{\text{braz}}$) is noticed, though it is preserved as *s* in *briska*, having the same meaning.

11. Kj. loses final *ch*, preserved by Phl. and changing to *z* in NP.

rō, light, day : Av. *raochah*-, Phl. *roch*, NP. *rūz*.

$\sqrt{\text{tw}}$, flow, melt : Av. $\sqrt{\text{tach}}$, Phl. $\sqrt{\text{vitāch}}$, NP. $\sqrt{\text{gudāz}}$.

12. Loss of *r*.

? initial (unsupported by other examples) :—

āst, direction, line : Av. *rāst*-, Phl., NP. *rast*.

Medial :—

tīn, thirst : Av. *tarshna*-, Phl. *tishn*, NP. *tishna*.

ēzh, worth : Av. *arejah*-, Phl. *arj*, NP. *arz*.

anishk, elbow : Av. *arethn*-, Phl. *aret*, *ertan*, NP. *āranj*.

baosh, upper part of side : Av. *barozhda*-, Phl., NP. —.

$\sqrt{\text{ba}}$, take, bear : Av. $\sqrt{\text{bere}}$, Phl., NP. $\sqrt{\text{bar}}$.

Final :—

khasū, mother-in-law : Av. *khvasūra*, Phl. ?, NP. *khasūr*.

$\sqrt{\text{āzhi}}$, flood, inundate : Av. $\tilde{\text{a}}\sqrt{\text{ghzhar}}$, Phl., NP. —.

$\sqrt{\text{pzha}}$, sprinkle continuously : Av. *vi*- $\sqrt{\text{ghzhar}}$, Phl., NP. —.

13. Loss of *t* preserved in Phl.

$\sqrt{\text{gūr}}$, change, return : Av. $\sqrt{\text{varet}}$, Phl. $\sqrt{\text{vart}}$, NP.

$\sqrt{\text{gār}}$.

bist, span : Av. *vi-tasti*-, Phl. *vitast*, NP. *bidhist*.

14. Loss of medial *b* :—

tūr, radish : NP. *turb-īza*.

tūra, wallet, loan-word from Tk. *tūbra*.

Loss of *b* after *m* :—

hāmar, store : Av. *ham*- $\sqrt{\text{bere}}$, Phl. *ambār*, NP. *ambār*.

shamū, Sabbath : NP. *shambēh*.

gumez, dome : NP. *gumbad*.

15. Loss of final *v*.

gā, bull : Av. *gāv*-, Phl., NP. *gāv*.

16. Loss of *gh* preserved in Phl. and NP.

drū, a lie : Av. *draogha*-, Phl. *drogh*, NP. *durōgh*.

rūn, butter : Av. *raoghna*-, Phl. *rokan*, NP. *rōghan*.

mir-ishk, hen : Av. *meregha*-, Phl., NP. *murgh*.

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The Provision of Funds for the East India Company's Trade at Canton during the Eighteenth Century

By H. B. MORSE, LL.D.

NOTE

Picul = 100 catties = $133\frac{1}{3}$ lb. av.

1 English ton = 16·8 piculs.

1 cwt. = Pls. 0·84 (84 catties).

Tael of Canton = 579·84 grains.

100 taels = 120·8 oz. Troy.

Tael of currency (Canton) = 579·84 grains of 940 silver,
nominally equivalent to 6s. 8d. (£1 = Tls. 3).

Dollar, Ryal of Eight, Piece of Eight :—

Intrinsic value 4s. 2d.

Ordinarily invoiced at 5s. (£1 = 4 dollars).

Exchange against 365-day bills 5s. to 5s. 7d.

100 dollars = 72 taels of currency.

THE dominating factor in the China trade for over two centuries was the problem of "laying down the dollar". The dollar was not the currency of China ; but during those two centuries—positively to 1834, and practically to 1857—it was the token by which the pound sterling and the woollen cloths of England were converted into the taels of silver and the silks and teas of China ; and on the answer to the question whether the dollar delivered to the Company's treasury at Canton had cost to lay down four shillings, or five, or six, might depend the degree of profit on the round voyage.

In primitive times the adventurer to distant parts took on his ship an assortment of the products of his own country—wine, crimson-dyed cloth, bronze tools, and arms, if he were from Tyre—and exchanged them by barter for the produce of the outlandish countries he visited. In trading to the Indies the English were dealing with peoples, who, in many respects, were in a higher state of industrial development than themselves. The trade of the English with European

countries had been built on wool, and later on woollen cloth ; and this was the principal commodity which they had to offer to the inhabitants of tropical and sub-tropical countries. Their precursors the Portuguese had made the Spanish *Ryal of Eight, Piece of Eight* (peso duro of 8 reals), later (from about 1680) called generally the Dollar, the means of providing the funds for buying the return "investment" for their ships ; and from the early days of the English Company the principal part of the outward "stocks" consisted of silver, nearly always silver coin, for the greater part Spanish dollars. In the first nineteen years of the English Company, 1601-20, the total stock sent by its ships to the East Indies was as follows :—¹

English products (woollens, lead, etc.)	£292,286 (35%)
Silver bullion and coin	548,090 (65%)

This general tendency increased, more marked in the China trade than elsewhere ; and in the fifty years 1710-59 following the amalgamation of the two English Companies, the stocks sent to the East Indies were as follows :—¹

English products	£9,248,306 (25%)
Silver bullion and coin	26,833,614 (75%)

Certainly no more unprofitable way of laying down the dollar could be adopted than that of sending the actual coin over fifteen thousand miles of ocean.

The first English ships to carry English trade to a Chinese port were those despatched by the Courteen Association, under Captain John Weddell as Commander and Nathaniell Mountney as Cape (Chief) Merchant. They had made some purchases in India, but had sent them direct to England ; and they arrived at Canton in 1637 having no goods on board, and silver to the amount of 145,000 Ryals of Eight ; of this sum they were, after many vicissitudes, able to invest 65,000 R^s, leaving 80,000 R^s to be carried away uninvested.² They

¹ Wissett, *Compendium of East Indian Affairs*, i.

² *Peter Mundy, Travels of*, vol. iii, Hakluyt Society, Sec. series xlv (1919).

had disposed of some lead in India, but not a dollar's worth of English products at Canton.

From that date until 1680 only five ships of the English Company visited Chinese ports; of these one, the *Return*, in 1673 records that at Lapaçao the supercargoes "sold their Pepper in truck", but of their English goods they were "not able to sell above eleven pieces of Cloth in truck and that at poor rates".¹ This ship had been despatched from Bantam and had no silver in her stock. From 1680 to 1699 the English trade was conducted solely at Amoy. At this port in 1681 the stock of the *Barnardiston* was made up as follows:—²

50,000 Dollars ³ (regularly invoiced at 5s.)	£12,500
Woollens (Broadcloth, Rashes, Perpetuanoes)	£8,997
Lead	426
Firelock Musketts, Gunpowder, etc., for sale	1,027
	10,450
	<hr/> £22,950 <hr/>

In 1682 four ships (760 tons in total) at Amoy carried a stock of £14,599 in goods and £28,000 in silver; and they were for the first time ordered to invest in some tea, Bantam being instructed to "send home annually fine Tea to the value of 1,000 Dollars".⁴ These were unusually large proportions of goods; but an invoice of 30 to 40 tons of lead was then (and for the next hundred years) "as good as money", and at that date the Court of Directors were always pressing their factors to "vend" larger quantities of English products.

In 1699 the English trade to China found a more solid and regular footing. In that year the new or English Company sent to Canton the *Macclesfield* frigate (250 tons) with a stock of £5,475 in goods and £26,611 in silver. His goods, chiefly woollens, the Chief Supercargo, Mr. Robert Douglas, sold to

¹ Diary of Supercargoes, *Return*, 1672-3.

² D. of Sup. *Barnardiston*, 1680-1.

³ So called for the first time in the records.

⁴ Court to Bantam, D. of Amoy Factory, 1682.

good advantage at prices about 30 per cent higher than those obtained in Amoy during the previous season—and then his troubles began. Supplies from Amoy came to the Canton market; and the purchaser of the *Macclesfield's* cloth was in difficulties, faced by a falling market, cast in prison for having monopolized the ship's trade, compelled to share his contract with rivals, driven into a position of hostility to Mr. Douglas, until in the end Mr. Douglas was left with a fourth of his cloth on his hands and the *Macclesfield* had "lost her monsoon". The ship then went to Chusan and completed her trade there.¹

In 1702, under the Managers of the United Trade (of the two companies) the *Aurungzebe* (425 tons) and the *Chambers* frigate (350 tons) were at Amoy trading as one joint stock for the London (the old) Company. The stocks in goods of the two ships were sold to one merchant, the principal trader in the port, and with him they contracted for the return investments, the actual amounts realized and contracted for being shown as follows:—²

Stocks:—

Broadcloth and Rashes, ³ 30,111 yards . . .	Taels 42,156
Other woollen cloths	„ 20,139
Lead, 1,958 piculs (115 tons)	„ 5,875
Sundry commodities	„ 5,487
Total Goods	„ 73,657
Silver at the rate of Tls. 51·50 Ꞥ 60 ounces :	
53,895 Ryals of Eight, wt. 46,260 oz. . . .	Taels 39,706
71,500 Ducatoons, wt. 74,986 oz. & 2 Ꞥ Ct.	
advance	„ 65,650
12,000 French crowns, wt. 10,440 oz. & 1 Ꞥ Ct.	
discount	„ 8,875
41 Bars silver, wt. 41,672 oz. at par . . .	„ 35,769
Total Silver	„ 150,000
Total Stock	„ 223,657

¹ Diary of Supercargoes, *Macclesfield* frigate, 1699-1700.

² Diary of Sup. *Aurungzebe*, 1702. ³ Cloth of Arras, so called.

Investments :—

Raw Silk, 500 piculs at Tls. 132 . . .	Taels 66,000
Japan Copper, 9,500 piculs at Tls. 10-50 . . .	„ 99,750
Gold, enough to balance the account . . .	„ 57,907
Total Investment . . .	„ 223,657

Excellent prices had been obtained for the English products, but the satisfaction of the supercargoes was mitigated by the fact that, after a lading had been provided for the two ships, there remained in the merchant's hands unliquidated advances amounting to 60,000 taels, which were recovered only some years later.

By the Company's charter its ships were required to take not less than one-tenth of their outward stock in "goods the growth produce or manufacture of the Kingdom", and up to this date the requirement was met, and even bettered; but in every voyage there is evidence that the demand for English products was limited. Even when the entire lading was sold, it was always in truck, overt or covert—usually the latter; when cloth was sold at certain prices, silk (and later tea) was invariably contracted for at prices fixed at the same time, and the one was conditional on the other. The Court year by year gave instructions that cloth was never to be sold by barter, but always for cash, in order that they might be able to gauge the course of their trade; but the supercargoes were constrained by circumstances to disregard the spirit of the instruction, while conforming to its letter. The Joint Committee (from 1703) and the United Company (from 1710) continued to repeat this instruction, but they abandoned attempts to exceed the statutory one-tenth; and for fifty years we never find a ship despatched from London with more than one-tenth of her stock in goods. Thus the *Kent* (350 tons) trading at Canton in 1704, took from London a stock of £51,450, of which £4,966 in goods and £46,484 in silver; and her supercargoes record :—¹

¹ Diary of Supercargoes, *Kent*, 1704.

The Earthenware [Chinaware] was mostly purchased in truck for Cloth, which they found unexpressable Difficultys to get quit of at any rates; in bartering it they observed the Company's Orders as far as possible, not to mix Money with the Manufactures but had they been entirely obedient thereto, they must have carried the Cloth & Perpetts back, or have given them away after having paid the Custom.

The restricted demand was well known to the Court; and in three successive years, 1713-14-15, while renewing the instruction, they informed the supercargoes¹ that

the Woollen Manufactures sent from hence for divers Years past, are not all disposed of, but several Quantitys yet remain in the Warehouses . . . We have heard that the Chineeases apprehend we are obliged to send out, and therefore impose upon our Supra Cargos, and will have it at their own prices.

The Court struggled along, trying to maintain their statutory obligation, but in a few years they abandoned the effort. For the season 1730 they dispatched four ships (1,895 tons) and a sloop (200 tons) from London to Canton with the following stock:—²

Long Ells, 984 pieces, realised Tls.	6,201	
Lead, 120 tons	7,511	
		Tls. 13,712
Silver, Pillar (Seville) Dollars,	588,000	} Tls. 582,112
Mexico Dollars,	75,000	
Ducatoons,	93,000	
French crowns	44,000	
		Tls. 595,824

It is to be noted that the stock contained none of the Broad-cloth on which England's foreign trade had been built up, and that the silver constituted 97·7 per cent of the total stock. This was the most expensive method of laying down the dollar, since at the end of the outward half of a voyage for which the Company paid ordinarily from £25 to £30 per

¹ Court to Supercargoes, *Loyal Blisse* (1713), *Hester* (1714), *Dartmouth* (1715).

² Diary of Council, Canton, for 1730.

ton Charter money for the ships engaged, the stock realized no more than the exact invoiced value; and this method, with sometimes 98 per cent of the stock in silver, was followed for some years, as evidenced by the following figures:—

1732.—Four ships were sent from London with a stock of 1,000 pieces of Long Ells, 160 tons of lead, and 656,000 dollars in silver. The supercargoes reported that the market could absorb 1,000 pieces of Perpetuanoes (Long Ells), but practically no Cloth and no Callimancoes: and that 160 tons of lead, which formerly was as good as money, was now too much, the maximum to sell at a profit being 80 tons in one year.¹

1736.—The *Normanton* carried as stock Tls. 115,497 in silver and Tls. 7,155 in goods (lead 100 tons, Long Ells 100 pieces).

1739.—Four ships at Canton; of these, one the *Walpole* had as stock:—²

Lead, 80 tons	realised Tls. 4,820	
Perpetuanoes (Long Ells) 1,000 pieces	realised Tls. 6,600	
		<hr/>
	Tls. 11,420 =	£3,800
Pepper from Banjar-massin, 115 tons	Tls. 19,430 =	6,475
Silver dollars invoiced at		23,000
		<hr/>
		£33,275

1741.—Five ships at Canton; particulars are given of the stock of two:—

Duke of Dorset:³

Lead, 75 tons	realised Tls. 4,820	
Perpetuanoes, 988 pieces	„ „ 6,916	
Broadcloth, 96 pieces—2,200 yards	realised Tls. 1,772	
		<hr/>
	Tls. 13,465 =	£4,488

¹ Diary Council, Canton, 1732.

² Diary Supercargoes, *Walpole*, 1739.

³ Diary Supercargoes, *Duke of Dorset*, 1741.

The silver on the *Duke of Dorset* is not recorded, but it was not appreciably below that on the *York*.

York:¹

Lead, 80 tons	realised Tls.	5,122	
Perpetuanoes, 997 pieces	„ „	6,979	
	Tls.	12,101	= £4,030
Silver dollars invoiced at			£30,000
			<hr/> £34,030

1742.—One ship the *Defence* was sent from London to Canton direct, and one the *Onslow*, from London to Bombay, there to take a stock to Canton. The *Onslow's* transactions will be considered later; the silver on the *Defence* is not recorded, and her goods realised the following sums:—²

Lead, 80 tons	realised Tls.	5,644	
Long Ells, 1,880 pieces	„ „	10,904	
Broadcloth, 2,040 yards (90 pieces)			
	realised Tls.	2,766	
	* Tls.	19,314	= £6,220

1751.—Four ships were despatched from London direct to Canton, carrying total stocks of £129,842, consisting as to £10,842 of goods, and £119,000 of silver.³

The particulars given above are not selected to demonstrate the fact that, in this period, the stocks of the ships sent direct to Canton consisted of silver to the extent of from 90 to 98 per cent; they give the only instances from 1713 to 1751 in which the archives in the India Office give such details as will allow of any exact statement being made on the subject.

The English trade with China was conducted from Bantam, until the factory was expelled in 1682; the ships making the venture were there provided with stocks of English and

¹ Diary Supercargoes, *York*, 1741.

² Diary Supercargoes, *Defence*, 1742.

³ Court to Council, Canton, 1751.

Indian produce and of silver, and they brought back their investments there to be forwarded to London. After 1682 a few ships were despatched from Surat; but, from 1699 on, the ships for China were generally despatched from London and were provided there with their stocks. Occasionally one ship of the season, instead of sailing with the fleet in January or February, was sent off in the previous August or September, with orders to proceed to Banjar-massin in Borneo, or to Benkulen in Sumatra, to be there provided by the factory with a stock of from 100 to 300 tons of pepper for the Canton market. The trade between the Indian Peninsula and Canton was neglected by the Company, and was left to be developed by the private merchants (English or Indian) and country ships, trading and voyaging under the Company's licence. Only in a few instances, all after 1730, did the Company engage in this direct trade, until the period of the maritime wars from 1748 on.

1732.—The *Compton* carried Chinese produce and gold to Bombay; they were sold there at a good profit; and, under orders from the Court of Directors, a total stock of 360,000 rupees (at 8 R. per £ = £45,000) was provided by the Bombay Presidency, with which the ship returned to Canton in 1733 and loaded for London. Her account at Bombay was as follows:—¹

Net proceeds of sale of cargo from	
Canton	Rupees 160,455
Proceeds of gold sold at Bombay or	
coined at Madras	„ 134,666
Balance provided by Bombay Council	„ 64,879
	<hr/>
	Rupees 360,000

The *Compton's* Canton cargo, costing Tls. 37,950, realised at Bombay a gross profit of 40 per cent, and her Indian cargo (chiefly pepper, costing 75,000 rupees) realised at Canton a gross profit of 38 per cent.

¹ Diary Supercargoes, *Compton*, 1732-3.

- 1732.—The ship *Wyndham* followed the same course as the *Compton*, going from Canton to Madras, where her stock was made up to 360,000 rupees; but her records have not been preserved.
- 1736.—The ship *Richmond* repeated the voyage of the *Compton*, her stock being made up to 320,000 rupees (£40,000) by the Bombay Council. This stock she took partly in Indian produce (pepper, sandalwood, etc.), which realised at Canton the sum of Tls. 56,384, a gross profit of 47 per cent.¹
- 1739.—The *Harrington* was despatched from London with a stock for Bombay; and at Bombay was given a stock for Canton of 240,000 rupees = £30,000, viz. cotton and pepper invoiced at 45,106 rupees, and silver (dollars, French crowns and rupees) at 194,894 rupees. At Canton her cotton was sold at a gross profit of 107 per cent, and her pepper 51 per cent.²
- 1742.—The *Onslow* followed the course taken in 1739 by the *Harrington*; the details of her transactions at Bombay are not recorded, but there is reason to infer that she received for Canton a stock of 240,000 rupees. At Canton her cargo (cotton, sandalwood, putchuck and olibanum) realised Tls. 29,920, presupposing an invoice cost of about 60,000 rupees; and, as Spanish dollars were not at the moment obtainable in Bombay, she had on board a varied assortment of silver:—
- Bar silver: invoiced at 99 touch (990 fine);
- Bar silver: „ at 74 „ ;
- Nadirees: “a Persian coin lately introduced by Shaw Nadir since his invasion and subduing the Mogul Empire”: invoiced at 99 touch;
- Rupees: “93½ tale weight of Rupees to be accounted Tale 100 wt. Dollar money.” i.e. 100½ of Chinese touch;
- Zelottas: invoiced at 61 touch, but accepted at Canton at only 57 touch;
- Piasters: invoiced at 61 touch; presumably so accepted.

¹ Diary Supercargoes, *Richmond*, 1736–7.

² Diary Supercargoes, *Harrington*, 1739.

These were the only recorded instances in which the Company engaged directly in the trade between the Indian settlements and Canton down to the year 1748; and to that date the Court had taken no other steps to use the resources of the Indian settlements for the development of the Company's China trade.

From 1754 to 1774 inclusive there is a complete and much to be regretted hiatus in the existing records of the English East India Company. In that interval, in 1770, the Court abandoned the practice of sending their supercargoes out in the ships of the season, to buy the investment for those ships, and to return in them; and they now established a permanent resident Council of supercargoes, transacting the business of the season at Canton, but compelled to spend at Macao the between-season period from usually April to the arrival of the first ship of the next season in July or August. For one season, that of 1780, and permanently from 1786 on, the Company was represented by the Select Committee, consisting of the senior supercargoes, having a higher status than the Council, exercising more undisputed authority at Canton, and treated with more consideration by the Governor-General and the Presidencies in India. Under both resident Council and Select Committee transactions were carried on from season to season, and were no longer closed on the departure of each ship. This allowed of greater continuity and greater flexibility in the methods of providing funds for the China trade than had been possible before; and that was fortunate, because a succession of maritime wars drove the Company to devising new methods of laying down the dollar.

ENGLISH PRODUCTS

On re-opening the records in 1775 we find that *woollens* have increased notably. In that year the shipments of Cloth and Long Ells from London to Canton were invoiced at £124,545, a figure in marked contrast with those given above for the years 1704 to 1751. The maritime wars (1779-83 and from

1793 on into the nineteenth century) interposed no stoppage to the movement of the Indiamen, well armed themselves and protected by the British Navy; and the shipments of woollens maintained this level for a few years until the resumption of peace in 1783, and then steadily increased: £113,763 in 1784; £323,107 in 1788; £431,385 in 1791; £527,020 in 1796; £746,130 in 1800. There was, however, a seamy side to this trade. In 1775 the Cloth, 3,533 pieces, prime cost £62,400, realized Tls. 167,367, showing a loss of 10·5 per cent; and the Long Ells, 26,600 pieces, prime cost £62,145, realized Tls. 180,880, a loss of 3 per cent. That such a loss on the woollens was a constant factor is shown by the evidence given forty-five years later before a committee of the House of Lords, 1820, when the Court stated that their net loss on English products shipped from London to Canton in the preceding twenty-three years had been £1,688,103, or an annual average loss of £73,400. The loss was an element in a settled policy, well understood by the Court and their agents for a hundred years past. In 1700 the Court had written:—

We are very intent upon promoting and increasing the Vent of our English Woollen Manufacture;¹

but a year later they wrote to the Council for China:—

Mr. Gough tells us that the sending Woollen Manufacture, or other Europe Commodities will not turn us to account, because in the Goods you take from them, the Chineeses will advance the prizes more than the profit that can be made by the said Europe Goods;—however we must endeavour to keep on that Trade, and to promote their Vent as much as possible, because the more wee send out, the more acceptable it will be to the Nation, and for that we are by our Charter obliged to export at least 1/10 part therin; wherefore we continue to recommend that matter to you.²

¹ Court to Sup. Sarah, Trumball, China Merchant, and Neptune, Nov. 1700.

² Court to Council, China (at Chusan), Nov. 1701.

In 1780 the Select Committee, sending home an indent for a largely increased quantity of woollens for 1782, remarked :—

By the Indent for Woollens will be seen how much the importation of that important article may be increased; especially as quantity, not profit, appears to be the object of the Company; and indeed a large importation is the only effectual check on private trade and the foreign Companies.

In that season, 1780, the English Company had twelve ships at Canton, imported directly no silver, and exported 69,445 piculs of tea and 2,514 piculs of raw silk; the Dutch, Swedish, and Danish Companies (the war kept the French away) had ten ships, imported £159,000 in silver (636,000 dollars), and exported 85,559 piculs of tea and 502 piculs of silk; and a large stock of cheap woollens (inferior though they were to the Dutch) was an important weapon in the hands of the English supercargoes. They were disposed of in veiled truck; and it mattered little to the English Company if it received 100 taels for woollens and paid 100 taels for tea, or received 90 and paid 90; the adjustment of the account was in the hands of the Chinese merchants, for there was no open market; but, subject to this loss, the Company was able to dispose of increasing quantities of English products, the value realized amounting in 1799 to Tls. 2,382,322.

Lead usually showed a profit of about 40 per cent on the prime cost. In the years of peace 1784 to 1792 the value of shipments ranged from £27,000 to £40,000; but in war time, when it could not realize the prime cost, it was often below £10,000. Under a contract with the Cornish miners, English *copper* was shipped without profit during the five years 1787–91. Shipments of *tin* began in 1789 and continued, profitably or without loss, thereafter year by year, the value rising in some years to £90,000. *Flints* were shipped as ballast, between 500 and 1,000 tons a year; they were at first sold at Canton for Tls. 1.50 to 2.00 a picul (a penny a lb.), but fell later to a fifth of that value.

The above were all the English products for which a demand existed, or could be created by the Company, at Canton. Woven cottons were then an article of export from Canton, the Company sending to England an annual quantity of 20,000 pieces of nankeens, rising after 1785 to 40,000, and by 1794 to 90,000. Of Manchester cottons samples were sent out in 1786, but were not approved; in 1788 the Select Committee indented for a trial shipment of 400 pieces, to be dyed in plain colours—blue, brown, ash, etc., but not scarlet or orange—but, arriving in 1790, they met with no favour.

The supercargoes were now no longer allowed private trade by the Company's ships; but they might act as agents of consignors in India engaging in the country trade, and for this they usually divided a commission of 5 per cent with the consignor's own representative, generally the captain of the country ship. The captains of the ships engaged in the Company's service were liberally treated in the matter of private trade, and the officers and petty officers on board all had some indulgence, the total privilege at the end of the century being 99 tons for each ship. The value of this private trade was considerable, between £100,000 and £200,000 to the end of the eighteenth century; in 1811 it amounted to over £300,000 for the season,¹ and in it were not included any of the Company's staple articles of trade.

INDIAN PRODUCE

The Councils in the Indian Presidencies, Bombay, Fort St. George (Madras), and Fort William (Calcutta), made some spasmodic efforts, under explicit instructions from the Court of Directors, or, occasionally, from the Governor-General at Fort William, to make direct shipments of Indian produce. As a rule, however, this was left to the private merchants engaging in the country trade, and either shipping in country ships or hiring tonnage space on the Company's ships; sometimes tonnage space was granted free under certain

¹ Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, ii, p. 480.

conditions. In 1788, when the cotton shipped to Canton on the Company's own account was only 3,300 piculs, there were imported at Canton in the English trade 61,632 piculs by Company's ships and 84,168 piculs by country ships, the value realized being upwards of Tls. 2,000,000. Cargoes of pepper came occasionally from Benkulen, but the great discovery of this period was that a demand for Indian cotton existed in China, which was itself a great cotton-producing country; until 1823, among Indian imports at Canton the value of cotton always exceeded that of opium, was often more than twice as great, and not infrequently five times as great. Only once in all its history was the Company directly concerned in the conveyance of opium to China, an occasion which will be referred to below.

SILVER FROM ENGLAND

The Spanish colonies in the Americas continued to pour a stream of silver into the mints of Mexico and Seville, but the Court of Directors, even at a time when peace prevailed in Europe, found increasing difficulty in laying their hands on Spanish dollars to dump into the bottomless pit of Canton. In 1777, under date of 25th July, the Governor and Council of Fort St. George, wrote to the Council at Canton :—¹

The Honble Court of Directors in their Commands of 3rd January last have inform'd us that in order to give all possible assistance to the increase of the China Stock, they have contracted for the value of Seventy or Eighty thousand Pounds of Silver, which they proposed sending to this Presidency, to be forwarded to you from hence by the China Ships of this Season. They recommended to us at the same time, that in case it should not arrive before the latest of the Coast and China Ships² should have left us, we should use every means in our Power to supply the Deficiency by collecting a Quantity of Silver equal at least to the abovementioned sum, and consign the same to you.

¹ Consultations, China Council, 1777.

² Ships despatched from London to Canton via Madras.

In that season the Madras Council sent to Canton country produce to the invoice value of 19,229 pagodas (£7,692), and in addition 308,000 Spanish dollars (nominally £77,000) in specie; while the Bombay Council sent two lakhs of rupees, turning out Tls. 70,252 = 97,572 dollars; only small amounts of silver were in that season received at Canton from England. It is to be noted that from 1776 and for some years after that date the dollar (intrinsic value 4s. 2d.), which had for a century and more past been regularly invoiced at 5s. per dollar, was now invoiced at a prime cost of 5s. 5½d. per oz. for new dollars, and 5s. 6¾d. for old dollars.

In February, 1779, France formally recognized the independence of the United States of America, and in the summer of that year Spain entered the war. The competing neutral Companies to which Canton was still open—the Dutch, Danish, Swedish, and Imperial—found means to obtain the supply of Spanish dollars required for their trade; but the market was not accessible to the English, and for the seven seasons 1779 to 1785 the Court sent not a dollar in their ships from London to Canton. From India some small supplies were sent in 1779 and 1780 by means which will be described below, but in 1781 the Governor-General under the exigencies of war prohibited the export of the precious metals,¹ and this prohibition continued to be the policy of the Indian administration even after the restoration of peace. In 1785 the Court again obtained access to the Spanish market, and for the seven seasons 1786 to 1792 sent in their ships from London to Canton a total of Tls. 10,188,439 in Spanish dollars; then none in the three years 1793 to 1795; thereafter smaller amounts ranging from Tls. 120,960 to Tls. 1,623,171 in a year.

The Company's investment at Canton amounted, between the years 1775 and 1786, to a value in each year ranging between Tls. 1,500,000 and Tls. 2,500,000 (£500,000 to £800,000). In 1784 the Commutation Act of the previous

¹ Fort St. George to Canton, Consult., China Council, 1781.

year reduced the English duty on tea from about 125 per cent on common Bohea and 75 per cent on the finest Hyson, to a uniform tax of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This cut at the root of the French, Dutch, and Scandinavian smuggling, and the annual investment of the English Company rose with a bound to Tls. 4,000,000 in 1786, Tls. 4,500,000 in 1787, and the same in 1788. The stocks sent out in goods and silver in 1775, 1776, and 1777 fell short of the amount required for the investment by a million taels in each year, and the deficit exceeded a million taels in each of the remaining years to the end of the century. Even after the Court resumed the sending of dollars from London the investment increased faster than the inflow of silver. Under these circumstances the Court called on their Indian possessions to supply the needs of their China trade. Apart from or in conjunction with the operations of the Supercargoes at Canton, this was done by several methods.

SUBSCRIPTION

In 1776 the Governor-General's Council at Fort William, having no official funds available for the purpose, invited subscriptions to a fund, the subscribers to receive bills on London at the Canton rate of the season, which was then uniformly 5s. per dollar. Under this scheme the treasury at Fort William received from 40 subscribers, nearly all army officers, a total of 966,666 $\frac{2}{3}$ Arcot Rupees = Current Rupees 1,044,000, for which they were credited with 420,520 dollars at Canton, and were given bills on London at 365 days after sight for £105,130.¹ The silver was sent to Canton in a king's frigate.

In 1778 the Governor and Council of Fort St. George adopted another method of transmitting dollars to Canton, without commercial risk to themselves and without sending their own specie out of India. They advanced to Mr. Thomas Ferguson, a private merchant, the sum of 483,544 Sicca Rupees, in consideration of which he

¹ Consult., China Council, 1776.

engaged to pay into the Treasury at Canton the sum of Spanish Dollars 205,555 on condition he may be permitted to send 4,000 Bales of Cotton [12,000 piculs] and 6,000 piculs of Tin freight free on the Hon'ble Company's Ships to China, to be consigned to one or more of the Supra Cargoes jointly with his agent and in case a sufficient quantity of the above goods should not be procurable to make up the Sum in Pepper, Silver or Gold.

Mr. Charles Grant made a similar agreement

to pay 1,50,000 Current Rupees at the rate of 40½ Spanish Dollars for 100 C.R.

and Mr. Thornhill for an amount not identified.¹

In 1779 the Councils of Bombay and Fort St. George sent funds to Canton by a modification of the subscription plan. They invited private merchants to send silver to Canton freight-free and at the Company's risk, to be paid into the Company's treasury at Canton against 365-day bills on London at the exchange of the season. Under this scheme 1,581,816 rupees were received, realizing 661,700 dollars for which bills for £165,425 were granted.²

In 1782 Bombay could give no help. From Fort St. George Lord Macartney wrote to the Canton Council :—

Our distress for Money has rather increased than diminished & we cannot therefore flatter you even with the most distant hope of any supply from hence.

At Fort William the Governor-General, Mr. Warren Hastings, in order to relieve the stringency in his own treasury, and by the same stroke to supply the treasury at Canton, initiated a transaction in opium—the only one for carrying opium outside India in which the Company was directly concerned in the whole of its history. He invited subscriptions for ten lakhs of rupees to be paid into his treasury, and gave the subscribers certificates for the equivalent in dollars; these were to be exchanged at Canton for 365-day bills on

¹ Consult., China Council, 1778.

² Consult., China Council, 1779.

London at the exchange of the season, which that year was 5s. 6d. To provide cover for this operation he withdrew opium from the Calcutta sales and shipped it on the Company's account: 1,466 chests on the sloop *Betsy*, invoiced at Current Rupees 719,108, for the Malay Coast and Canton; 1,601 chests on Lieut.-Col. Henry Watson's coppered private Ship of War *Nonsuch*, invoiced at Current Rupees 825,023, for Canton direct. The *Betsy* sold along the Malay coast opium to the amount of 59,600 dollars, and was then captured by a French privateer; the money was rescued and brought to the Canton treasury, but the rest of the sloop's lading was lost. The *Nonsuch* made her way to Canton, where her opium was sold with great difficulty at 210 Head Dollars a chest; the purchaser found no market at Canton, sold 200 chests at Macao, and sent 1,400 chests down to the Malay coast. The invoiced cost, with Canton charges added, was Tls. 291,709; the price realized was Tls. 237,082, a loss of Tls. 54,637, or 18·7 per cent; and the purchase-money was not fully paid for two years.¹

GOLD

In 1779 the Canton Council received into their treasury a quantity of gold from India, for which they gave bills on London. At the beginning of the century gold was bought in Canton at the ratio of 1 : 10, Tls. 94 for 10 taels of gold of 94 touch; but the price had risen under the impetus of half a century of buying for the European and Indian mints with their ratio of 1 : 15½ or 1 : 16; and in 1779 the price of gold was Tls. 175, or in the ratio 1 : 18. Of the import at Canton in this year, 4,880 taels weight (5,895 oz. Troy), value Tls. 85,000 came in bars and dust; 7,934 gold Mohurs, value Tls. 56,730; 245,993 Pagodas, value Tls. 393,600; and other gold coins to a value of Tls. 331,800; total Tls. 867,130. The other gold coins included English Guineas; Turkish Stamboules and Germabots; Venetian, Austrian, Hungarian,

¹ Consult., China Council, 1782.

and Dutch Ducats ; Persian Messieries and Custoons ; and the Pagodas included coins of four different touches and two different weights.¹

FREE-FREIGHT PRIVILEGE

In 1777 the Council of Fort St. George adopted for Indian produce a plan, which in 1779 was followed for silver, of allowing the shipment on the Company's ships, free of freight, of private merchants' goods shipped under licence to Canton—

Our situation being such as render'd us utterly incapable of supplying the Deficiency from our own resources, the only methode we could devise for this purpose was to enter into such agreements here as might give you the option of receiving Money into your Treasury, in the same manner as was practised last year for Bills upon the Court of Directors. We accordingly accepted the proposals to this effect, which were then made to us by . . . and have in consequence permitted them to load a Quantity of Tonnage as mentioned in the Manifest by the respective Ships free of Freight, in consideration of which they promise to pay to you the full produce of the Goods so laden in case you shall be willing to receive it, and to grant Bills on the Court of Directors for the sum they may so pay at the stated Exchange of this Year.²

This plan was again adopted in 1778 ; but thereafter it was found that private merchants were ready to pay freight on goods so licensed, the proceeds to be paid into the treasury at Canton. In 1788 a total of Tls. 43,178 was paid as freight on private (licensed) cargo so shipped on the Company's ships from Indian ports to Canton,³ and in other years similar sums.

CERTIFICATES

The Company's ships were never fully laden outward, but on the homeward voyage they were crammed to the hatches with tea ; there was therefore less restraint on the quantity

¹ Consult., China Council, 1779.

² Consult., China Council, 1777.

³ Diary, China Sel. Com., 1788.

and value of the private trade of the commanders and officers of ships on the voyage to Canton ; and they had considerable sums from their outward ventures which they were not permitted to invest in Chinese produce to be taken to England. Of woollens, for example, each commander was permitted to take out, up to a prime cost of £1,000, any kinds except Broadcloth and Long Ells (in which the Company traded), but on condition that the entire proceeds were sent home through the Council and not in their own private trade. These and any other surplus moneys were paid into the treasury and Certificates were granted for them, half at 90 days, half at 365 days, which were in effect bills of exchange on the Court of Directors, at the rate of exchange of the season. Their amount was considerable : 183,295 dollars in 1780 ; 56,842 dollars in 1784 ; 223,784 dollars in 1785 ; 303,484 dollars in 1790.

ISSUE OF BILLS

In what year the supercargoes began the practice of issuing bills on London cannot be stated with any degree of certainty, the records 1754 to 1774 being missing. It cannot have been more than a couple of years before 1775. In that year, in addition to Certificates for 120,000 dollars, they issued bills, at 365 days after sight, on the Court of Directors for a total of £136,705, the equivalent at the exchange of the season of 546,820 dollars paid into the treasury by those engaged in the country trade. The opportunity for finding money from this source is referred to by the supercargoes in a minute in which, after enumerating their available resources for meeting their commitments, they continue—¹

... there will remain a deficiency of Tales 202,948 to make good the said investment of Raw Silk. Tho the amount may appear large, the immense sums lodged at this place, with no other view than to catch the first opportunity of a remittance ; moreover the expected bullion from Manilla, and other places, to answer the same purpose ; the eagerness the foreigners, as

¹ Consult., China Council, 1775.

well as individuals, have expressed to embrace such an opportunity, indicates to us more than a possibility of attaining such a sum.

The modesty of the supercargoes in thus estimating the possibility of finding so moderate a sum as three lakhs of dollars from this source, when twelve years later, no less than forty lakhs were paid into the treasury for this purpose, indicates that the practice was of quite recent origin.

The bills issued were, as a standing rule, payable at 365 days after sight. In 1779 the Council received 1,145,379 dollars (Tls. 825,073) against 365-day bills at the exchange of 5s. 2d. per "new milled Mexico Dollar". This was enough for their needs for the investment of that year, but, as more money was tendered, they offered 730-day bills at 5s. 3d. per dollar; for these they received a further sum of 990,171 dollars (Tls. 712,923), and they rejected a tender of four lakhs of rupees offered at the close of the season. This was repeated in 1780, when they received Tls. 1,203,562 for 365-day bills at 5s. 1d., and Tls. 182,415 for 730-day bills at 5s. 4d. In 1791, 1792, and 1793, having sufficient funds in the treasury, they issued no 365-day bills, but accepted silver offered to them against 730-day bills, at the rate of exchange which in 1790 had been the rate for 365-day bills. The reason for so long a term as one calendar year was to allow of the money advanced in Canton being repaid from the proceeds of the sale in London of the cargo for the purchase of which it was taken into the treasury; and it will be useful to record the period covered by the transactions for one season at Canton, called in this paper the season 1779.

The silver dollars, woollens, and lead for stock were contracted for in the spring and summer of 1778, and shipped before the close of that year; ships ordered out via Benkulen, Bombay, or other Indian ports ordinarily sailed in August or September, 1778; direct ships received their sailing orders in January, February, or sometimes March, 1779, and sailed from the Downs as soon thereafter as the wind permitted

(cases are on record when ships were wind-bound in the Downs for forty days); the first ships arrived usually in July, 1779, and the others were strung along from then until, sometimes, as late as February, 1780. Contracts for the homeward investment were made from March, 1779, to December, 1779; but purchases of odd lots were made up to March, 1780. The earliest ships were sometimes dispatched from Canton in November, 1779; the greater number by the end of January, 1780; a belated few in March, 1780; and occasionally one in the first week of April, 1780. A few early ships arrived in the Downs on the return voyage before the September sales of 1780; a considerable number arrived after that date, and their cargo must then wait for the December sales, 1780, or the March sales, 1781; and at the sales the Company must give six months' credit to the purchasing merchants. The bills sometimes arrived in London by the ship which brought the cargo to cover them; but more commonly they were sent to Calcutta or Bombay, were sold there, and were then sent to London by the Suez overland route, or by Basra, and might reach London before the corresponding Canton ships. In either case there was ample time, even with the long credits of the period, to obtain from the sale of the Canton cargo the funds needed to meet the bills.

The exchange of the season had for more than a century past (since 1619) been 5s. per dollar. In 1779 the Council fixed the exchange at 5s. 2d. in order to encourage further receipts; but in 1780 it was at 5s. 1d.; both for 365-day bills. In 1781 the war kept away the French and the Dutch, but the attention of the Danish and Swedish Companies had been drawn to this method of providing funds; the two Companies together exported 55,000 piculs of tea, against the English Company's 63,000 piculs, and they brought in their ships 580,000 dollars, while the English ships brought none. The Swedes now offered 9-months bills for 5s. 7d., and the Danes 6-months for 5s. 6d. The shorter term was attractive, but

London was the better money market; and the English Council obtained all the money they needed at 5s. 6d. for 12-months bills. The next year the Swedish and Danish ships brought a million dollars, and the English none; and again the English Council obtained all they wanted, but again at 5s. 6d.; and this rate was maintained until 1788, when it was lowered to 5s. 4d.

The money which bought these bills came for the most part from the country trade between Indian ports and Canton. Some considerable sums came indirectly from Spanish sources; dollars were sent from Acapulco to Manila, from Manila to Macao, and there used to buy Chinese produce, which was then sent Manila-Acapulco-Panama-Cadiz.

Opium.—The opium trade to China in the eighteenth century was centred at Macao; the Bengal opium being shipped from Calcutta in English country ships, the Malwa and Persian opium coming generally in Portuguese ships from Goa and Damán. The annual quantity between 1780 and 1787 was about 1,400 chests, which was sold at prices ranging from 200 to 500 dollars, making an annual total of about Tls. 400,000, all of which went in the Company's London Bills to Calcutta or Bombay. Only once, in 1782, had the English Company embarked in a direct venture in opium, as described above; but in 1786 the China Council proposed to the Governor-General that some quantity of opium offered at the Government sales in Calcutta should be sold subject to the condition that the purchase-money should be paid in dollars into the Company's treasury at Canton. The next year Tls. 350,000 was paid in at Canton for opium so sold—

The Government of Bengal has this year made an effort to assist us with 22 Lacs of Rupees of which they remitted 10,51,223 in the mode we recommended of delivering Opium in Calcutta to be paid for at Canton.

A further sum of 2 lakhs of rupees was received for copper and salt-petre shipped from Calcutta to Bombay and sold there

on condition of paying the amount into the Treasury here [Canton] . . . The remainder of the 22 Lacs they have never been able to send, chiefly we suppose from the difficulty of finding Modes of remittance without exporting the Currency of the Country.

Later in the same season, 1786, in connexion with a project of co-operation with the Spanish at Manila, the Council withdrew their proposal for the opium sales—

Also resolved to recommend to the Government of Bengal that in future the whole of what they intend for our Supply be remitted thro' this Channel & that the Opium be disposed of in the usual way, instead of being sold to be paid for into the Treasury here; for the latter mode altho' it seems a Medium of Remittance from thence, is so much taken from the produce of the Country Trade which would otherwise be paid in for Drafts on England; & as we shall require whatever funds can be thrown into our hands by any means, it will be advisable to drop this mode when a better can be substituted in its place and not liable to its uncertainty, for altho' the amount of the Agreements made this Season is not very great, we have every reason to think that little more than $\frac{3}{4}$ will be paid.¹

Country Trade.—It was from the country trade between Indian ports and China that the Council obtained the greatest part of the money paid in for bills. This country trade increased *pari passu* with the growth of the Company's trade: in 1775 out of a total of 26 foreign ships at Canton 5 were English Company and 8 English licensed country ships; in 1788 out of 66 foreign ships 26 were English Company and 24 English country ships. In the country trade China took from India produce having a relatively high value—opium, cotton, putchuck, olibanum, myrrh, sandalwood, etc.—but the goods carried back were of cheaper kinds—sugar, alum, tutenague (spelter), etc., with sometimes fairly large quantities of raw silk. There was consequently always a large surplus not required for the return investment, and for this the country traders welcomed the means of remittance afforded by the Company's sterling bills.

¹ Consult., China Council, 1786.

Bills on Bengal.—In 1786 the China Council granted bills on Bengal for a considerable amount, nearly seven lakhs of rupees, at the exchange of 39 dollars for 100 Ct. rupees. The new Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, wrote at once protesting against this drain on the resources of Bengal and against the unduly favourable rate of exchange, and ordered that no more such bills should be granted. The Council obeyed the injunction, but, as regards the exchange, pointed out that the Company, by its London office, paid more for sterling bills than, by its Bengal office, it did for rupee bills. The sterling bills were commonly sold in Calcutta and Bombay at 2s. and often 1s. 11d. per rupee, and the transactions of 1786 had by the two methods the following values :—¹

Head Dollars 258,479 paid into the Canton Treasury	
at 2 per cent discount is Old Mexico Dollars	253,310
at 5s. 6d. per Old Dollar is	£69,660
at 2s. per rupee is	Current Rupees 696,600
at 1s. 11d. per rupee is	726,888
Head Dollars 258,479 at 39 Dollars per 100 R."	662,767

Transfers in the Treasury.—An immediate result of the prohibition of rupee bills was a notable development of the practice of granting transfers in the treasury.

This Transaction had its origin at a time when the want of Specie rendered it an object of reciprocal convenience to the Company, the Merchant, & the Remitter, & was an order from the Merchant to whom the Company was indebted to pay the amount of the Balance owing or any part thereof to an Individual who has at the same time a demand on the Merchant, which payment it is always understood is to be made by a Bill of Exchange on the Hon'ble Court of Directors. Totally to suppress such a mode of Payment will we believe be impracticable, the necessity of remitting large sums into the Country leaves so little Specie in Canton that the whole collected Currency of the place would not suffice for the payments which must be made in our Treasury for Bills in the course of the Season—but as the granting Bills upon such orders at a time when we are not indebted to any Merchant

¹ Consult., Sel. Com. China, 1789.

is in reality a Payment in advance rather than a Transfer of Debt & as such payment in advance would not have been made in Specie without some consideration in favour of the Company so it appears but reasonable that a Credit afforded by this means should be accompanied with similar Advantages.

Resolved therefore that no Transfer or Order from any Merchant for the Payment of Money by Bills on the Hon'ble Court of Directors be accepted except the same be in discharge of a debt actually existing, or that the same be considered as an advance on some Contract which shall take place in consequence thereof; except as to such Merchants and in such case or situation as the Committee would otherwise on application have made a payment in Silver.¹

The Committee had closed the season 1785 with a debit balance of Tls. 804,307 and that of 1786 with a debit balance of Tls. 914,308, the latter being the resultant of the amounts owing to the merchants, Tls. 1,397,602, less silver in the treasury and tea in godown, Tls. 483,294; but though owing so much, they were still able to give the advances required for making their winter contracts for the coming season by means of the system of transfers. These transfers, amounting to some lakhs of dollars, served in fact as currency for the needs of the Company—

This evil was the necessary effect of want of Money, & whilst the Company continued in debt was unavoidable not being able to pay by means more eligible it would have been unjust to reject these which were in our power.²

In 1798 the Select Committee opened the season with a debit balance of Tls. 2,810,798; imported silver to the value of Tls. 1,321,984; and granted bills on London and Bengal to the amount of Tls. 2,497,576, of which Tls. 1,637,506 represented transfers in the treasury.

Bonds.—In addition the supercargoes received money on deposit for one year, with interest at 10 per cent per annum;

¹ Consult., Sel. Com., 1787.

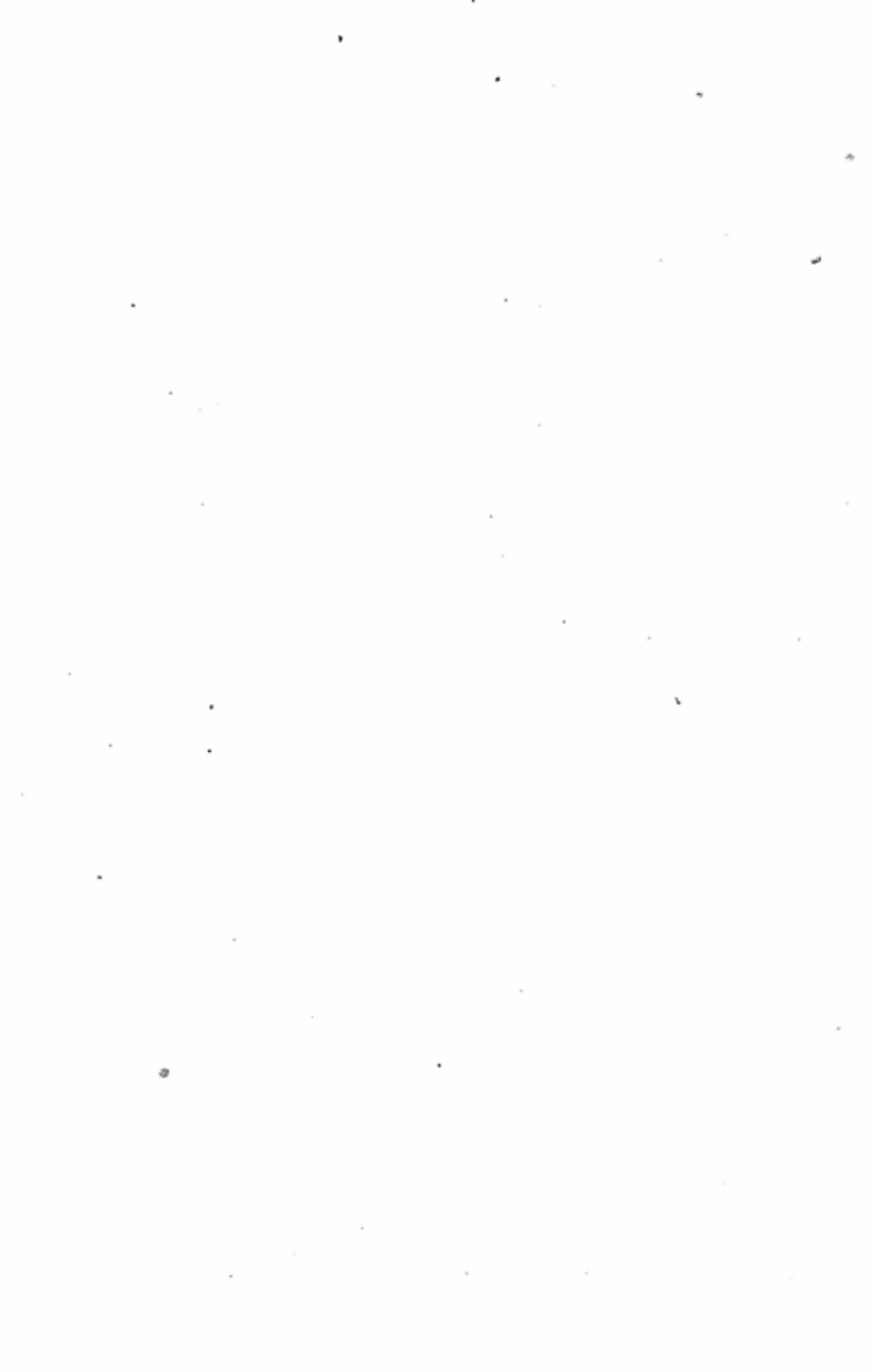
² Ibid.

but these deposits gave temporary relief only, and did not add permanently to the resources of the Canton treasury. The amount so received did not exceed Tls. 50,000 to Tls. 70,000 in any one year.

By these various methods—remittance of specie, shipment of goods, and banking procedure—the Canton treasury was kept supplied with the funds required for the Company's business at Canton, in proportions which may be gauged by the figures for certain typical years from 1775 on :—

	1775.	1781.	1787.	1793.	1798.
	Tls.	Tls.	Tls.	Tls.	Tls.
Carry over : credit +	340,395	842,789	—	2,946,341	—
debit -	—	—	914,308	—	2,810,798
English products realized .	369,839	266,136	741,823	2,062,030	1,524,046
Indian .	37,444	129,162	103,670	88,100	—
" .	407,283	395,298	845,493	2,150,130	1,524,046
Total goods .	169,920	—	1,912,320	—	1,321,984
Silver brought in ships .					
Cash received for Bills, on					
Certificates, and under	493,835	1,107,418	2,875,923	1,386,343	2,497,576
Agreements					
Net Total Assets	1,411,433	2,345,505	4,719,428	6,482,814	2,532,808
Investment	1,210,851	? 2,000,000 ¹	5,258,676	3,838,868	2,911,251

¹ Eleven ships of which six carried an investment of Tls. 1,049,306.



The Kufic Inscriptions of Kisimkazi Mosque, Zanzibar, 500 H. (A.D. 1107)

By S. FLURY

OUR knowledge of ornamental Kufic inscriptions is chiefly based on the materials which have been found in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Upper Mesopotamia. Although they are fairly numerous, a comparative study of the origin and general development of the different types of Kufic writing is not yet possible. Such a work would have to include the countries further East, and unfortunately they have not been thoroughly explored hitherto. But the few landmarks we possess show clearly that the outlying Eastern provinces produced a greater variety of decorative inscriptions than the West ever did.¹

This small stock of epigraphic documents from the Eastern part of the Muhammadan world has received a very remarkable addition through a discovery recently made by Major F. B. Pearce, British Resident in Zanzibar. In the course of his researches on the Muhammadan antiquities of this island, he has found several Kufic inscriptions in the Mosque of Kisimkazi,² which are all the more valuable as they bear an exact date. They are carved in stone, and decorate the qibla-wall and the mihrâb.

A transcription and a translation of the two larger inscriptions have already been published in the Supplement to the Official Gazette, Zanzibar, vol. xxx, No. 1526. The one on the right of the mihrâb is koranic, and contains chapter ix, 18 (cf.

¹ Cf. Is[lam], viii, 1918, p. 214 seq.; E. Diez, "Churasanische Baudenkmäler, arab. Inschriften von M. van Berchem"; and H. Viollet, "un monument des premiers siècles de l'hégire en Perse," *Revue Syria*, 1921, pl. xxxii-xxxiv.

² A description of this mosque is to be found in *Zanzibar, the island metropolis of Eastern Africa*, by F. B. Pearce, pp. 418-9.

Plate I), the other on the left is historical (cf. Plate II). M. A. Patricolo renders the historical text as follows:—

..... الشيخ الر..... حنا السيد ابى عمران
 مفهوم الحسن بن محمد..... الله عمره واهلك عدوه
 ببناء هذا المسجد فى يوم الاحد القعدة سنة خمسائة

This version requires some additions and corrections. The beginning of the text reads: هذا ما امر, part of هذا is covered by a border of plaster,¹ which surrounds the two bands of writing. The words after الشيخ are partly defaced.

The first must be الرئيس,² as the two yās and the outline of

the sīn are still visible. The second word is الاجل; the three vertical shafts of alif lām-alif are to be seen in the left top corner of the second slab. The nūn read by Patricolo is merely an excrescence for ornament alone, an embellishment frequently used in Kufic script of this kind; the last letter is not alif, but a final lām, the tail of which ends under the lām of the following السيد مفهوم. ("Mfahume"), which the

Cairo transcription reads after عمران, neither agrees with the number of the letters nor with their forms, it should be replaced by موسى بن. The little ornamental excrescence between bā and nūn occurs here again.

The first word of the second line is also partly hidden by the plaster border, and all that is entirely clear is a final

¹ It may be due to the restoration of 1184 H. (A.H. 1770) recorded by a naskhi inscription of the mihrāb, cf. loc. cit. inscription 3.

² This word has been kindly suggested by Mr. W. Marçais.

mim. The next word is طَوَّل. The band ends with

[مَر] مِنْ شَ, but again the last two letters are covered by plaster. The rest of the date affords an interesting example of boustrophedon writing. The first letters of the month القعدة [ذِي] are cut off by the border. Between [ذِي] القعدة and سنة is visible a badly written فِي in a vertical position.

Translation: This is what has ordered the high and very great Shaikh es-Saiyid Abû 'Imrân Mûsâ, son of el Hasan, son of Muḥammad . . .—may Allāh grant him long life and destroy his enemies—about building this mosque on a Sunday of the month Dhû-lqa'da in the year five hundred (A.D. 1107).

A Kuranic inscription of a somewhat simpler style than the one of Plate I, is reproduced on Plate III. It contains chapter xvii, 80–82.

On the right of Plate III: أَقِمِ الصَّلَاةَ لَدُلُو [ك]

In the middle: مَقَامًا مُحَمَّدًا وَقُلْ رَبِّ ادْخُلْنِي
on the right of the naskhi inscription already mentioned:

و اجْعَلْ لِي

The last word on the left must be نَصِيرًا; it has probably been restored, as its style differs much from the rest.

Plate IV gives the deep recess of the mihrâb with the whole of verse 81. The circular inscriptions within the two rosettes over the mihrâb arch (cf. Plate III) have been read with the kind assistance of Aly Bey Bahgat. The rosette on the right

contains K. xiii, 24, as far as *فنعم*, the one on the left
عقبى الدار.¹ It has not been possible to decipher the rest,
 the only word quite clear is *سلام*.

What data are to be gathered from the inscriptions of Kisimkazi? It seems that the historical text does not yield much evidence as to the person and quality of the founder of the mosque. The epithets of Abû 'Imrân Mûsâ are not sufficient to determine his exact position in the settlement of Kisimkazi or to ascertain whether he was connected with one of the provinces of the Asiatic continent. The political history of Zanzibar about the year 500 H. is still in the dark, as the historical sources are very scanty.²

The chief interest of the unique inscriptions of Kisimkazi,³ therefore, lies in the many palæographical facts which they contain. At first sight the three inscriptions seem to differ considerably in their style of writing. The two bands of Plate I are decidedly more elaborate than those of Plate II and Plates III and IV. This is due to the fact that the former possess several specimens of the so-called "plaited Kufic" (*coufique tressé*). In the three Allâhs of Plate I all the vertical shafts are interlaced and form a compact and intricate mass, which covers the whole surface to be decorated (cf. Plate V, bottom line), scarcely leaving any space for ornamental foliage. But a close examination of the alphabetic table of the different inscriptions⁴ clearly shows that their characters belong to

¹ According to Aly Bey Bahgat this verse is frequently to be found in tombs of saints.

² Kind communication of Mr. R. Guest and Professor Snouck Hurgronje.

³ Cf. F. B. Pearce, loc. cit., p. 419 top.

⁴ A, B represent the characters of Plates I and II, C those of Plates III and IV.

one family. As a rule the same elements of foliage are used to fill up the open space between the letters, and it will be noticed that the tendency to interlace the shafts is a characteristic feature of all these bands.

The manner in which the calligraphist treats the article *alif lām* forms one of the best criteria for judging the style of his script. It is very remarkable that in the Kisimkazi inscriptions *alif lām* is always once or twice plaited (cf. Plate V, 1a, b). In this respect the contemporary inscriptions of Cairo form a striking contrast. Perhaps the finest specimen of Egyptian "floriated Kufic" is to be found in the qubbat Ikhwat Saiyidnâ Yûsuf.¹ It contains the same Kuranic inscription as Plate I, and therefore offers the best material for comparison. But although the Kufic characters of the Cairo monument are carved in stucco and about 20 years later than those of Kisimkazi, they are much more severe in style, and do not contain a single plaited *alif lām*.

The calligraphist of Kisimkazi not only interlaces the shafts within one word, he even connects two words by plaiting their final and initial letters (cf. Plate V, 1b end and the last but one Allâh, and Plate III on the left: *Aj'al li*). But the most striking feature of his script will be found in the letters with horizontal limbs: *dāl*, *ṣād*, *ṭā*, and *kāf* (cf. Plate V, 4, 7, 8, and 11). These letters differ so much from their canonic models as to be hardly recognizable. Instead of two horizontal bars, he sometimes uses four, and not content with this radical alteration of the original type, he further plaits them and adds little decorative loops at the top and bottom of the letters (cf. 4a, 4b, 7a, 7c, 8b, 11a, and 11c).

Another feature of this Kufic script, which, at first sight, does not strike the observer, but which is none the less very characteristic of it, must still be mentioned: the calligraphist of Kisimkazi, as a rule, does not try to displace the graphic

¹ Cf. Flury, *Die Ornamente der Hakim und Ashar Moschee*, pl. xviii, and A. Creswell, *A brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt*, pl. iv, A.

accents from the lower zone of the band towards the upper one. The bevelled shafts of *alif* and *līm* just touch the top edge of the band, but they are neither bent nor broken there to end in a horizontal direction or to be turned down again. *Dāl*, *ṭā*, *kāf* (cf. 4, 8, 11), and the tails of *rā*, *mīm*, *nūn*, *wāw*, and *yā* (cf. 5, 13, 14, 16, and 17) never reach the top edge, and no vertical shafts are used as mere ornaments. Obviously the artist wanted to have large gaps in the lettering to give free play to his scroll work.

From Plate VI, which shows some typical specimens of the floriated Kufic of Kisimkazi, it will be seen what a prominent place ornamental foliage holds in this script. Long, slender-stemmed scrolls spring from the letters, forming graceful involutions, and ending in three or five-lobed leaves (cf. Plate VI, *a*, *b*, and *d*), sometimes they are arranged symmetrically (*c*, *d*); but in either case great care is taken that the ornamental elements should be regularly distributed over the ground to be decorated. A very rare specimen of Kufic script, combined with elaborate ornaments detached from the characters, is reproduced in Plate VI, *e* (cf. Plate II, second band). The different floral elements, growing from the central, heart-shaped figure, blend into a remarkably well-balanced composition. This detail alone would suffice to prove that the calligraphist of Kisimkazi was a perfect master of his art.

The question of the origin of the Zanzibar Kufic is not easy to answer. One fact seems to be established by the analysis of the inscriptions: they exhibit such a degree of technical skill and feeling for style that they are not likely to be the work of a provincial craftsman, who knew no art beyond that of his native place.¹ A remark of Major F. B. Pearce hints at the country the script may come from: "The

¹ The same observation applies to the architectural features of the mihrāb (cf. Plate III); they at once recall a well-known series of mihrābs, one of the oldest of which is to be found in the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn at Cairo.

main fabric of the outer walls (of the mosque) affords unmistakable evidence that the building is of Shirazian origin."¹ Unfortunately decorative Kufic inscriptions of cities near the Persian Gulf have not been published hitherto. Some fragmentary bands with a few letters, scrolls, and leaves might settle the question of origin at once.

As suitable materials for comparison are not available in Arabia, southern Persia, and 'Irâq, only the products of remoter art-centres can be compared with the Kufic script of Kisimkazi. And if its origin still remains in the dark, it will at least be possible to make clear its distinctive characteristics.

The capital of the Fatimite empire has already been mentioned. But among its many Kufic inscriptions there is not one which affords an indication of a possible connexion between Cairo and Kisimkazi. The Fatimite art of Egypt is characterized by a certain severity of style, traceable both in architecture and in ornamentation. The Kufic script of Cairo, accordingly, makes a sparing use of plaited characters.²

In this regard the inscriptions of Amida differ widely from those of Cairo and provide several details, which recall the alphabet of Plate V. The inscription of Sultan Malik Shâh, for instance, dated 484 H.,³ has a considerable variety of plaited *alifs* and *lâms*, their shafts are decorated with loops and knots in the form of a heart, and the tails of *râ*, *nân*, *wâw*, and *yâ* end in three-quarter circles. But in spite of these common features there exists a fundamental difference. The calligraphists of Amida distribute their lettering over the whole surface of the band, and accordingly keep the floral scrolls in the background, whilst the artist of Kisimkazi reserves the upper zone as much as possible for foliage; the few specimens of pure plaited Kufic, of course, form an

¹ Cf. loc. cit., p. 418.

² Cf. Flury, *Islamische Schriftbänder, Amida-Diarbekr*, p. 31; translated into French in the *Revue Syria*, vol. ii, p. 61.

³ Cf. loc. cit., pl. x.

exception (cf. Plate V, 1b end and the two Allâhs of the last line). The latter, as well as the plaited *dāl*, *ṣād*, *ṭā*, and *kāf* (cf. Plate V, 4, 7, 8, and 11), cannot be derived from the contemporary epigraphic monuments of the Jazīrah province.

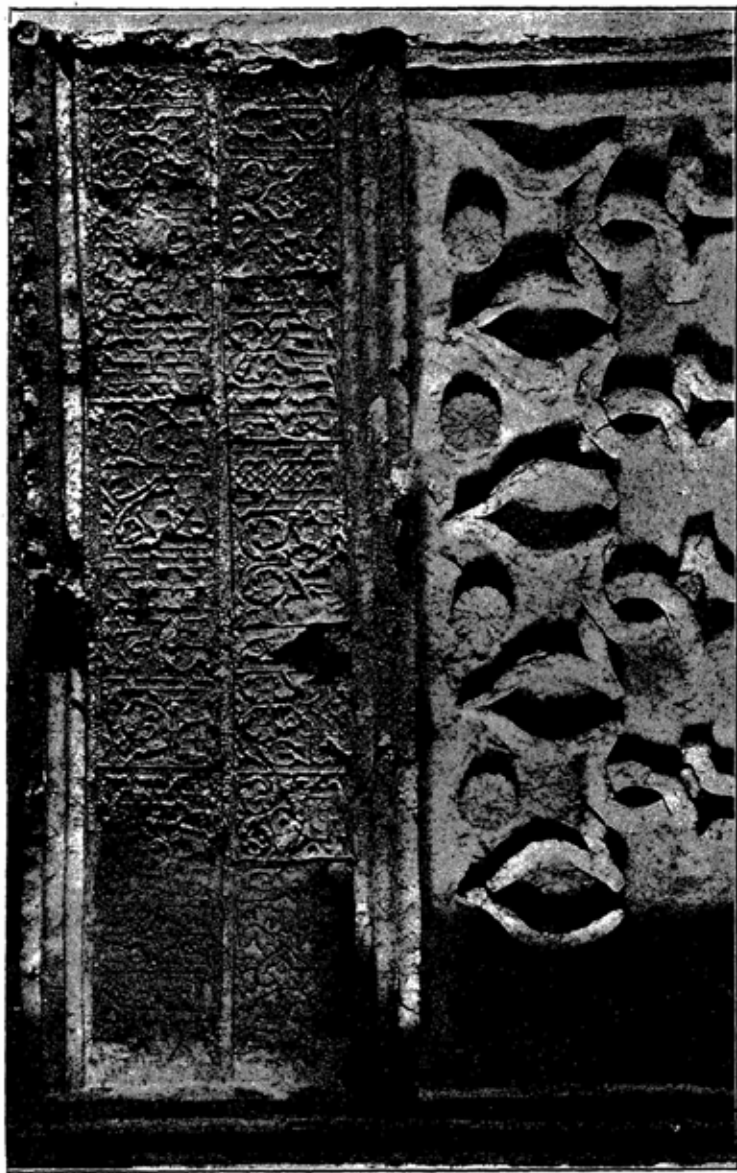
The highly developed script of Kisimkazi is not only unique on the African coast, but also on the Asiatic continent. So far only one prototype has been published, the inscription on the tower of Râdkân, near the Caspian Sea, dated 411 H.¹ The comparative analysis of the two scripts,² which are separated by such a great distance and a space of over eighty years, clearly shows that they belong to one and the same line of evolution, although the connecting links are still missing. Hitherto it has only been possible to follow the migration of the plaited characters from the North-East to the West,³ but now there is reason to believe that already in the course of the fifth century they had spread over the South as well.

Ornamental Kufic characters seem but a small field when compared with the range of the great monuments that Muhammadan art has produced; but, when thoroughly explored, they furnish a very sensitive instrument, enabling some hidden currents of Muhammadan civilization to be detected and estimated.

¹ Cf. E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Plates II and III.

² Cf. Flury, *Islamische Schriftbänder*, Plates XIV, 1, 4, 7, 15, 16 f., and *lām-alif*.

³ Cf. loc. cit., p. 51.



Kufic inscription in Kisimkazi Mosque, Zanzibar.





Kufic inscription in Kisimkazi Mosque, Zanzibar.



Mihrâb of Kisimkazi Mosque, Zanzibar.





Interior of the Mihrâb of Kisimkazi Mosque, Zanzibar.







اليوم



A.

يغمر



B.

فحسى

الله



C.

ان يكون

او لك



KISIMKAZI

500H. 1107 AD.

D.

و اهلك

عمرة

الله





E.












MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A CAPPADOCIAN SEAL

In the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology a photograph has been given of a seal-cylinder of hæmatite which I obtained from Cappadocia when I was in Asia Minor many years ago. The seal belongs to what is called "the Hittite" class; the work is exceptionally fine, and the date about 2000 B.C. or earlier. It represents (1) the Moon-god of Ur seated, with a springing goat above his outstretched hand; (2) in front of him a priest of diminutive size, also seated on a cross-legged chair, and offering a lyre; (3) above the lyre a hare, and above this again the sun resting on the crescent moon with the seven stars at the side; (4) two goats in an heraldic position with their figures crossing one another; (5) below them three men with birds' heads and long robes in a horizontal position; and finally (6) two lines of inscription.

These two lines of cuneiform inscription were reproduced in the photograph. I regarded them at the time as the work of an engraver who was unacquainted with the cuneiform characters and employed them only as ornaments, like the Egyptian hieroglyphs on many Phœnician seals. Since then the publication of the Boghaz Keui and allied texts have shown that I was mistaken in this view, and that the characters belong to one of the local forms of what we may now call the Hittite type of cuneiform script. The character , which occurs three times and was the principal cause of my belief that the writing was merely ornamental, can now be traced back to  the Hittite form of the Assyrian *u*, which is occasionally written in the same way.

The two lines of inscription are as follows:—

-   - /
  - <<  

This reads:—

(1) AN-as ni-nu-u-as /

(2) za-nu-u-as SAMAS-AN-u-as.

In the second line we could read SARRU AN-*u-as* "the king divine", since the use of << for "king" goes back to an early date in Assyria, and the cuneiform characters were first introduced into Cappadocia by the Assyrian colony at Kara Eyuk. The Hittite kinglets, however, called themselves "Sungods", and I therefore prefer to give << its signification of "Sun-god" rather than "king", supposing that the Cappadocian writer has transposed the place of the determinative "god", writing SAMAS-AN instead of AN-SAMAS.

The first line, which ends with the sign of division, is the Hittite AN-*as Ninuas* "the god(dess) of Nineveh", i.e. Ishar. Arrian (in Eusebius: *D. Per.* 772) tells us that *Ninuas* was the brother of Kappadox; it is, therefore, possible that "the Ninevite deity" is here intended to be an epithet of the king. Zanu-ki was the name of a locality from which silver was brought according to a Cappadocian tablet formerly in my possession and now in the Ashmolean Museum; we may also compare the Pontic Zani.

If we are to read SARRU instead of SAMAS, we must regard Zanu-as as a divine name before which the determinative of divinity has been omitted contrary to rule, though not without examples in the Cappadocian tablets. The two alternative translations, accordingly, will be: (1) "The goddess of Nineveh. (2) Zanu-as the Sun-god," i.e. supreme king; and "The goddess (or god) of Nineveh, (2) Zanu-as, king (or queen) of the gods". There was no gender in the Hittite languages.

A. H. SAYCE.

THE "OROPUS" TITLE OF CARCHEMISH

In his interesting note in the *Journal*¹ on "Oropus" or "Europus" of classic Greek geography, as a name for the ancient Hittite capital Carchemish, the modern "Jerablus"

¹ *JRAS.* 1921, 47 f.

on the last ford of the Upper Euphrates, Professor Sayce confirms that identity and derives that name from a suppositious Sumerian and Mitannian compound of *Uru* + *pi*, in which *Uru* = "the city" in Sumerian and *pi* is "a Mitannian definite suffix". I venture to offer an alternative suggestion on the origin of that name, on an Assyrian basis, as the Assyrians dominated that city after 717 B.C. in the post-Hittite and pre-Greek period.

The usual Greek and Greco-Roman name for the strategic town occupying the site of the old sacred Hittite city of Carchemish was "Hierapolis", which Greek name is generally assumed to be the source of the modern name by which the site is known to the Arabs—"Jerablus." But none of the writers on Carchemish, as far as I am aware (not even Mr. Hogarth), seem to have remarked that Homer apparently called the chief city of the Hittites "*Europulos*", which, or its Hittite original, thus seems to be a remoter common source of both the later Greek "Hierapolis" and the Arabic "Jerablus". The "Heths" or "Hitts" of the Hebrew Old Testament, latinized into "Hitt-ites" in our English version, called themselves "*Khati*" or "*Khatti*", the "*Kheta*" of the Egyptians, and Homer states that the *Kūtei*¹ as defenders of Troy were led by *Europulos* against the Achaian Greek invaders. Homer here appears to call this Hittite chief after his capital, as the poet does in many other instances, just as modern squires are sometimes called after their estates. For this Hittite "*Europulos*", meaning in Greek "the wide-gated", can only be applied to a city; and it presumably was the source of the modern name "Jerablus".

The original Hittite form of this Grecianized name "*Europulos*" will doubtless be disclosed when the excavations at Carchemish are further advanced and the cuneiform tablets translated, and the local Hittite hieroglyphs deciphered. As regards the formation of the later Greek name "Oropus" or "Europos" it seems conceivable that the

¹ *Odyssey*, 11, 521.

later Seleucid Greeks, who are usually credited with having had the Assyrian priest Berosos in their employ, may have treated the latter part ("ulos") of the name "Europulos" as the common Assyrian affix of city-names, namely, *alu*, "a city." This would result in a reading of "*Europ*" for the city-name, and "Europ" would be Grecianized into "Europus" or "Oropus".

But more probably the immediate source of the Greek name "*Oropus*" and the Arabic "*Jerabis*" — the commoner modern local name for Carchemish—is, I think, the Akkado-Assyrian "*Arba-ilu*" or "The divine *Arba*". This latter city contained a famous shrine sacred to the goddess Ishtar,¹ who bears the title of "*Arba*" or "The Four" — presumably connecting her mystically with the phases of the Moon with which she is identified; and I have observed some evidence indicating that "*Arba-ilu*" was Carchemish. "*Nana*", a common title of Ishtar, the Mother-goddess, has been shown by Professor Sayce to have been another later Greek or Byzantine title of Carchemish, as "*The Old Hierapolis*" on the Euphrates.² And the modern name for the lower channel of the Euphrates as "*Shatt-el Arab*", or "*Channel of Arab*", appears to me to possibly preserve the tradition of "*Arba*" or Oropus, when it was a chief capital of the Seleucids (and pre-Seleucids) in Upper Mesopotamia.

For large rivers are frequently called in the east after the chief city situated upon them; and I find that the other great channel of the Old Euphrates, below Babylon, the "*Shatt-en-Nil*", or "*Channel of Nil*", seems named in an analogous manner. The usual abbreviated name for Babylon upon official and religious documents from the Assyrian down to the Medo-Persian period of Darius is, I find, "*Nir*" (not "*E*" as hitherto transcribed), which

¹ See *Cuneiform Texts* in British Museum, xxxv, 1918, pls. 9, 36, etc.; and Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel Accadiens*, Paris, 1921, 88, 111 f.

² *JRAS.* 1921, 47 f.

was dialectically corrupted into "*Nil*".¹ Moreover, "*Arba*" is an Akkado-Assyrian synonym for *Gar*, the first syllable of "*Gar-gamish*"—the proper spelling of the name rendered "*Carchemish*" by the Hebrews—and thus would lend itself to an abbreviated Semitic form of the old city-name; and thus be the remoter source of both the modern Arabic "*Jerabis*" and the Greco-Roman "*Oropus*".

L. Å. WADDELL.

8th February, 1922.

DARA-I-NUR

In continuation of my note on this place-name in our *Journal* for 1921, I have found in Schulyer's *Turkistan*, ii, 191, that Nor (Nūr) is a Kalmak word signifying lake. I think that this must be the original name of the valley, and that it means the valley of the lake. The valley must have had a name centuries before the Muḥammadans came into Afghanistan. When they came, they either did not know the Kalmak word, or they altered it into Noe, that is Noah, in accordance with their traditions about the prophet and his father Lamech, and that the settlers in the valley called themselves the Nūrzai, that is, the descendants of Noah, and is a well-known tribe. It may, however, be that Nūr was the name of their leader, for Nūr is a common Muḥammadan name. They also may have or they may have wished to take advantage of the Persian name for light, just as the Roshanīs did.

Against this is the fact that there does not now seem to be any lake in the valley. But there may have been a lake in the early days of their occupation. The fact that the valley is full of boulders seems to indicate that there was much water in the valley in old times.

H. BEVERIDGE.

5th February, 1922.

¹ See article by me on "*Shinar and the Tower of Babel*" in *Asiatic Review*, April, 1922.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

No. 1

A PERSIAN SEAL CYLINDER



This fine specimen of the engraver's art belongs to Trinity College, Dublin. The details of the figures and the style of workmanship point to the Persian age, and to the latter part of the sixth century B.C.

On the left is represented a king or god in combat with a rampant lion, a subject delighted in by the seal engravers, and handed down from Assyrian, indeed from early Babylonian times. As on the famous seal of Darius,¹ now in the British Museum, the king wears the characteristic Persian crown with points, and the equally characteristic long robe kilted up on one side to free the limbs for action. He holds in his right hand a short sword or dagger, and with his left seizes the lion by the throat. The nearest parallel to this representation occurs on a seal in the Pierpont Morgan Collection (ed. Ward, 1909, No. 274). On the right, facing the combatants, stands a male robed figure in the attitude of worship, with the left arm raised and the finger extended; the right is held close to the side, with the palm of the hand open and turned upwards; the lower part of the figure has been obliterated by a chip in the stone. A similar figure may be seen in Delaporte, *Cylindres Orientaux*, 1910, pl. xxvi, No. 383.² In front of the worshipper, presumably the owner of the seal, is his name, written in

¹ Reproduced in Ball's *Light from the East*, p. 227.

² I owe this and the reference to Ward to the kindness of Professor Langdon.

old Aramaic characters, כבש, *Kabš(u)* or *Kibš(u)*. The name, which appears to be not otherwise known in Aramaic, may be connected with the Hebrew כָּבֵשׁ, *lamb*, and with the Arabic كبش *young ram*, which was used also of a *leader* or *hero* in early poetry,¹ and as a proper name occurs early in the forms كباش, كبیشه, كبشة.² In Aramaic the equivalent is *kebshû*, with *sh* instead of the *s* which we should expect.

It is tempting to read the name כרש, i.e. *Cyrus*, spelt as in Ezra i, 1, 2, though usually written כורש; but the tail of the second letter distinctly curves to the left in the original (in the photograph not so clearly), and we must recognize a *beth* and not a *resh*.

No. 2

A PALMYRENE TESSERA

A

B



This tessera, made of terra-cotta, belongs to a well-known type, but it is specially interesting on account of its excellent state of preservation and the two inscriptions. It may be dated in the second or third century A.D. The triangle measures about one inch each way.

A. This side bears a trefoil in high relief, not unlike those shown in Mordtmann, *Neue Beiträge z. Kunde Palmyra's*, No. 87, and in Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* iii, Taf. xii, No. 5, but without the stem; it may have been intended for a bunch

¹ Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, p. 109.

² See Wüstenfeld, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, ii, p. 253; Professor Margoliouth has kindly pointed out the reference.

of grapes. Below is an ornament with dots ; and on the right, at the beginning of the inscription, the symbol Y , which frequently occurs on these tesserae, and perhaps represents the planet Jupiter.¹ The inscription in Palmyrene characters reads :

אנן בל בני בניתמרצו

"May Bel protect the family of Bani-taimarṣu!"

The tesserae often contain this formula, and sometimes in connexion with "the family of Taimarṣu".² The novelty here lies in the combination of *Bani* with *Taimarṣu*³ to form a single name. There can be little doubt about the reading, though the first four letters, בנית, are run into one another in a rather perplexing way. The right-hand stroke of the י (shaped like a chevron) comes directly under the right leg of the ת, while the left stroke of the י, visible in a good light, crosses between the two legs of the ת. The י of תמרצו is joined to the top of the מ. As a proper name *Bani* by itself occurs in the inscription Vog. 34, given by Lidzbarski in his *Handbuch*, p. 478, No. 4.

B. This side has a bunch of five palm leaves, and below a trefoil ornament between two volutes. The inscription may be read :

אנן בל בני בתען

"May Bel protect the family of Bath'an!"

The name בתען, if correctly deciphered, may be a shortened form of בתערן, *Répertoire d'Épigr. Sém.*, No. 405, which is abbreviated בתעא, *ib.* No. 350, and may have been just as well abbreviated בתען. As the ת in Palmyrene is often identical in form with צ, the name might be read

¹ e.g. Mordtmann, loc. cit., No. 79; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. nordsem. Epigr.*, Taf. xlii, No. 5. For the explanation see de Vogüé, *La Syrie Centrale*, p. 81, and the tessera No. 134 in his collection.

² e.g. de Vogüé, loc. cit., No. 156; Mordtmann, loc. cit., Nos. 49, 51, 53-4; Spoer, *Journ. American Orient. Soc.* xxvi (1905), p. 113 = Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* ii, p. 319.

³ For an explanation of this name see my *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 273, 295 f.

בצען *Buṣ'an*, and connected with an Arabic بضع (from

بضع), which Lidzbarski thinks may be the native equivalent of the name *Βουσαῖος*, found by Savignac in Haurân (*Eph.* ii, p. 334; *Rev. Biblique*, 1905, p. 95); בצען, however, is not known in Palmyrene, and the reading בתצען is to be preferred. The ת here resembles the form of the ת in A; the צ is clear, with its tail turned to the left; the last letter, though faint, looks like a final ך joined to the projecting stroke of the צ; after the ך comes, not another letter, but an outline of the ornamental circle above the volute.

G. A. COOKE.

OXFORD, February, 1922.

Fifty Years of the Indian Antiquary

With the last issue of the *Journal* was circulated a small pamphlet, in reference to the Jubilee of our now old contemporary the *Indian Antiquary*, explaining its story and its services to Indian research. It has throughout its career been the handmaid of the various Asiatic Societies, never their rival, publishing in its monthly issues articles and notes of a kind not usually to be found in such pages as our own, partly on account of their length and partly on account of their nature. It has, however, all along had the good fortune to secure the services of the first Oriental scholars of the time, both European and Indian, besides a host of others, who have been, nevertheless, all serious students of things Indian. In congratulating this periodical on its past history, we gladly draw attention to the fact that it still continues and is open to articles, notes, and queries on its old subjects—the Archaeology, Epigraphy, Ethnology, Geography, History, Folklore, Language, Literature, Philology, Philosophy, and Religion of the Indian Empire, and to a certain extent of its surroundings. The Editor is Sir Richard Temple, c/o H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, London, S.W. 1, and the Indian Office is c/o The Superintendent, British India Press, Mazgaon, Bombay.

Correspondence

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Institute of Historical Research, Bloomsbury

SIR,—Will you allow me to inquire, through your columns, whether any of your readers would be interested to co-operate in some organized study of Western influence on Near and Middle Eastern peoples?

The history of this influence during the last two or three centuries is one of the keys to present oriental problems, and the intellectual and social sides are at least as important as the military, diplomatic, and economic. There is an admirable field for such studies in the narratives of Western travellers, which, though often ransacked for curiosities of literature, seem never to have been surveyed systematically. But this field is so vast that no one inquiring into some particular subject can really cover it single-handed. Group work suggests itself, and I am trying to bring together at the Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, Bloomsbury, a group of people interested in the studies that I have mentioned. For this purpose I am proposing to exclude India and Russia, to concentrate on the peoples and countries that have at one time been included in the Ottoman Empire, and not to go further back to start with than about the last quarter of the seventeenth century. On these lines I have already made a start with several collaborators.

At the Institute of Historical Research we have rooms, maps and works of reference, and are conveniently near to the British Museum. If any of your readers wishes for further information, I should be glad if he or she would write to me at the Institute; I will only add that I am not asking for pupils but for collaborators, and that even those with little time to spare may give valuable help.

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

(Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language,
Literature, and History, University of London,
King's College).

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Some Recent Arabic Literature

KATABANISCHE TEXTE ZUR BODENWIRTSCHAFT. Von N. Rhodokanakis. Vienna Academy, Phil. Hist. Kl. SB. 194, 2. Wien, 1919.

Now that a generation of interpreters of South Arabian monuments has passed away, it is probable that Dr. Rhodokanakis can claim the first place among the Epigoni. The second volume of his *Studien* may be said to represent the high-water mark in this branch of philology; and his other works on this subject contain matter which is indispensable to students. His new treatise will therefore be studied with care, and will certainly form the basis for any future treatment of the texts which it contains. It is evident that the four inscriptions are all edicts of a king of Kataban in favour of certain hallowed individuals described as the ARBY *alumni* "reared" by the god 'Amm of Lubakh. In the first they are assigned a tithe of various revenues, which the *Kabir* (sheikh) of the tribe KHD is to furnish. In the remaining three they are declared exempt from certain taxes which others have to pay. This is evidently the general drift of the inscriptions; but the obscurity of various expressions and constructions renders it difficult to make out more with certainty.

The editor's view that they have to do with *Bodenwirtschaft* seems to be based in the first place on his rendering of the word 𐩇𐩣𐩪 in i.4 as *Irrigationsgebiet*. But in the phrase | 𐩇𐩣𐩪𐩣 | 𐩶𐩣𐩪𐩶 | 𐩠𐩣 the second word must clearly be a verb; and in C.I.H. 318, 4, a derivative of this root is rendered *possessio*, which accords perfectly with 𐩶𐩣𐩪𐩶; these words may then be translated *Let there obtain and possess*, followed by the object in line 5, *the tithe*.

Much depends on the sense of the word 𐤔𐤌𐤍, which occurs several times in the deed. The editor supposes it to mean *Leistung*, "performance"; but the context does not seem to favour this view. We have the sentences—

Lines 2, 3: | 𐤏𐤍𐤁𐤁 | 𐤔𐤌 | 𐤔𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤍 | 𐤔𐤔𐤌𐤍𐤍
 | 𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤍
 „ 9: | 𐤏𐤔𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤍
 „ 8, 9: | 𐤏𐤍𐤁𐤁 | 𐤔𐤌𐤍 | 𐤏𐤍𐤁𐤁 | 𐤔𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤍𐤍
 | 𐤏𐤔𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤍

And in other deeds among taxes | 𐤔𐤔𐤍 | 𐤔𐤌𐤍𐤏𐤍 | 𐤔𐤔𐤍

In the first of these the word is coupled with 𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤌, the expression wherewith the deed itself is described; in the second passage it seems to be substituted for 𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤌. In the third the words | 𐤏𐤍𐤁𐤁 | 𐤔𐤌𐤍 look like a false dittography of the preceding | 𐤏𐤍𐤁𐤁 | 𐤔𐤌. In the other deeds the phrase | 𐤔𐤔𐤍 | 𐤔𐤌𐤍 is parallel to | 𐤔𐤌𐤍 | 𐤔𐤔𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤍𐤍 | 𐤔𐤔𐤍𐤏𐤍, implying that 𐤔𐤔𐤍 is here the name of the god Wudd. In C.I.H. 290, 5, the word is followed by *that comes*, but the passage is otherwise

as yet unintelligible. Now, whereas the Arabic root عزم seems to be far removed from any sense which would suit these passages, the root عزم offers some possibilities; indeed,

the tradition الزكاة عزمة من عزمات الله brings the verbal noun into connexion with a Divine name, as it is brought in the S. Arabian texts. The commentators offer the translation: *Alms are one of God's rights*, which would be almost the sense which Dr. Rhodokanakis gives the S. Arabian word; but there is another interpretation according to which عزمة means an ordinance, and عزيمة is said to mean an injunction, and often means a spell. The sense order,

command, will suit the S. Arabian passages, in the first of which the Kabir is described as the person who *writes and enforced the charters and such orders as are issued by the god*. In the second the subject is told to *write out and enforce the order*. In the third there is a corruption, which can be neglected. In the fourth we have *an order of the god Wudd*. In the fifth *any order which comes*.

The three deeds of exemption begin with the formula $\text{|\Psi}\diamond\text{H}\text{|\Psi}\text{)}\text{H}$, and the Arby are told to $\text{|\text{H}\text{O}\Psi}\diamond\text{X}\text{H}\text{H}\text{H}$. The translation, *hat entschieden und eröffnet*, "has decided and disclosed," seems infelicitious, since the first verb has to be rendered in a later line by *zugewiesen*, "assigned," and the order *die Eröffnung zur Kenntniss nehmen*, "take notice of the disclosure," is far from convincing. It would seem clear that $\text{|\Psi}\diamond\text{H}$ must somehow mean *exempt*, and its reflexive *claim exemption*. A derivative of the same group which occurs in texts published in the editor's *Studien ii* seems to follow the Arabic sense, to *shed*. The Ethiopic sense is to *expand*,

and this root is clearly identical with the Arabic فسح , which in legal and commercial language is used in connexion with *permits, extension of terms*, and (in modern times according to Belot) *dispensation from observance of laws*, which last is precisely the sense which we require. Of the taxes from which the Arby are exempted only one XHH can be interpreted with certainty; in this case also from the Ethiopic. It would seem, however, that the ordinary Katabanian had to pay various dues to the state, and in addition a series of imposts to the gods.

Dr. Rhodokanakis has thrown much light on the history and geography of this state, and on S. Arabian institutions generally. He has included in this work an edition and interpretation of a very important inscription, which, he thinks, deals with military taxation imposed by the kings of Saba.

THE LEBANON IN TURMOIL; SYRIA AND THE POWERS IN 1860. BOOK OF THE MARVELS OF THE TIME CONCERNING THE MASSACRES IN THE ARAB COUNTRY. By ISKANDAR IBN YA'QUB ABKĀRIŪS. Translated and annotated and provided with an introduction and conclusion by J. F. SCHELTEMA, M.A., Ph.D. Yale Oriental Series, Vol. VII, 10 × 7½, 203 pp. New Haven : Yale University Press, 1920.

This work is a careful and richly annotated translation of a MS. in the Landberg Collection of Yale University Library, in which an eye-witness of the events describes the massacres in Lebanon and Damascus which aroused so much indignation in Europe in 1860, and prepared the way for more recent developments in the country which was their theatre. The translation is preceded by an elaborate introduction, and followed by a conclusion in which history is brought up to date. The translator has been at pains to elucidate the historical and geographical allusions, and though the Arabic text is withheld, there is no reason for doubting that the translation is accurate. In an appendix some contemporary European documents are reprinted.

The events recorded have almost passed out of recollection ; so many a catastrophe has befallen the Ottoman Empire since 1860. Any one who desired to write the history of the troubles of 1860 would have at his disposal besides the work translated by Dr. Scheltema at least two works in Arabic by eye-witnesses, as well as a great collection of diplomatic correspondence, of which an Arabic *Corpus* was started, but did not get (so far as the writer knows) beyond the third volume. By collation of these works with European authorities, it ought to be possible to get at the facts.

LOS PRECEDENTES MUSULMANES DEL PARI DE PASCAL. Por MIGUEL ASIN PALACIOS, Presbitero. 8vo. Santander, 1920.

By the *Pari de Pascal* the argument is designated that the believer has nothing to fear in the next life if the atheist be right, whereas the atheist has everything to fear if the believer be right. The Rev. M. Asin Palacios, who has written other works on Islamic philosophy, has in this treatise traced the employment of the argument in both Christian and Islamic literature, and analysed the resemblances and differences between the two. As he finds the resemblances between Ghazali and Pascal very remarkable, he suggests that Pascal may have had access direct or indirect to the works of Ghazali, but on the whole prefers the hypothesis of unconscious transmission of ideas.

This treatise will be found of considerable interest, as it gives in translation the passages in which Ghazali makes use of the argument, and in translation or original the corresponding passages of the Christian authors from Arnobius to Pascal, after whom it is named. Many bibliographical details are added both about Pascal's work and the translations of Ghazali current in Europe; and in the introduction a parallel is drawn between the progress of thought in Islam and Christendom, to account for the genesis of apologetics for revealed religion.

What surprises the reader is that this argument, which occurs to every street-preacher, whether he has or has not heard the names of Pascal and Ghazali, should be so scantily represented in Christian theology. The germ (and something more) of the *Pari* is found in Plato's Republic, where it is stated that when men get old they begin to wonder whether the doctrine of future retribution may not, after all, be true, and if they have bad consciences live in a state of painful apprehension.

تاريخ الصحافة العربية (HISTORY OF ARABIC JOURNALISM).

Containing the story of every Arabic Journal or Magazine, which has appeared in the world, east or west, with portraits of their editors and contributors, and biographies of the most famous among them. By VISCOUNT PHILIP

دى احرأزى. In two volumes. Beyrut : Adabiyyah Press, 1913.

The author of this work states that he has in his possession the largest existing collection of Arabic magazines and newspapers, reaching the number of 1,200 ; the two volumes which have appeared and which are to be followed by a third, contain a mass of information on this subject, which the author seems to have collected with great diligence and to have arranged with admirable method. He commences with an account of his predecessors in this line of inquiry, of whom he enumerates twenty-three ; this is followed by a section on the titles of the Arabic journals ; and this by a collection of thirty-two facts of interest in the history of journalism in general and Arabic journalism in particular. It appears that the first Arabic paper ever issued was one instituted by Napoleon in Cairo at the time of his invasion of Egypt. We also learn from this collection the name of the first illustrated journal and the first with coloured illustrations that appeared in the Arabic language.

The history of this journalism is divided into periods, of which the first extends from 1799 to 1869 and the second from 1869 to 1892. This latter date is the furthest reached in the second volume. The ground covered is very considerable, for journalism gradually spread to most of the countries where Arabic is spoken, and became established in all the larger towns. It also spread to America, where the first Arabic journal was published in 1892. Many of these issues are ephemeral ; but some have maintained themselves for a long series of years owing to the ability with which they are

conducted. The current *Muktataf* is in its fifty-ninth volume, and the *Hilal* in its twenty-ninth.

Some ladies figure among the Arabic journalists ; there is a portrait of Mariana Marrash, "the first Arab lady who wrote in the periodical press" ; and if this work is ever completed there will be portraits of many Syrian and Egyptian women who are known as either editors or journalists. Indeed, the number of women's journals which have either appeared or are still appearing in those countries must be very considerable.

It is to be hoped that the remaining volume or volumes of this work will not be long delayed.

ولاية بيروت VILĀYET OF BEYRŪT. Two volumes. Beirut :
1332-5 (Osmanli).

This work is an official account of the Vilayet of Beyrut as it was under Ottoman administration. The first volume deals with the southern, the second with the northern portion of the Vilayet. The work is the joint composition of Rafik Bey Tamīnī, and Mohammed Bahjat Bey, of whom the former treats history, geography, economics, geology, ethnology, and some of the religions ; whereas his colleague deals with sociology, languages, foreign institutions, literature, art, and the remaining religions. The whole work was organized by 'Azmi Bey, the Vali, who arranged that the authors should traverse the regions which they describe, though he allowed them only a short time for the purpose ; as it is likely that the work was intended in the first place for the use of the military authorities, it can be easily understood that time was precious. The first volume claims to be a translation from the Turkish, but this is not stated with regard to the second.

The two authors appear to have made good use of their time and the volumes contain a quantity of statistics which could not easily be procured elsewhere. On the principle of the Arabic proverb, "The scout tells no lies to his employers,"

it may be assumed that this information is trustworthy. For the regions which it covers it should (for those who read Arabic) supersede such European works on the subject as appeared before the French occupation; and even if the new government should bring Cuinet up to date, this work will remain a monument of importance for the condition of the province under the former régime. It is illustrated with a fair number of photographs and plans.

THE KORAN. Translated by GEORGE SALE, with explanatory notes and SALE'S preliminary discourse. With an Introduction by Sir EDWARD DENISON ROSS, C.I.E., Ph.D., etc. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, xvi + 608 pp., 8 plates. London: F. Warne & Co., Ltd.

This is a reprint of Sale's *Koran*, to which Sir E. D. Ross has furnished an introduction, though he does not appear to be otherwise responsible for the edition. He observes that Sale professes to have used no MSS. save those in his own collection, with the exception of a MS. of Baidāwī, which he borrowed; and that Sale's MSS. were catalogued by his executor, and ultimately found their way into the Bodleian Library. Among them are hardly any of the Arabic works, and none of the commentaries to which Sale makes frequent reference in his notes. It follows that Sale must have taken these references from Marracci, to whom Sale acknowledges obligations, but not to the extent which this procedure would demand.

Sir E. D. Ross does not tell us whether he has a *posteriori* as well as a *a priori* evidence for his charge, and this should be easy to find, as it would only be necessary to compare the places in which Sale cites Zamakhshari, etc., with the corresponding places in Marracci. It seems clear that these bear a very small proportion to the places wherein Baidāwī is cited, and to the work of the latter, as has been seen, Sale had independent access.

A bibliography of Sale's Koran would be of some interest. It has certainly been printed a great number of times, and it must have been edited once or more often, for in the original edition the references are in an additional set of footnotes, and the index is free from various faults which deface that which is appended to the new edition. An example may be produced :—

Kazraj, Al, 498

Khazr, Al, the Jewish tribe of, 13, 57.

Khazraj, Al, the tribe of, 58.

All these should come under the one heading al-Khazraj, and it will appear to one who verifies the references that Sale is not responsible for the second of these entries, even according to this edition. Perhaps it is better not to know the name of the reviser of the index, as one might be inclined (to use Bentley's phrase) *digno eum convicio excipere*.

Do we know much more about the Koran than was known when Sale translated it? Not, it is to be feared, very much. Arabic literature "passes through a tunnel" after the compilation of that book, somewhat as Christian literature does after the close of the New Testament canon. How little even early generations of Moslems knew about it was made clear when Ṭabari's Commentary came to light. Where we should expect to find knowledge we are confronted with guesswork. On the other hand, in the subjects covered by Sale's Preliminary Discourse great progress has been made, chiefly since the epigraphic stores of Arabia have been brought to light.

تاريخ المسئلة الشرقية (HISTORY OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.)

By ḤUSAIN LABĪB. Cairo: Hilal Press, 1921.

This treatise on the Eastern question is one of the two volumes presented by the Editor of the *Hilal* to its readers at the close of the year, the other being selections from the writings of Gurgi Zaidan, founder of the journal. Mr. Labīb

commences with an inquiry into the causes of the decline of the Ottoman Empire ; this is followed by a brief history of that Empire ; the author dates the commencement of the Eastern question from the entry into Ottoman politics, which became momentous towards the close of the seventeenth century, and he follows its phases in a series of chapters up to the present time. The work, which is rather short for the subject, contains much useful information, and is illustrated with portraits, views, and maps.

D. S. M.

THE BOOK OF DUARTE BARBOSA. Translated from the Portuguese text first published in A.D. 1812, and edited by M. LONGWORTH DAMES. Vol. II, including the coasts of Malabar, Eastern India, Further India, China and the Indian Archipelago. 9 x 6, xxxi + 286 pp., 1 plate, 1 map. London : Hakluyt Society, 1921.

This second volume of Mr. Dames's admirable edition of Barbosa is so full of important matter of all kinds—due to the extraordinary power of observation of the author and his early date, and also to the excellent notes of the editor and his coadjutors, Mr. Thorne and Mr. Moreland—that it should be properly reviewed in sections, as it were, geography, ethnology, linguistics, and folklore. I have divided it up, therefore, into such sections, and have sent the geographical and ethnological portion to the *Indian Antiquary*, reserving the linguistics and folklore, including customs, for this *Journal*. It is also pleasant to record that Mr. Dames has been able to use the monumental *Glossario Luso-Asiatico* and other works of our recently elected Honorary Member, Monsenhor S. R. Dalgado, of Lisbon.

To take linguistics first. I am rather glad that the long-disputed derivation of the name Mount Delly on the Malabar coast of India comes at the very commencement of the volume, because I wish to make a protest against the transliteration

of *zh* for a peculiar South Indian *l*. It is not Mr. Dames's fault that *zh* has been adopted, but anything more misleading to European ears and eyes, and even it may be said to non-Malayālam Dravidian ears, than *zh* for the sound could not have been hit upon. Apparently this *l* is not a true phonological *l*, but it is near enough to *l* to be mistaken for one by all ears unaccustomed to the Dravidian languages. Hence, Mount Delly, as the European form of a native name for the first landfall made in India by Vasco de Gama in 1498. If we discard the *d* as a Portuguese grammatical addition, *Eli*, or something like it, may be taken as the real name. The Arabs called it *Haili* or *Hīlī*, and the *h* in this form is etymologically important. The Malayālam name sounds to foreigners, including even Tamils, like *Eli-mala* (*mala* being "hill"), but it is written with the *l*, which it is the present fashion to write *zh* (*Ezhi-mala*). We see this *l* in Kolikkōd (Calicut), written "scientifically" Kozhikkod. On the above argument, *ēli* may be taken to mean either "high" or "seven", and the name would thus mean the "High Hill" or the "Seven Hills", according to the appearance of the landfall from different points of view. A proposal by Burnell to derive it from *tali*, a temple, and thus to make it mean the Temple Hill, is rather upset by the old *Haili* or *Hīlī* of the Arabs. They might have adopted *h* for an initial *s*, but were not likely to have done so for an initial *t*.

In reference to this peculiar Malayālam *l*, I would remark also that in the derivations of the terms Malayālam and Malabar respectively, "the language and land of the hills", the alternative form Malayazhma (for Malayalma) for the former rather sticks on the tongue.

After a very valuable note on the legend of the conversion of Chērumān Perumāḷ to Islam, Mr. Dames tackles another knotty linguistic question—the derivation of the name Zamorin—with the aid of Mr. Thorne, who gives at great length excellent reasons for finding the origin in Swāmi-srī, the Excellent Lord, in the place of the hitherto accepted

Sāmudri, Lord of the Seas. So that many of us, including myself, in *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. iii, pt. ii, pp. 469-70 n., will now have to own ourselves corrected.

After dealing at great length with the Hindus, Barbosa turns his attention to the Moors, as he calls them in the fashion of his day, i.e. the Muhammadans of the Malabar coast, both those that had become naturalized and those still strangers in the land. This leads him to speak with his accustomed acuteness of the Moplahs (Māpillas), and in regard to them he makes but few mistakes. In the course of his remarks on the foreign Muhammadan traders, he notices their wealth and rich style of their costume, including garments of "scarlet-in-grain". This induces Mr. Dames to reply to my criticism on the use of this last term in his first volume, and also to my remarks on the former meaning of the word "scarlet". I feel that here again I must stand corrected, though I cannot regret my criticism, since it has led to the publication of so useful and valuable a note on an old controversy, for which we must all be grateful.

In the course of comments on Barbosa's description of Cannanore and the Maldivé and Lacadive Islands, mention is made of the "Ali Raja". This term requires, in my opinion, further investigation. The first suggestion that comes to mind is that it refers to *Adi Rāja*, First or Great Raja, and that it is comparable with the *Aji Rāja*, or, rather, *Aji Saka*, the "first hero" from India of the legends of the Archipelagic Malays of Sumatra and Java. Another reference that suggests itself is that the virtually independent Muslim family of immigrants that acquired power in Cannanore and the Islands for a while took their title from the Malayālam term *Ilāya Rāja* (Elliah Raja), representing the old Sanskrit term *Yuvarāja*, Second or Junior Raja (also heir apparent to the throne). I throw out these suggestions in the hope that some one will investigate further. That well-informed, and, as far as quaint spelling is concerned, truly delightful volume, the *Madras Manual of Administration*, vol. iii, s.v. Cannanore,

remarks: "The descendant of the old Cannanore Moplah Sultans, Ally Rajah, resides in the east of the Bay."

While describing the neighbourhood, Barbosa makes a remarkable slip in this version of his work in talking of the cocoanut as "a great fruit which *they* call *cocos*", while the versions in Ramusio and of the Spaniards are more correct in saying "which *they* call *tenga* [Malayalam form] and *we* call *cochi* [cocoas]". Barbosa is not often caught tripping like this (p. 90). On p. 92 he correctly describes the *areca* nut (Malayalam, *adakka*) under that name. The term *poonac* (cocoanut oilcake) used in note I, p. 90, wants investigation. The Sanskrit term is *pinināga*, and any South Indian similar term would be a borrowing. Has this been the case?

At p. 36 is a note by Mr. Thorne, to which I wish to draw attention. Barbosa is describing the Śrīkōvil or Great Temple of Calicut, and remarks "without the church [read "temple"] is a stone of the height of a man". On this Mr. Thorne notes: "This is the *mandapam*, a stone platform with a tiled canopy, in front of the Śrīkōvil, but within the four walls of the temple enclosure. Only Brahmans may use the *mandapam*, on which prayers are said by the worshippers." In editing *Peter Mundy*, vol. iii, pt. i, pp. 75-6, who had remarked: "We lay . . . in a Pagode. It seemes they serve here [Bhatkal] to harbour passengers in their Cources round aboutt (like to the Saraes aboutt Guzaratt) as well as For Devotion." To this my annotation was: "Mundy means that they rested in the open porch (*mantapam*) of a temple (*kōil*) near Bhatkal, often used by travellers for that purpose." I made this note because I had so rested myself, notably, I recollect, at the Seven Pagodas, Māvalivaram (Mahābalipuram). I see that the *Madras Manual*, above quoted, has: "*Mantapam* (*mandapa*, San.; *mandef*, Hind.): . . . any square or rectangular hall with a flat roof supported by pillars, open at the sides; particularly the porch (*toranam*) of a temple (*coil* [*kōil*])." Mr. Thorne's note seems to indicate another sense of the term *mandapam*—*mantapam* in Malayālam.

The above note leads one to the derivation of "pagoda", a very old puzzle. I said as much in *Peter Mundy*, vol. iii, p. 190 n. Monsenhor Dalgado has discussed all the old suggestions: Chinese *pao-t'ah* and *poh-kuh-t'ah*; Portuguese *pagão*; Singhalese, *dāgaba* through *bāgada* and *pagode*; Persian, *būt-kadah*; and Sanskrit, *bhagavat*. He rejects all of them, except *bhagavat*, and I suppose *bhāgavata*. On this I would remark in favour of the old suggestion *dāgaba*, that the Indo-Chinese *pagoda*, as a matter of fact, is a true *dāgaba*, or reliquary, and that the forms *pagod*, *pagode*, and *pagoda* may, like many terms common to objects in Europe, India, and the Far East, have a multiple origin, Eastern and Western, owing to similarity in sound of terms of totally different origin for the same or like objects in the East and West. Instances that occur to me are Hindostani *rasīd* and English *receipt*; European *taffeta* and Persian *tāfta*; European *dumity* and Oriental *dumiāti*; and so on. As regards the derivation from *Bhagavat*, the Adorable, or its derivative form *bhāgavata*, the adorer or adored, it is *primā facie* not clear why an interpreter should choose such a term to describe a structure having common descriptive names of its own everywhere. Assuming, however, such to be the case, then on the fact of the Dravidian, like the German, difficulty in clearly distinguishing between surds and sonants, we might proceed to look for a sequence such as this: *bhagavat*, *bhagvat*, *bagivat*, *bagart*, *bagōt*, *pagōt*, *pagōd*, *pagoda*. I suspect, however, that the old travellers really said to themselves *pāgōd*, *pāgōda*, in which case the sequence would start with *bhāgavata*. But no such sequences have been actually traced as yet.

At p. 121 Barbosa has a remarkable passage relating to the boat, well known as the *sampan*. He says: "A land belonging to the King of Coulam [Kollam, Quilon], and to other lords who are subject to him, which is called Quilicare [Kilakarai, in the Madura district opposite Ceylon] wherein are many and great towns of the Heathen, and many others with havens on the sea where dwell many Moors, natives of the land. Its

navigation is carried on in certain small craft, which they call *champanes*, in which Moors come to trade there and carry thither the goods of Cambaya. Here certain horses are of great value, and they take cargoes of rice and cloth and carry them to Malabar." What did Barbosa mean by *champanes* the *sampan* of modern times? I have very often been in a *sampan*; it certainly could not go round to Malabar or Cambay with cargo. Barbosa may have meant generally that these "Moors", i.e. Labbāis or Lubbays of Madura or Ceylon, a naturalized and half-indigenous Indian population, like Navāyats and Moplahs, traded about India. But the point is that in the early sixteenth century the *sampan* was used by Muslim sea-coast people between Southern India and Ceylon under that name. Mr. Dames says, following Dalgado and Yule seemingly, that it "is Malay and apparently ultimately Chinese". I have always seen them with eyes painted on either side of what may be called the bows, which predicate a purely Chinese origin. The word would mean in dialectic Chinese "three planks", just as the Tamil catamaran (*kattumaram*) is of three planks corded and sewn together, and I cannot see any Malay origin for the *sampan* in design or form. M. Noel Peri, in *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'extrême Orient*, t. xix, No. 5, discusses the term at length, but he says that it is doubtful whether it is in common use beyond Japanese and Far Eastern ports. It is common enough, however, in Burmese, Nicobarese, Malayan, and Singhalese harbours, and, as we have seen above, in South-East Indian harbours, too. His desire, backed by Professor Bloch, is to show that it is (American) Columbian, and introduced thence to the East by the Portuguese, but his quotations are not early enough. I am afraid that the Chinese derivation is not upset yet.

When Barbosa is off Java, amongst the islands to the south of it, he notes (p. 195) "that the women wear *suruces*", and on this Mr. Dames remarks that "this name for a garment has not been traced elsewhere, and is not given in the Spanish

version or in Ramusio. It may very probably be a form of the Malay *sārong*". As a matter of fact the word has only lately come to light (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 1, suppl. p. 11). It has been taken for *sārī*, but wrongly. There are steady quotations for it from 1604 to 1661 in various forms, but usually *sarasses*. It meant the highly figured cotton skirt or petticoat of the Malay women, and the material for it. It was often used in conjunction with *tappi* (*tappi-sarasses*), meaning a skirt (Malay-Jav. *tapeh*). *Serāsah* appears to be the Malay-Jav. form of the imported Persian term *sarāsar*, brocade, but the material was cotton. Europeans used it for any kind of cotton cloth. To make confusion worse confounded, *tappi-sarasses* got mixed up with *tappiceels* and *tapseiles*, plain and striped silk and cotton cloths, arising out of the Persian *tafsīla*, a rich silken stuff; and even with other cloths and materials, with which I need not trouble my present readers.

As regards "*patolas* (that is to say Cambaya cloths)", p. 198, found at Banda, there are quotations in the early seventeenth century which seem to identify them with *sarasses*, manufactured at Surat for Batavia and Bantam, and with a garment of cotton called *tapchindie*, i.e. a *chindie*-skirt, for which also there are a good many quotations.

Barbosa has an appendix on precious stones, opening up so many questions as to words and terms that I will not attempt to examine it here. I propose to examine the folklore in this very important volume on a future occasion.

R. C. TEMPLE.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 3 :
TALAMANA OR ICONOMETRY. By T. A. GOPINATHA RAS,
M.A. 13 × 10, 115 pp., 5 plates. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1920.

This publication professes to furnish a concise account of the measurements of Hindu images as given in the Āgamas and other authoritative works, with illustrative drawings.

It constitutes a general introduction to Hindu Iconometry or Talamāna, and the writer appears to have previously published a more detailed work with quotations from Sanskrit texts bearing on the subject under the title "Elements of Hindu Iconography". The present work is of a highly technical nature, and consists of nothing more than a series of elaborate tables giving the minutest measurements of the various parts and members of the human body, male and female, prescribed for the making of images, together with a preliminary account of the various systems of measurement employed. There are two different units of lengths, absolute and relative. In the former the standard is the *aṅgula*, which is either 8, 7, or 6 barley-corns; while in the latter the *aṅgula* is either taken as being the length of the middle finger of the sculptor or architect or of the rich devotee who provides the necessary funds, or is obtained by dividing the whole length of the body of the image by a multiple of four, not greater than 124. The last kind of *aṅgula* is termed *dēhāṅgula*, and images of the three supreme deities, *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu*, and *Siva* contain 124 of these *dēhāṅgulas*, or 124 *aṅgulas*.

In the case of inferior deities the number of *aṅgulas* decreases according to a complicated and elaborate scale. A short glossary of technical Sanskrit terms employed is given at the end. The illustrative plates do not suggest that the adoption of this rigid system of minute measurements of every detail of the human frame leads to a production of any artistic value. Carried to its logical conclusion in every part of the male and female body (e.g. pp. 55, 64), it leads to results which seem to postulate a lack of a sense of decency or humour or of both on the part of the compiler, and the authors from whom he derives his materials. On the whole, there is little or nothing in this publication likely to interest those who are not specialists in a form of Hindu art, which is highly conventional and unattractive to Western taste.

R. P. DEWHURST.

TWO TRANSLATIONS OF THE QURAN

- (1) THE QURAN TRANSLATED INTO URDU. By the Rev. AHMAD SHAH, S.P.G. Mission, Hamirpur. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 508 pp. Cawnpur : Zamana Press, 1915.
- (2) THE QURAN TRANSLATED INTO HINDI. By the Rev. AHMAD SHAH, S.P.G. Mission, Hamirpur. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, 432 pp. Cawnpur : Law Press, 1915.

Mr. Ahmad Shah, who is responsible for these two attempts to render the Quran into Urdu and Hindi, is well known to all those who are interested in Hindi literature, as the translator into English of the famous Bijak of Kabir. As Mr. Ahmad Shah rightly claims in the brief and modest preface to the Hindi translation, this is the first time that an attempt has been made to render the Quran in Hindi, though there are several versions in Urdu, the best-known and probably the best of which was made by Maulavi Nazir Ahmad, the famous novelist, and also the translator of the Penal Code into Urdu.

The present translator in the preface to his Urdu version sets forth the main considerations which have influenced him in carrying out his task, viz. a desire to avoid foreign words, to be as idiomatic as possible, while disturbing the order of the Arabic original as little as possible and retaining all Arabic words, which are current in Urdu, together with an endeavour to translate with fairness and an absence of bigotry and partiality, without prejudging any of the points which have given rise to controversy between various sects of Musalmans. It is obvious that some of these considerations are not applicable to an attempt to render the Quran into Hindi, but both these versions seem to have been made with great care and a laudable desire to be fair. Both versions are accompanied by abundant footnotes, explaining difficulties or allusions in the text, and these are similarly characterized by a spirit of impartiality. A comparison of two short corresponding passages from each rendering will show how widely the two differ in vocabulary, though the grammatical framework is practically the same.

The first passage is Sura lv, verses 26-8. The Urdu runs thus : "Tum donon apne rabb kī kis kis ni'mat kā inkār karte ho. Aur jo kuchh uspar hai fanā honewālā hai, magar tere rabb kī zāt jo barī 'aẓmat aur buzurgī wālā hai bāqī rahegī." The corresponding Hindi is : "So tum apne prabhu ke kis kis bardān se mukarte ho. Aur jo kuchh uspar hai naṣṭ honehārā hai, parantu mere prabhu ki asti jo barī mahimā aur barāīwālī hai rahjāygi."

The second passage is part of the famous Throne verse (Sura ii, 256), the Urdu being : "Allah hī hai aur uske aiwā koi ma'būd nahin, wuh zinda aur hamesha qāim rahnewālā hai, jise na ūngh ātī hai na nīnd, Jo kuchh āsmān o zamīn men hai usī kā hai aur uske sāmne uski mārzi ke baghair kaun sifārish kar saktā hai." The Hindi rendering of this is : "Ishvar hī hai koi dev nahīn baran wah jivatā hai aur sadā kāl sthir rahne hārā hai jise na ālās ātā hai na nidrā, jo kuchh svarg aur pṛthvi men hai usikā hai uske sanmukh uski ichchhā ke binā kaun bintī karasktā hai." The labour involved in preparing these two translations must have been very great indeed, more especially as the Urdu version at least has been made direct from the Arabic, and is not merely a translation of a translation ; and Mr. Ahmad Shah may be congratulated on the completion of a careful and scholarly project of no little interest.

R. P. DEWHURST.

A HISTORY OF HINDI LITERATURE. (The Heritage of India Series.) By F. E. KEAY, M.A. Church Missionary Society, Jubbulpore. 7½ × 5, vii + 116 pp.; map. Calcutta : Association Press. London : Oxford University Press. 1920.

This little book of 107 pages furnishes a very interesting and sympathetic summary of Hindi literature down to about the eighth decade of the last century. The author has refrained from discussing the prose and verse writers of the

last forty years, as many of them are still living, and the position of most of them remains to be determined by the test of time. A history of this kind was greatly needed, as, although several accounts of the chief Hindi authors with specimens of their writings had been published in Hindi, nothing had hitherto been done in English with the exception of Sir George Grierson's valuable *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, which was published thirty-two years ago by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the form and method of publication of which caused its circulation to be limited to a few Oriental specialists. It may be hoped that this present history will reach a much wider public, and that the translated extracts from the works of most of the chief Hindi poets will open the eyes of many to the great and characteristic beauties of Hindi poetry. Hindi literature may be divided into four epochs. The first, which may be taken as beginning somewhere about 1100, is the period of the early bardic chroniclers, of whom Chand Bardāi is the most prominent. The second starts about 1400, when the religious influence of the Vaishnava movements began to affect the literature. This period includes such poets as Nāmdēv, Kabīr, Vidyāpati, and Malik Muḥammad Jāyasī, and the poetess Mīrā Bāī. The third period, lasting about two hundred years, which has been rightly described by Mr. Keay as the golden age of the literature, begins about 1550, and includes the greatest stars, such as Tulsī Dās, Sūr Dās, and Bihārī Lāl, besides other poets well in the front rank, such as Bhūshan, Matī Rām, Dev, and Senāpati. The last period starts about 1800, when the literature began to be affected by contact with the West and prose begun to be written both in the Brāj Bhāshā dialect (as in the Rāj Nīti) and in the so-called High Hindi. Mr. Keay devotes only a short chapter to each of the first two and the last of these epochs; but the third is dealt with, as it deserves, much more fully, separate chapters being devoted to (i) the Hindi poets connected with the Mughal Court, such as Rahīm

and Gang, and the artistic influence in Hindi literature, as manifested by such writers as Keśav Das, Balbhadrā, the Tripāthi brothers, and, above all, Bihārī Lāl, the great writer of the elaborate Satsai, every couplet of which is a poem in miniature; (ii) Tulsi Dās and the Rāma cult; (iii) the successors of Kabīr, such as Dādū, Sundar Dās, and Lāl Dās; and (iv) the Krishna cult, including the famous *Aṣṭa Chhāp*, the eight standard poets of the Braj Bhāshā dialect, of whom Sūr Dās is the greatest and Nand Dās the second luminary.

Of most of the chief writers mentioned typical passages are translated and a fair and adequate attempt made to gauge their relative positions and special characteristics. It is gratifying to find that Mr. Keay fully appreciates the great and unique position of Tulsi Dās, though as a Christian missionary he was not likely to start with a bias in his favour. Kabīr is indeed the only Hindi poet whose sentiments, apart from style and poetic expression, have made an appeal to the Christian critic. Mr. Keay says of the Rāmāyan that it "has had great and deserved fame not only in India but throughout the whole world", again, that it "is undoubtedly a great poem, worthy to rank amongst the great classical masterpieces of the world", and that it "will always hold its place as the work of a great literary genius". As one who has for nearly twenty-five years been an enthusiastic admirer of this great poet, I find in these remarks a compensation for the summary obiter dictum of a well-known Oriental scholar, who recently went out of his way to refer to the Rāmāyan as "doggerel". The account given of Kabīr is also a full and sympathetic one, though the error made by Bishop Westcott of assigning Maghar, the place where Kabīr died, and where his chief memorial is to be found, to the Gorakhpur district instead of the Basti district, is repeated. There is also an interesting summary of that great epic, the *Padmāvatī* of Malik Muhammad Jāyāsī, but nothing is said about the birthplace of the poet. That the common

belief that he was born at Jāyas (modern Jais) in the Rai Bareli district is erroneous is clear from the poet's own words in the Padumāvati: जायस नगर धरम अखानु । तहां आय कबि कीन्ह बखानू ॥ (Having come to the town of Jāyas, the abode of righteousness, the poet there wrote his narrative.) There is an interesting story told of this poet. He is said to have been ill-favoured and blind in one eye, and on one occasion a stranger glanced at him and burst out laughing. The poet turned on him and said: मोहि का हँसेसि कि कोहरै (Art thou laughing at me or the Potter?) Other great poets of whom a full account is supplied are Bihārī Lāl, Sūr Dās, and the modern Hariśchandra. It is interesting to notice that this last poet is included among the nine great poets, the Navaratna of Hindi literature, by a recent Hindi critic, and that Kabīr is omitted. The other eight include, of course, Tulsī Dās, Sūr Dās, Bihārī Lāl, and Keśav Dās, the remaining four being Chand Bardāi, Dev, Bhushan, and Matī Rām. It is a unique feature of Hindi literature that only were two of its greatest poets, Bhushan and Matī Rām, brothers, but that their father Ratnākar Tripāthi had four sons, all of whom became well-known poets. There is no other literature, I think, which can furnish a parallel to this, except Hindi itself, as Keśav Dās and Balbhadra, the author of the famous Nakhśikh, were also brothers, and there is even an instance of two sisters, Sahajo Bāi and Dayā Bāi, being Hindi poetesses, the Dayā Bōdh of the latter having been composed in 1751. In another respect Hindi poetry seems to have been uniquely fortunate, viz. in the munificence of its patrons. Bhushan is said to have received from Śivaji five elephants and twenty-five thousand rupees for a single poem. Several other poets appear to have been rewarded even more liberally, the culminating effort of lavishness being that of a minister of Akbar, who rewarded the poet Gang with thirty-six lakhs of rupees for a single verse. The typical beauties and defects of Hindi poetry are well summed up by Mr. Keay. Its chief defects are its limitation of range, conventionality in the use

of metaphors, and a tendency to lay stress on form rather than on substance. Its main beauty lies in its melody and rhythm and variety of versification, and in its felicity of phrase and the genuine manner in which both its language and thought reflect the real language and thought of the people. In a brief sketch of this kind, completeness could not be expected. There are some well-known poets, such as Narpati Nalh, the author of the *Bisaldeo Raso*, and *Vṛind*, whose *dohas* are very celebrated indeed, who are omitted entirely, and Narottam Das, the author of the *Sudāma Charitr*, is referred to very briefly in a manner which hardly does justice to a poet who, if not absolutely in the first rank, must take a very high place in the second class. In dealing with words of Sanskrit and Prakrit origin there are very few mistakes in this little book, such, for example, as *Probodh* for *Prabodh* (p. 93), *Kampilā* for *Kampil* (p. 46), and *Kabīr* for *Kabir* (p. 68), but this cannot be said for words of Persian and Arabic origin, in which errors are fairly frequent, e.g. *Shukoh* for *Shikoh* (p. 42), *Abdul* for *Abdur* (pp. 36, 37), *Sāhibā* for *Sāhiba* (p. 42), *Sayyad* for *Saiyīd* (p. 76), *Bāksh* for *Bakhsh* (p. 76), *Nūr Munshi* for *Mīr Munshi* (p. 90), and *Farukhabad* for *Farrukhabad* (p. 96). There is a useful bibliography and an index of proper names at the end, but the former is by no means complete and might with advantage be extended in a future edition. It may, indeed, be hoped that the author may be encouraged by the success of this sketch of Hindi literature to deal with the subject on a more elaborate scale, accompanied by longer quotations in the original Hindi, as well as translations, from all the chief Hindi authors. Some account might then be given of modern Hindi prose literature, which is rapidly developing and assuming formidable dimensions from the point of view of quantity, if not of quality.

R. P. DEWHURST.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION : PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS. Vol. II. Second Meeting held at Lahore, January, 1920. 10 × 7, 45 pp. and appendix xxxvi pp. Calcutta : Superintendent Government Printing, India. 1920.

This publication contains an account of historical material of considerable interest, which was brought forward before a joint meeting of the newly constituted Indian Historical Records Commission and the Panjab Historical Society, which has been doing admirable work for several years past. It consisted mainly of exhibits of Government records in English and records in Persian relating to the Sikh period, and a quantity of selections lent by various libraries, such as those of the Patiala and Kapurthala Darbars, the Lahore public library, and the Azad Collection in the University library. Some interesting papers on historical subjects were also read before the meeting. Professor Jadunath Sarkar drew attention to some remarkable missing links in the history of Mughul India. It is a surprising fact that although there is a wealth of materials in the shape of records and letters for the first and last decades of Aurangzeb's long reign, there is very little forthcoming for the three decades in between. There is a similar gap in the middle of the next century, i.e. from 1718 to 1760. The Marathi dispatches from generals and envoys at Delhi are copious after the last year. Another paper of great interest was contributed by Maulavi Zafar Hasan of the Archæological Survey, who furnished the originals and translations of letters purporting to have been written by Sulaiman Safavi, of Persia, to Aurangzeb and by the latter in reply. Both letters are couched in strong terms. The Persian king criticized Aurangzeb for his bigotry and failure to suppress rebellion and his unnatural behaviour towards his father and brothers. Aurangzeb defends himself in a spirited manner, and sneers at the youth and folly of his critic. There seems little reason to doubt the genuineness

of the first letter, which has been quoted before, but it is possible that the reply is only a rhetorical exercise representing what a clever student thought might have been written by way of an effective reply. Two other papers were also read on the Sikh Government records and on the general question of the preservation of old records, which show how valuable some of the old surviving historical material is, and how difficult it is to preserve it from the many climatic and entomological influences which militate against its conservation.

R. P. DEWHURST.

JOURNAL OF THE GYPSY LORE SOCIETY. Third Series.
Vol. I, Part I. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6, 48 pp. Printed privately for members.

A cordial welcome must be extended to this Journal on its reappearance after the war. In the past it has often contained articles of great linguistic value, and though for a time its activities may be curtailed, the future is not dark. Many Orientalists are unaware that great scholars have studied Romani. We are now promised articles by many well-known writers. I may mention Mr. Winstedt and Dr. Sampson, themselves accomplished scholars, and Professor Woolner, whose qualifications are almost unique, for in addition to wide Oriental knowledge, he possesses, what is sadly lacking in some who write on the subject, a real knowledge of Romani. I would urge upon Gipsy scholars the necessity for a phonetic study of the different dialects. Every conclusion regarding the relation of Romani to other languages which is not based upon severely accurate phonetic knowledge is precarious. May I risk urging another point? The Society evidently has a great deal of material which it lacks means to publish. These articles will bear much compression, and many pages may be saved. This number contains a three-

page review of a book described as almost worthless. A few lines would have sufficed. Orientalists will be interested in two Gipsy tales translated by Dr. Sampson. Parallels are adduced from the Panjab. The editor of the Journal is Mr. E. O. Winstedt (181 Iffley Road, Oxford), brother of the Malay scholar.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

BHATTOJI DIKSHITA'S *SIDDHANTA - KAUMUDI*. Vol. II : KARAKA AND SAMASA. With translation and Sanskrit commentary by SARADARANJAN RAY VIDYAVINOD, M.A. 12mo. iv, 106 pp. Calcutta, 1920.

Both in mediaeval and in modern times there have been heard in India voices *clamantium in eremo* protesting against the cumbrous and crabbed methods of the Pāṇiniya schools of grammar and their congeners, and crying out for a return to simpler and straighter ways. But nevertheless the ancient courses seem to have an irresistible attraction for the Hindu mind, and so long as this influence lasts we may be thankful for viatica like that of Professor Ray. The present volume, which, in spite of its title-page, contains only the section on *kāraka* or syntax of the cases of nouns, is intended to be the first instalment of an edition of the whole *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, and we hope that this design will be fulfilled in due course. The little book is neatly and on the whole fairly correctly printed; the English translation is helpful, and so is the Sanskrit commentary, which judiciously refrains from the display of needless erudition and *gagana-rōmanthāyitam* unhappily too common in grammatical writings. Professor Ray's work is quite independent of Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Vasu's translation, the existence of which seems to be unknown to him; but there is room for both.

L. D. B.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Mansel Longworth Dames

Our late colleague, Mansel Longworth Dames, and myself were born in the same year, went out to India in the Civil Service and Army respectively at about the same time, began to publish the results of our several studies of things Indian in about the same year, travelled over the East and Europe in much the same way and collaborated on occasion all our joint lives—even to the very end of his life I hoped to have the benefit of his assistance in projected volumes for the Hakluyt Society. It is therefore fitting that I should comply with the Council's request and bid our old friend farewell.

He was born at Bath in 1850 as the eldest son of Capt. George Longworth Dames, 66th (Berks) Regiment, and of Caroline Amelia Brunswick, daughter of Thomas Northmore, of Cleve, Exeter, and god-daughter of Queen Caroline Amelia Brunswick, wife of George IV, whence her Christian names. She lived to be 97, dying as lately as 1918. His father was the seventh son of Thomas Longworth Dames, of the well-known Irish family of Greenhill, King's County.

Mansel Longworth Dames spent his childhood and youth in Ireland and Devonshire among his family, and without any special education therefor passed for the Indian Civil Service in 1868, owing to his extraordinarily accurate memory and his capacity for using it aright. He went to India in 1870, hearing of the fall of Metz at Alexandria on the way out, as I heard of the debacle at Sedan in the middle of the night in the train. His service was spent in the Panjab and on the N.W. Frontier. He became Deputy Commissioner of the Jhang, Dera Ismail Khan, and Dera Ghazi Khan districts, and finally Commissioner of the Rawal Pindi Division. He retired in 1897, having married in 1877 Mary Jane, daughter of Thomas Ivens, British Consul in the Azores, and Henrietta Carew, of Ballinamona, Waterford, Ireland, by whom he had one daughter, who married in 1909 Francis W. Bolton Smart, now a House Master of the Charterhouse, Godalming.

They both survive him. This was a fortunate marriage, and Mrs. Dames' knowledge of Portuguese and its literature, added to his own, proved of the greatest assistance to her husband, especially in his fine edition of Barbosa.

It is the story of an uneventful career, but Dames was anything but a mere official. He studied the people he was placed over and knew them. Indeed, his knowledge of that difficult and in some respects obscure people, the Balochis, was so thorough and so respected by them that he was often called in by the chiefs to help in settling tribal troubles and quarrels. He counted among his special friends that fine old chief the blind Nāwāb Sir Imam Bakhsh Khan.

With such a memory as Dames possessed he could not help being a fine Oriental linguist and a master of the literature of the languages he studied. To this must be added a profound knowledge of English literature, which he loved. His wide travels, his interest in everything—including architecture, antiquities, numismatics, and even natural history—his reading, and his memory of what he saw and read and heard, made him a delightful companion. Even in England he saw all he could, and what is more, if one got him on the subject, he could talk interestingly and informingly about it.

Dames was, however, nothing if not retiring. His was the true scholarly temperament: delighting to learn for learning's sake and to pass on his knowledge to others, if it would help them, to review their work in journals, magazines, and reviews of the serious sort, and to devote his time and acquirements to forwarding knowledge in any shape. He wrote but few books with which his name is identified. There is his very fine edition in two volumes of the *Book of Duarte Barbosa* for the Hakluyt Society, the *Baloch Race* for this Society, the *Popular Poetry of the Baloches* in two volumes jointly for this and the Folklore Society, and his official *Baluch Grammar and Textbook*, which so long held the field. These about sum up his separate works.

Dames' main contributions to the Journals of Societies

were reviews of books with great insight into the subjects he discussed. But he did much for the Royal Numismatic Society, besides original articles for the Folklore Society chiefly on his favourite study, the Baloches, for the Royal Anthropological Institute he contributed to *Man* a note (1902) on Major [Sir P.] Sykes' *Gypsy Vocabulary* and one (1913) on a Gandhara relief representing the Story of King Sivi. For this Society he contributed (1908) "The Mint of Kuramān (Coins of the Qarluks and Khwarizm Shahs)", (1913) "Coinage of Husain Baikara", (1921) "Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century". Years ago he helped me with three legends published under his own name in the *Legends of the Panjab* and in notes for *Panjab Notes and Queries*, and with occasional contributions to the *Indian Antiquary*. He was also a contributor to the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

He was a collector of note of Oriental coins, especially of the Græco-Baktrian type, and had a remarkable collection of Gandhara Græco-Buddhist sculpture, which was shown in the South Kensington Museum in 1903-4, but passed unfortunately to Berlin in 1906 for want of funds in England. I have it also from Sir Percy Sykes that his knowledge of Afghanistan and the Afghans was such that no one living was better qualified to write the greatly wanted history of that country and its inhabitants.

Always ready to help, he undertook in recent years to arrange an accumulation of objects at the British Museum illustrating Hinduism and Buddhism, and on this work he was still engaged when he died. I leave it to our mutual colleague and friend, Sir Henry Howorth, a Trustee of the Museum, to describe Dames's lasting services to the nation in this direction. In the same spirit of helpfulness when required, Dames was at times Hon. Treasurer and Secretary and Vice-President of this Society.

It now remains to part company with an old servant of the Indian Government, who carried out his official work in

the spirit that has so long distinguished the great service to which he was proud to belong—a kindly English gentleman, who felt himself to be sufficiently rewarded if but his self-accumulated knowledge was of use to his fellows.

R. C. TEMPLE.

As a special tribute to our versatile and highly gifted friend I would like to say that among the places where Mr. Dames will be largely missed will be in the British Museum. The work he did there, and was still doing when he died, was difficult and involved a minute knowledge of the ritual and mythology of the Indian religions.

When the new building of the Museum was completed it was possible for the first time to find room in the two larger saloons then vacated for the exhibition of the considerable collection of objects which had accumulated in past times, and continued to accumulate faster after the campaign in Tibet. There was no one at the time on the Museum staff who had the necessary knowledge and also possessed the art of displaying this class of object, and it was a piece of singular good fortune that Mr. Dames was available and willing to undertake the duty for which he possessed exceptional qualifications. He attacked the work with his characteristic energy and thoroughness. The two saloons were practically divided between the illustrations of Hinduism in its various phases on the one side, and of the sister religions, Buddhism and Jainism, on the other.

These were again divided according to geographical areas, in which, besides India itself, Hinduism was represented by the remains from Java ; while Buddhism was represented by the principal homes of that faith, not only in India, but in Ceylon, Burma, and Indo-China, in China itself, Japan, and Tibet. The latter faith was again illustrated by its several stages. The early Græco-Buddhist remains from North-West India, of which the Museum possesses a fine series, illustrating the Jatakastories, was arranged in due order, and it now forms a

fine parallel to the sculptural remains from the great Amaravati Stupa on the staircase of the Museum. The later and more flamboyant and sophisticated Mahāyāna Buddhism, with its appalling medley of manifestations, *avatāras*, and metaphysical Buddhas, and the fiendish animalism of the Tantrik development, were duly grouped and arranged in serial order. The whole ritual of Lamaism, the clothing of its priests, and the furniture of its temples, were illustrated by a fine series of objects.

It is a real tragedy and a sad thing to be remembered by those who knew our friend that he should not have had the opportunity of publishing a catalogue or at least a handbook of the collection which he set out so well. It is to be hoped that it will be visited by all interested in the mental history, metaphysics, and material representation of the divinities and demons of India and her mental offspring. All this they will see in this fine galaxy of exhibits, and let us hope that they will remember the kind and courteous gentleman who made it possible for us all to study these treasures. Let us hope, too, that the collection will continue to grow in those directions in which it at present has many gaps. This would be the monument our friend would have loved best.

H. H. HOWORTH.

Sir Arthur Naylor Wollaston, K.C.I.E.

The death on the 8th February of Sir Arthur Wollaston deprived the Society of one of its oldest subscribers. He joined as far back as 1876, and was for many years a prominent member of the Council, giving ungrudgingly of his time and energy to the promotion of the Society's work. A lasting monument of his zeal is the fund which provides the Triennial Gold Medal and the Public School Gold Medal for Indian History. These medals were founded in 1906 with money collected mainly through his instrumentality; and for years he paid the closest attention to the administration of the

scheme, remaining a member of the Medal Committee and one of the examiners for the school essays until his death.

His interest in Oriental studies was the natural outcome of his connexion with the India Office, which he entered in 1859 at the age of 16. Posted to the Political Department (where he had for his chief Sir John Kaye, the well-known historian), young Wollaston set himself to acquire a knowledge of the Persian language as a useful asset in the discharge of his duties. His studies soon showed him the need of an English-Persian dictionary, and in 1873 he undertook the task of compiling one, with the aid of a Persian assistant. The result of their labours appeared in the form of a student's dictionary in 1882, and a much larger one seven years later. For many modern European terms no equivalent existed in Persian, and suitable words had therefore to be invented; and it was a source of pride to Wollaston that several of these were actually adopted in Persia.

Before the appearance of these works the author had published in 1877 a translation of the *Anwār-i-Suhaili*, and in 1879 an edition of Sir Lewis Pelly's miracle play of *Hasan and Husain*. In 1886 he produced, in collaboration with Sir Roper Lethbridge, an abridged and revised version of Thornton's *Gazetteer of India*. In the same year appeared the unfortunately named *Half Hours with Muhammad*—a popular account of Muhammadanism and its history; and nineteen years later it was recast as *The Sword of Islam*. Other works of a slighter character were a little book of Persian stories for children, entitled *Tales within Tales* (1909), and two volumes in the *Wisdom of the East* series, viz. *The Religion of the Koran* (1905) and *Sadi's Scroll of Wisdom* (1906). The latter was reissued in 1908 with the addition of the Persian text.

Wollaston's linguistic labours were recognized in 1886 by his appointment to the Order of the Indian Empire. He had by this time left the Political for the Revenue, Statistics, and Commerce Department, in which he served for fourteen years as Assistant, twice officiating for long periods as

Secretary. In July, 1898, he was transferred to fresh duties as Registrar and Superintendent of Records, a post which he held until his retirement in October, 1907, after a service of forty-eight years. In the following January he was promoted to K.C.I.E. Not long after his retirement he had the misfortune to lose the sight of one eye; and thenceforward his energies were confined to the locality of his home at Walmer, where for many years he served as a Justice of the Peace and Vice-Chairman of the Wingham Petty Sessional Division. His popularity in the neighbourhood was well attested by the large gathering at his funeral, which took place on the Saturday following his death. W. F.

Mrs. Haynes Bode

Mabel Kate Haynes Bode was the younger daughter of Robert William Haynes, the well-known law publisher. From him she inherited her love of literature and scholarship, as well as the beautiful voice and enunciation which all who heard her lecture will remember.

She was educated at Notting Hill High School, and always showed a remarkable gift for languages. Later, at the suggestion of Professor Rhys Davids, to whom so many of us owe gratitude, she devoted herself, under his teaching and guidance, to Pali. Her Ph.D. was taken, "summa cum laude," in 1898 at Berne, where she worked with Professor Müller-Hess. In 1904 she studied Sanskrit at Pisa with Professor C. Formichi, who speaks of her "as one of the cleverest and best women I ever met".

But it was at Paris that she found the great intellectual influence of her life in the teaching of M. Sylvain Lévi, and in the unity of spirit, under his inspiration, of a band of scholars joined in loyalty of work, love of truth, and disinterested comradeship. She always spoke of that time as the happiest in her life. French became, as one of her French friends said, "her other language." In 1909 she became Assistant Lecturer, and from 1911 to 1917 Lecturer, at

University College, London, and she was the first Lecturer in Pali at the School of Oriental Studies. Besides her formal lectures, she gave other public ones on Buddhism, and on these she bestowed great care. Among her private pupils was the composer, Gustav Holst, who shows her influence by his setting of Vedic subjects. During the war she was a valued helper to the Belgian Committee and to many exiled scholars; and she worked hard for the French Red Cross and kindred objects. Her last two years were spent in the country, and finally, till her death after a few days' illness from influenza, on 20th January, at Shaftesbury, where she won the hearts of those who could not share her interests but felt her charm.

Her first work was a paper on *Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation* (Oriental Congress, 1892), and was followed by an edition of the *Sāsana Vaṃsa* (1897); "On German Universities" (a pamphlet, 1905); *The Pali Literature of Burma* (1909, R.A.S. Prize Publication Fund); Indices to (a) the *Gandhavaṃsa* (P.T.S., 1896), (b) Pali words discussed in translations (P.T.S., 1901), (c) *Śikṣā samuccaya* (1897-1902). She collaborated with Professor Geiger in the translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa* (1912), and with Mr. T. W. Rolleston in Oriental articles in the *Times* Literary Supplement, and she wrote many notices of books in the *JRAS.*, including her last article in the January number on the *Atthasālini*. The work that always occupied her, and that she was happily able to complete, was her section of the Pali Dictionary; and this was a great achievement for one who was never physically strong and who never refused any claim either of friendship or kindness. She had a rare unselfishness; a deep love of truth; absolute fairness; reverence for all sincere thought and belief; and her work is marked by careful accuracy and delicate perception, and a beauty of style arising from these. In all she said or did "there shone forth" (to quote her own words¹ of a fifteenth century Burmese commentator) "the scholar's clear and simple soul".

C. MARY RIDDING.

¹ *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 42.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

The following thirty have been elected as members during the quarter :—

Mr. R. S. Ayyar, M.A.	Professor A. Mingana.
Dr. B. K. Banerjee, M.B.	Mr. C. S. Mohideen, B.A., L.T.
Professor A. Bonucci.	Mr. P. K. S. A. Arumuga Nadar.
Mr. R. Bruce-Low.	Pandit Surendra Nath, M.A.
Mr. D. N. Ray Chaudhury,	Mr. T. K. Panalar.
B.A.	Dame Una Pope-Hennessy,
Mr. K. K. Chowdhury, L.M.P.	D.B.E.
Mr. A. Nath Das.	Maulavi Shaikh B. A. Quraishi.
Mr. P. L. Dickson.	Dr. K. M. Radhakrishnan.
Thakur L. S. Gautam, B.A.	Mr. M. Rahimuddin, M.A.
Mr. C. Ikeda.	Mr. L. P. Narayan Ray.
Professor S. P. Jain.	Mr. M. Sathasivam.
Mrs. W. Kennedy.	Mr. Haryyan Singh.
Mr. K. Krishnaswami, B.A.	Captain H. H. M. Spink.
Captain F. T. Masterton-Smith,	Hon. Mrs. Tennant.
M.A., B.D.	Mr. B. B. M. Lal Varma, B.A.
Mr. G. R. S. Mead.	

Eleven members have resigned during the quarter :—

Mr. I. Abrahams.	Miss J. Herbert.
Mr. D. Ainslie.	Mr. A. H. Hill.
Mr. Blumhardt.	Mr. T. W. Morris.
The Dowager Lady Boyle.	Mr. N. Singh.
Mr. B. Davis.	Mr. H. G. Stokes.
Mr. H. C. Fanshawe.	

And five have died :—

Mrs. Haynes Bode.	Professor I. Goldziher.
Mr. Longworth Dames.	Sir A. N. Wollaston.
Mr. R. W. Frazer.	

Gifts

Sir Wallis Budge has presented the Society with a cast of the Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II. The Rev. C. U. Manning has given a framed photograph of the bust of his great-uncle Mr. Thomas Manning, friend of Charles Lamb and the first Englishman to visit Lhasa in 1811.

The portrait is placed in the room containing Chinese MSS., some of which Mr. Manning had presented to the Society. A gift of books has been presented to the Library by Mr. Pilcher, who has also, together with Dr. Morse and Mrs. Waite, given various numbers of the *Journal*.

The Executors of the late Mr. W. Morrison have presented a large number of parts of the *Journal* and some of the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Mr. Henry Proctor also presenting two volumes of the *Proceedings*.

CENTENARY OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE

The Société Asiatique of Paris proposes to celebrate during 10-13th July of the present year the Centenary of its foundation, in conjunction with a special commemoration of Champollion's discovery, which likewise goes back to the year 1822.

We have pleasure in transmitting to all our members a cordial invitation on the part of our French colleagues to take part in the proceedings, which will comprise, in particular, a meeting at the Sorbonne in the presence of the President of the Republic, a meeting in the Egyptological department of the Louvre, a reception at the Hôtel de Ville on the part of the Paris Municipality, etc.

All requests for information and details should be addressed to the Secretariat of the Société Asiatique, 2 rue de Lille, Paris.

The Society has received an invitation from the University of Padua to send delegates to its seventh centenary, 14th to 17th May. It is hoped that Sir Richard Temple will represent the Society on this occasion, and that Mr. Lee Shuttleworth will go as a delegate.

The Hungarian Geographical Society invites the Society to send a representative to the celebration of its Jubilee.

Lectures

Colonel Hodson read a paper entitled "Head Hunters at Home" in February, Mr. Lee Shuttleworth one on "Some Peoples and Religions of the Punjab Himalayas" in March, and Mr. Perceval Yetts described a visit to "A Buddhist Pilgrim Shrine in China" in April.

In May is the Anniversary Meeting, and in June Sir Percy Sykes lectures on the Achæmenian Dynasty.

PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL PRESENTATION

At a meeting of the Society on 7th February, 1922, the Viscount Chelmsford presented the Public School Gold Medal to G. F. Hudson (Shrewsbury School) and a book prize to H. C. B. Mynors (Marlborough College), the subject of the competition having been "The part taken by India in the late War".

Dr. F. W. THOMAS, who was in the chair, expressed regret at the absence of the acting President, Sir Richard Temple, in Switzerland, and paid a warm tribute to the services he had rendered to the cause of Oriental scholarship, particularly as editor-proprietor of the *Indian Antiquary*, which had now attained its jubilee. The name of another absent friend, that of Sir Arthur Wollaston, could not be omitted, having regard to the outstanding share he had in bringing about the foundation of the competition. The gathering that day suffered in attendance from the unfortunate coincidence of the date clashing with the ceremony at Cambridge of a presentation to Professor E. G. Browne as a testimony to the splendid service he had been rendering for so many years past to the cause of Persian and Arabic scholarship. The feature of their own proceedings that day was the presence of Viscount Chelmsford (cheers), whose period of Viceroyalty had been one of great emergencies both in peace and war. It was not for them in the Society to appraise the manner in which those high functions were discharged, but he might be permitted to say that Lord Chelmsford had faced grave crises in a spirit of calm statesmanship, but while shrinking

from no responsibility had never allowed himself to be hurried into precipitate action.

Dr. GASTER, one of the examiners, said that by this competition the Society sought to further the bond between East and West. The Council had some trepidation in choosing a subject in respect to which memories were so recent—a great earthquake which had shaken the world and of which the aftermath was still being felt. They were doubtful whether young men could grasp the problems which these great issues raised, but he was pleasantly surprised on reading the successful papers, both of which showed much grasp and judgment. The difference between the two papers was so small that it was not easy to decide which of them should secure the medal. Passing on to a remark made by one of his daughters when he was reading the papers, he expressed the opinion that the competition should be open to girls' schools. He intended to bring the suggestion before the Council in due course.

Viscount CHELMSFORD, who was cordially received, congratulated the winners on the admirable work which had entitled them to these awards. He had had the privilege of reading Mr. Hudson's paper, and could cordially endorse the praises of Dr. Gaster. The facts were admirably marshalled, and the presentation of the salient features of India's part in the war was extremely well put. The subject of the competition was one in respect to which he desired to state some facts which were not generally known, and certainly not sufficiently appreciated here in England. He could speak from personal knowledge as he happened to be in India from November, 1914, as a soldier, and from April, 1916, as Viceroy, to and beyond the end of the war.

The first thing he must bring to remembrance was that when the war started India had maintained her Army on the understanding that her military effort should be confined to the defence of her frontiers (using that term in no rigid sense) and to her internal security. It could well be imagined then, that when the war came with its great demand upon

India for help in regions all over Europe and in various parts of Asia and Africa, the demand was on resources which had never been adequately prepared for any such purpose. Notwithstanding that fact, it was remarkable that at the very outset India sent two cavalry divisions and two infantry divisions fully equipped to the Western front, the equivalent of a division to East Africa, one cavalry and six infantry brigades to Egypt, while very soon after a division admirably equipped was sent to Mesopotamia besides forces which were sent both to Muscat and to Aden. All these forces, with the exception of those sent to the West, were based upon India, and they relied upon that base for their food, their forage, and their reinforcements. This bare record in itself showed how amazing was the injustice of a cry raised in England in the early part of the war that the Government of India had shown a neutral attitude. The deepest gratitude was owing to his distinguished predecessor, Lord Hardinge, for the courage with which he denuded India of troops at that time and threw them into the battle lines. The wastage by casualties and sickness amounted to no less than 150 per cent per annum, and had to be made good by recruitment.

Coming to the time when he took over the office of Governor-General in April, 1916, he would remind them that just then Kut had fallen, and the position in India, to use the graphic phrase of Lord Hardinge, was that on the military side she had been bled white. No one present acquainted with India or even those in England at that time could well overestimate the tremendous moral effect of the surrender of Kut. The blow to our prestige was great, so that both on the material and moral side our position was deplorable. He would put before them some of the difficulties with which he and his colleagues were faced in the work of reconstruction. Looking up his papers for a few facts he found a memorandum written for him shortly after he assumed office by the then Commander-in-Chief, the late Sir Beauchamp Duff. It stated that the system of reserves had absolutely broken down ;

that 48 per cent of the men on the reservist roll were no good and could not be taken into the ranks. Even if this deficiency could be made good there was another serious difficulty. It was one thing to stamp on the ground and produce men for training ; it was another thing to find officers who were going to lead them. That problem faced the authorities in India throughout the war. In August, 1914, the cadre of British officers on the Indian establishment was 4,598. Of these 530 happened to be at home on leave at the outbreak of the war and Lord Kitchener naturally took them for the urgent requirements of the situation. During the period, irrespective of the officers who went with their troops in the contingents, India sent 2,600 British officers for service in various directions not in connexion with the Indian Army. They had not only to replace the casualties, which were quite as high, if not higher, among officers as in the rank and file, but they had also to find trained officers to deal with the stream of recruits.

They would remember that one grave criticism passed upon the Mesopotamian campaign in the earlier part of the war was the breakdown on the medical side. Doctors did not grow on every bush in India, however numerous they might be in England. There was only a limited number, and of these a very limited number had been trained as doctors who could take their place in the military cadre. There were all sorts of administrative duties for a medical officer in the field which did not come within the ordinary scope of a doctor's training. He would not weary them with figures, but would simply state the fact that it was with the greatest difficulty that they kept their military cadres supplied during the war. Nearly a year after the war was over he had a letter from a lady complaining that there was no medical officer at her station. He referred the matter to Army Headquarters, and they informed him that even at that time there were only 98 British medical officers on the military side in the whole of India. They could imagine what the state of things was during the war, when this was the position nearly a year after its close.

Another serious difficulty was that of the provision of equipment and material. In the memorandum of June, 1916, Sir Beauchamp Duff said that they had 121,000 infantry soldiers to equip, but had in stock only 74,000 serviceable rifles, or only sufficient to make up losses which were the result of the campaign. At that time India was not in a position to produce a large output of military material. The factory at Dum Dum near Calcutta had been run on the lines of obtaining sufficient arms for an ordinary campaign on the frontier; it had not been devised for the demands of a world war.

They knew that in regard to the breakdown on the medical side in Mesopotamia there were savage criticisms and complaints made of the administration of the Army in India and of the Government of India generally. He received those complaints on becoming Viceroy, and it was his duty to try and investigate them and to get replies to questions which were put to him from Whitehall. These questions took up the time of overworked officials at Army Headquarters just as they were engaged in the strenuous work of reconstructing the military machine. He was lost in admiration of the grit and determination of those men who went on with their heavy task in the face of grievous discouragement from the bitter criticism which was always pouring out upon their heads.

It must be remembered that the first flush of enthusiasm when war broke out was one thing, but when weeks drew on and became months and months became years you could not rely upon that "first fine, careless rapture" which always seemed to be characteristic of a people when war began. But while there was not perhaps in India much of such rapture in the first instance, it could be said that as time dragged on the peoples of India set their teeth and were determined that this thing should be seen through. The Government and the peoples of the country did see it through, and that brought him to the third and final stage of the war from the Indian standpoint.

No one, he thought, was likely to dispute the proposition that India played a leading part in the decision in Eastern theatres, and notably in Mesopotamia and in Palestine. She poured forth troops and munitions, and the Eastern campaign relied on her for supplies of all kinds, and notably for the rails and equipment for the military lines. The campaigns in Mesopotamia and Palestine were most successful at the end, and it was unquestionable that India was the decisive factor in that success. It should be remembered, too, that the Armistice did not finish the war, so far as India was concerned. For more than a year after she was carrying out on behalf of the Empire the mandates to bring tranquillity in Africa, in Asia Minor, in Syria, and in Mesopotamia. As late as January, 1921, more than two years after the Armistice, there were over 100,000 Indian troops still carrying on the military effort associated with post-war policing of mandated territories. So he thought that those of them who loved India, and desired to see India prosperous, and wished to see her reputation maintained were proud of India's record in the war. (Cheers.)

He must not forget that besides all that British India was doing there were those who had helped them most substantially. The Princes and Chiefs threw themselves and their resources into the war, and during its weary length their enthusiasm never flagged and their loyalty never wavered. (Cheers.) Nor must it be forgotten that the independent kingdom of Nepal freely placed at our disposal in addition to the Gurkha troops in the Indian Army, one-sixth of its martial population between the ages of 18 and 35. He thought they had every reason for profound gratitude to the rulers of Nepal for what they did to help the Empire in the war. (Loud cheers.)

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND said that he was greatly flattered that a book on Kashmir to which he had contributed had been selected for the prizes on this occasion. He had never won a prize, but he had some clever cousins who won

a large number when they were at school. He saw them in beautiful bindings on their bookshelves, but he did not remember that they ever opened their books when once they had received them. (Laughter.) He hoped that the two recipients would often open their prizes, if not to read his writings, at least to see the beautiful pictures of Kashmir with which they were adorned by the late Major Molyneaux. He could not help wishing that among British residents in India, in addition to the painting of pictures of scenery, there could be produced literary artists who could describe that most wonderful country in words that would make a wide appeal. (Cheers.)

Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, in proposing a vote of thanks to Lord Chelmsford, said he congratulated the medallist with the greater heartiness, since Shrewsbury was his old school. On a recent visit he found it had changed very much since he knew it more than sixty years ago, under the headship of Dr. Kennedy, who had the most terrible voice and tenderest heart of any master in England. Since then three headmasters had presided over the school, but he found when visiting it that there were still many of the same old things, including the same old ideals of scholarship and the same love of healthy sport. Many Salopians had heard the East a'calling, and perhaps one reason was that Clive was born and bred in Shrewsbury, as they were reminded by his statue in the market place. Sir George mentioned that one of his contemporaries there, with whom he often went out with a shotgun, was Charles Yate, now Sir Charles Yate, M.P., whose name rang through England in 1885 for the manner in which he upheld the honour of the British nation and of his school in connexion with the Penjdah incident. There were to-day many Salopians in India, and one of them, Major Humphreys, had just been appointed the first British Minister to the Court of Kabul.



JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1922

PART III.—JULY

Five Questions in the History of the Tughluq Dynasty of Dihli

By LIEUT.-COL. SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
C.M.G., C.B.E.

OF the many questions connected with the history of the Tughluq dynasty of Dihli which have not been thoroughly investigated or conclusively determined I propose to deal in this paper with five, viz. :—

1. The name of the dynasty.
2. The facts of the rebellion of the army during the first expedition of Muḥammad Jauna (Ulugh Khān) to Warangal in A.D. 1321.
3. The reason for Sultān Ghiyās-al-dīn's displeasure with his son Muḥammad Jauna during the expedition to Bengal, and the latter's responsibility for his father's death.
4. The chronology of the reign of Muḥammad Tughluq.
5. The parentage of the child enthroned in Dihli by Aḥmad-i-Ayāz (Khayāja Jahān) after the death of Muḥammad Tughluq.

I. *The Name of the Dynasty*

On this subject Frishta writes (ii, 230) : " The historians of India, both ancient and modern, have negligently omitted to record with the pen of investigation the origin and descent

of the Tughluq dynasty. The writer of these pages, Muḥammad Qāsim Firishṭa, when, at the beginning of the reign of Nūr-al-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Pādshāh, he came as an envoy from the Sultān of the age, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (II), to the city of Lāhor, inquired of many people there who delighted in reading the history of the kings of Hindūstān and were well informed on the subject of the affairs of the Sultāns of India, what was the origin and descent of the Tughluq dynasty. They said that they also had failed to find in any book a clear statement on the subject, but that the tradition in that country was that Malik Tughluq, the father of the Emperor Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq Shāh, was one of the Turkī slaves of the emperor Ghiyās-al-dīn Balban, and formed an alliance with the Jats, who are natives of that country, and received from them a bride, of whom the emperor Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq Shāh was born. In the *Mulḥaqāt*¹ it is written that Tughluq was originally Qutlugh, which is a Turkish word, and that the people of India, in pronouncing it, inverted it, and turned it into Tughluq, and some turn Qutlugh into Qutlū."

The *Khulāṣat-al-Tawārīkh* repeats the tradition that the mother of Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq Shāh was a Jainī of the Panjāb, and Ibn Baṭūṭah corroborates it by saying that he was a *Qarauniyyah* Turk, a word which Marco Polo explains as meaning "of mixed breed", "the offspring of a Turkish father and an Indian mother".²

The tradition may be held to establish the maternal descent of Ghiyās-al-dīn, but does not explain the origin of the cognomen Tughluq, for Firishṭa's or Shaikh 'Ain-al-dīn's suggestion is obviously a mere guess, and as an essay in philology may be classed with the derivation of Patna from Paṭhān, or of *Khidīv* from *Khudd* and *dīv*.

¹ Probably the *Mulḥaqāt* of Shaikh 'Ain-al-dīn Bijāpūri, which Firishṭa cites (i, 6) as one of his authorities.

² See Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, ed. 1871, pp. 186, 187.

I have no doubt that Tughluq is a tribal name, and I believe that Ghiyās-al-dīn's father came of the tribe of Turks now dwelling near Khotan, and called by Sir Aurel Stein, in his *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, "Taghlik." "Tughluq Khān," who served Balban, may have entered his service in the usual manner as an article of merchandise, or may have been expelled from "Black Cathay" by Mughul raids and found an asylum in India. The latter supposition would explain his son's pride in his prowess against the barbarian hordes—"I have encountered the Tatars on twenty-nine occasions and defeated them; hence I am called *al-Malik al-Ghāzī*." ¹

The usual transliteration of the word is Tughlaq, Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole prefers Taghlaq, ² and Sir Aurel Stein, who does not employ diacritical marks and uses *k* for ق, writes it Taghlik, so that it is only on the question of the vowel sounds that there is any difference. Ibn Baṭūṭah is explicit on this subject, and describes the ت and the ل as being both pointed with *ḍammah*. He is not an infallible guide in the matter of proper names, for he corrupts Īltutmish into Lalmish, but Shams-al-dīn reigned more than a century before Ibn Baṭūṭah's visit to India, and the error may be excused. He is not likely to have been mistaken in respect of the current pronunciation of his patron's tribal name, which he must have heard daily. "Tughluq" seems, therefore, to be the best transliteration to adopt for the dynasty. As Tughluq is a tribal name it is not necessary to describe the second of the line as Muḥammad ibn Tughluq, as is often done. Each ruler of the dynasty is entitled to bear the tribal name as a cognomen.

II. *Rebellion of the Army during the first Expedition to Warangal*

In A.H. 721 (A.D. 1321) Muḥammad Jauna was sent by his father, Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq, to conquer the Hindu state of Telingāna, ruled by Pratāparudradeva II of the Kākatiya

¹ Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 192.

² *Mohammadan Dynasties*, pp. 300, 302.

dynasty, who had his capital at Warangal and had been tributary to 'Alā-al-dīn Muḥammad Khalji. The prince invaded Telingāna by way of Devagīr, afterwards known as Daulatābād, and, refusing the terms offered by Pratāparudradeva, who was ready to acknowledge the suzerainty of Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq as he had acknowledged that of 'Alā-al-dīn Khalji, laid siege to Warangal. During the siege there broke out in the army a rebellion of which the official account, that is to say, the account authorized for circulation in the reigns of Muḥammad Tughluq and of his cousin and successor Fīrūz, was that given by the contemporary historian, Ziyā-al-dīn Baranī,¹ who writes (447) as follows :—

“For more than one month posts failed to arrive from the capital, and no orders reached Sultān Muḥammad, who was accustomed to receive two or three orders from his father every week.² Sultān Muḥammad and his intimate associates attached little importance to the failure of the posts, and attributed it to the desertion of some of the garrisons on the road. The news that Sultān Muḥammad attached little importance to this matter spread in the army and the rank and file were oppressed with grave anxiety and much confusion prevailed in each corps of the army. ‘Ubaid, the poet, and the Shaikhzāda of Damascus, two ill-starred, base, turbulent, and lying fellows who had by some means become intimate with Sultān Muḥammad, circulated in the army the lying rumour that Sultān Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq had died in the capital, that the affairs of the state were in confusion, that a usurper had ascended the throne, and that communications with Dihlī were cut off; and everybody took his own way.

“This same ill-starred ‘Ubaid and the Shaikhzāda of Damascus, most base, turbulent, ungrateful, and disloyal wretches, gave currency to yet another monstrous lie, and told Malik Tamar, Malik Tigīn, Malik Mul the Afghān, and Malik

¹ References to Baranī are to the *Bibliotheca Indica* text.

² Ibn Baṭūṭah describes in detail the admirable system of posts existing in the empire under the Tughluq dynasty.

Kāfūr, the keeper of the seals, that Sultān Muḥammad, in view of their having held high office at the court of 'Alā-al-dīn Khaljī and of their being the principal officers of the army, regarded them as enemies of the empire, and as being in league one with another and reckoned them unexampled traitors, and had proscribed them. They added that the prince's intention was to seize all four *maliks* in one day and behead them. The *maliks*, who saw these two lying scoundrels at all times and at all places in the prince's company, had no choice but to believe what they said, and having leagued themselves together, withdrew with their contingents from the camp. Their withdrawal threw the whole army into confusion, and a tumult arose. In every corps there was confusion, insomuch that no man would trust his fellow. A mishap to the army of the Muslims was the one thing that the Hindus needed for the saving of their lives, and they now sallied from the fortress, plundered the camp, and returned. Sultān Muḥammad, with his personal followers, took the road to Devagīr, and the army was scattered in every direction. On his way to Devagīr he met with postal runners bringing from the capital mails which informed him of the safety and good health of Ghiyāṣ-al-dīn Tughluq, and the *maliks* of 'Alā-al-dīn Khaljī, who had left the army, quarrelled with one another, and each took his own way, being deserted by his followers, whose arms and horses fell into the hands of the Hindus. Sultān Muḥammad arrived in safety at Devagīr, and there the army reassembled, and Malik Tamar, with a small number of horsemen, fled abroad and hastened into Gondwāna, where he died. The Hindus slew Malik Tigin, the governor of Oudh, and sent his skin to Sultān Muḥammad in Devagīr, and they sent Malik Mul the Afghān, 'Ubaid the poet, and other sedition-mongers bound to Sultān Muḥammad in Devagīr, and Sultān Muḥammad, who had previously arrested their wives and families, sent them all together to his father. Sultān Ghiyāṣ-al-dīn held an open court in the public square of Sirī and impaled alive 'Ubaid the poet, Kāfūr the

seal-bearer, and the other sedition-mongers, and caused several others, with their wives and families, to be thrown under the feet of the elephants, and on that day, in the public square of Sīrī, a punishment was inflicted which struck fear and terror into the breasts of all beholders, and at that punishment which Sultān Tughluq Shāh inflicted, throwing the wives and children of many under the feet of the elephants, the whole city fell a-trembling."

This account given by Baranī, who was in the service of Muḥammad Tughluq and of his successor, Firūz, is followed substantially by other historians, Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad, Budāonī, and Firishṭa, some of whom add details, of which the most important is that Muḥammad himself returned to Dihlī and was presumably present at the execution of the criminals. Firishṭa adds that an epidemic which broke out in the army before Warangal contributed to its demoralization. The blame for what occurred is placed primarily on 'Ubaid and the Shaikhzāda of Damascus, who are represented as double traitors—traitors to their sovereign, Ghiyās-al-dīn, and to their master the prince, as well as betrayers of the leading *amīrs* of the army. No motive is suggested for the chain of intrigues in which they engaged, and it is difficult to see what they had to gain by them.

Ibn Baṭṭah, who visited India during the reign of Muḥammad Tughluq, twelve years after this time, tells an entirely different story of the rebellion. His version is as follows:—

"When Tughluq (Ghiyās-al-dīn) was firmly established in the capital he sent his son Muḥammad to conquer the country of Tiling, which is at a distance of three months' journey from the city of Dihlī, and he sent with him a numerous army and with it great *amīrs*, such as Malik Tamūr, Malik Tigin, Malik Kāfūr the seal-bearer, Malik Bairam, and others. When Muḥammad reached the country of Tiling he resolved to rebel, and he had a companion named 'Ubaid, a theologian and a poet, and he ordered him to spread the report among

the men that the emperor Tughluq was dead, believing that they would readily swear allegiance to him when they heard this. But when this news was proclaimed to the men the *amīrs* contradicted it, and each one caused his drums to be beaten and rose against Muḥammad, with whom there remained nobody. The *amīrs* purposed to slay him, but Malik Tamūr prevented them from doing this and stood by him, and Muḥammad fled to his father with ten horsemen whom he called his faithful friends, and his father furnished him with treasure and a fresh army, and ordered him to return to Tiling, and he returned thither, and his father learnt what his intention had been and slew the theologian 'Ubaid, and ordered that Malik Kāfūr, the keeper of the seals, should be impaled, and a lance was thrust through his neck and he was impaled head downwards and his bowels gushed out, and he was left in that position until he died, and the rest of the *amīrs* fled to Sulṭān Shams-al-dīn [of Bengal], son of Sulṭān Nāṣir-al-dīn, son of Sulṭān Ghiyās-al-dīn Balban."

Thus, according to Ibn Baṭūṭah, it was Muḥammad Jauna who was the double traitor, and who, having attempted, by means of the army, to seize the throne, subsequently left his agents to his father's vengeance. From Ibn Baṭūṭah's account it would appear that Muḥammad, having failed in his attempt to induce the army to acclaim him as emperor, fled at once, reached Dihlī before either his accomplices or his opponents could arrive there, and gave his father his own version of the rebellion in the army, the version, that is to say, subsequently recorded by Baranī. Baranī is not blind to Muḥammad Tughluq's faults, but he invariably sets off against them such virtues as he possessed and his undoubted abilities. It would have been impossible for a courtier, writing for publication in the reign of Muḥammad's successor, Firūz, who had a tender regard for his cousin's reputation, to portray Muḥammad as the despicable traitor of Ibn Baṭūṭah's narrative. Ibn Baṭūṭah, on the other hand, was untrammelled by apprehensions for his personal safety, for he did not write

and publish his account of his travels until his return to his distant western home, where he was far removed from the wrath of the emperor of India; he was under considerable obligations to Muḥammad Tughluq, he was a careful and accurate inquirer and observer, and he had no motive for blackening Muḥammad's character. It is needless to labour this point, for I believe that Ibn Baṭūṭah's version is now generally accepted in preference to Baranī's,¹ but its acceptance creates two difficulties, for it is not easy to understand how Ghiyās-al-dīn could have entrusted to his son the command of a second expedition or how he could afterwards have appointed him regent in Dihlī during his own absence in Bengal.

It appears probable that Muḥammad somehow contrived to keep his father in ignorance of his guilt until he was on his way towards Telingāna with his second army. From Ibn Baṭūṭah's narrative it certainly appears that Muḥammad's guilt was not discovered until he had left Dihlī. Baranī says (449): "And again, after four months, Sultān Ghiyās-al-dīn gave Sultān Muḥammad a large force and appointed him to the command of other armies, and sent him towards Warangal." It is almost incredible the Ghiyās-al-dīn should have remained in ignorance of his son's guilt for four months, and it seems probable that the second army was equipped and dispatched sooner than Baranī says, and had left Dihlī and perhaps reached Devagīr by the time four months had elapsed. When Muḥammad Jauna was at the head of his new army his father would naturally have refrained from exasperating him. Muḥammad Jauna's appointment to the regency in his father's absence is not so easily explained. Mr. Thomas ascribes it to infatuation, but infatuation is not usually associated with the character of Ghiyās-al-dīn. We may assume either that Muḥammad Jauna was purged of his former offence by his brilliant conquest of Telingāna, or that Ghiyās-al-dīn believed that he would be less formidable

¹ Mr. Thomas accepted it. See *Chronicles*, p. 108.

at Dihlī, surrounded by *amīrs* and troops devoted to the emperor's interest, than at the head of a quasi-independent army in Telinganā, and accordingly summoned him to the capital. The second supposition appears to be the more probable of the two.

III. *The reason for Sulṭān Ghiyās-al-dīn's displeasure with his son Muḥammad Jauna during the expedition to Bengal, and the latter's responsibility for his father's death.*

While Muḥammad Jauna was still absent in Telingāna with the second expedition, which terminated more successfully than the first, his father received an appeal for help from Bengal, where the descendants of Ghiyās-al-dīn Balban of Dihlī had been virtually independent sovereigns ever since the feeble reign of Mu'izz-al-dīn Kaiqubād, the last of the Slave dynasty of Dihlī. Shams-al-dīn Firūz, Shāh of Bengal, son of Nāṣir-al-dīn Bughrā Khān, and grandson of Ghiyās-al-dīn Balban, had appointed his son Ghiyās-al-dīn Bahādur governor of Eastern Bengal, or had at least permitted him in 1310 to assume the power of a governor there, and had died in 1318, leaving another son, Shihāb-al-dīn Bughrā, to succeed him on the throne of Bengal. Ghiyās-al-dīn Bahādur, of Eastern Bengal, refused to recognize his brother's authority and in 1319 ousted him and brought the whole of Bengal under his sway, putting to death Qutlū Khān, another of his brothers. Shihāb-al-dīn fled with another brother, Nāṣir-al-dīn, to Dihlī, and there sought aid of Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq, who could not resist the temptation to intervene in Bengal, the independence of which had never been recognized by Dihlī. He decided to take command of the expedition to Bengal, and summoned his son Muḥammad from Telingāna to assume the government of the capital during the absence.

There lived at this time in the city of Dihlī the well-known saint Nizām-al-dīn Auliya, who leaned strongly towards Sūfī-ism and was suspected of heterodoxy. The historian Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad says, in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, that he

had fallen into disfavour with Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq, but does not mention the cause of the emperor's displeasure, and both Baranī and Budāonī are silent on the subject. Firishṭa likewise fails to mention it in his chronicles of the emperors of Dihlī, but in the life of Nizām-al-dīn Auliā, which is given, with the lives of other saints, at the end of his history, he gives a full and detailed account of the differences between the emperor and the saint.

On ascending the throne after the murder of Quṭb-al-dīn Mubārak Shāh the usurper Nāṣir-al-dīn Khusrav had distributed with a lavish hand the treasure of his predecessor, and, with a view to conciliating the religious element at the capital, had included the *Shaiḥs* and holy men among the recipients of his largesse. Some refused to accept anything at his hands, and with the exception of Nizām-al-dīn Auliā those who feared to refuse the money kept it as a deposit, judging that the usurper's reign would not be of long duration and that any responsible sovereign who might be raised to the throne would be sure to demand restitution of public treasure so recklessly expended. Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq took the step which they had expected, and rigorously exacted from all recipients of the usurper's misplaced bounty the sums which they had received of him. All other *Shaiḥs* at once restored what they had received, but Nizām-al-dīn Auliā, who had spent the money, returned no reply to the emperor's demand. Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq, incensed by his contumacy, readily acceded to the request of some of his enemies, and arraigned him before a court of fifty-three doctors of the law on a charge of holding irregular assemblies at which were performed, after the manner of the *Sūfis*, ecstatic songs and dances, held to be unlawful by most Sunnī doctors. The *Shaiḥ's* victory in argument stayed the emperor's hand for a time, but can hardly have improved the relations between the two.

Ibn Baṭūṭah says that Muḥammad Jauna was a disciple of Nizām-al-dīn Auliā, and was in the habit of visiting him whenever it was known that he had fallen into one of his

ecstatic trances, in the belief that his utterances when he was in that condition were prophetic. On one occasion the *Shaikh*, in one of these fits of hysteria, said to Muḥammad, "We give you the kingdom," and it was probably a report of this utterance which still further provoked the wrath of the emperor, for Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad relates in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* that the emperor sent a message to the *Shaikh* from Bengal to the effect that when he returned he would settle accounts with him. The *Shaikh* replied in a message which has since become proverbial in India, with application to one who boasts at the beginning of an undertaking, هنوز دہلی

دور است ("Dihlī is yet afar off"), recalling the Scottish proverb, "It's a far cry to Loch Awe." The *Shaikh's* veiled threat was fulfilled.

According to Ibn Baṭūṭah ¹ the *Shaikh* himself died before the emperor returned from Bengal, and Muḥammad Jauna helped to bear his bier to the grave. When Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq heard of this extravagant mark of respect paid to the corpse of who one had died under the ban of his displeasure his wrath increased, and he wrote a letter to his son threatening to deprive him of the regency and accusing him of other acts which reflected on his loyalty. Various astrologers, instigated doubtless by Muḥammad, prophesied at this time that the emperor should never return to Dihlī, and Ghiyās-al-dīn, who had brought his expedition to a successful conclusion, now hastened back by forced marches, breathing threats of vengeance against the prophets.

Muḥammad Jauna, on hearing of his father's return, prepared a special reception for him. He built, at a distance of some 5 or 6 miles from Tughluqābād, the fortress-city which Ghiyās-al-dīn had founded near Dihlī, a wooden pavilion in which to receive and entertain his father. All

¹ According to other accounts the *Shaikh* outlived Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq by a month or two, and it was only his son's general relations with the *Shaikh* that displeased him.

historians mention Afghānpūr as the place where this pavilion was built, and Baranī places it as "three or four *kurūh*" and Budāonī at "three *kurūh*" from Dihlī, that is to say, Tughluqābād. There is no village of this name now near Tughluqābād, but I am inclined to believe that the pavilion was built at Aghwanpūr, a village about 5 miles from Tughluqābād. The name of this village may be a corruption of Afghānpūr, or the Muḥammadan historians may have corrupted, as they sometimes do, a Hindī name.

The emperor was received by his son in the pavilion, which fell on him and killed him, and the question is whether the pavilion fell by accident or by design. On this point the evidence of the historians must be heard. Baranī, who could not have ventured, even on the most conclusive evidence, to accuse Muḥammad Tughluq of parricide, writes (452) as follows :—

"When Sultān Muḥammad heard that Sultān Tughluq was returning to the capital, Tughluqābād, by forced marches, he ordered that a small pavilion should be built near Afghānpūr, at a distance of three or four *kurūh* from Tughluqābād, in order that the Sultān might spend the night there and make a state entry into Tughluqābād on the following morning. In Tughluqābād triumphal arches were erected and the drums were beaten when the Sultān Tughluq Shāh arrived and alighted at the new pavilion at the time of the second prayer. Sultān Muḥammad, with the *maliks* and *amīrs* and the principal men, went forth to meet his father and had the honour of kissing his feet. At the time when Sultān Tughluq Shāh had sent for his own special service of food, and the *maliks* and *amīrs* had gone outside to wash their hands, a calamity occurred, like a thunderbolt falling from heaven on the denizens of the earth, and the roof of the dais on which Sultān Tughluq Shāh was sitting fell, and the emperor, with five or six persons, fell beneath the roof, and was united to the neighbourhood of God's mercy."

The translator of the extracts from Baranī in Elliot and

Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*,¹ who has been followed by Lieut.-Col. Ranking in the notes to his translation of vol. i of the *Muntakhab-al-Tawārīkh* of Budāonī,² takes the word "thunderbolt" literally and translates, "A thunderbolt from the sky descended upon the earth, and the roof under which the Sultān was seated fell down, crushing him and five or six other persons, so that they died."

This is a mistranslation. Had Baranī intended to say that the building was actually struck by lightning he would have written *بلای صاعقه آسمانی* ("the calamity of a thunderbolt from the sky") instead of *صاعقه بلای آسمانی* ("a thunderbolt

of a calamity from heaven"). The word *صاعقه* is merely a simile, comparing the calamity, in its suddenness, with a thunderbolt, but Baranī would probably have been well content to be misunderstood.

Later historians are less important than Baranī, but as they probably had access to other authorities which are lost to us their statements are worth examining. Nizām-al-dīn Alḥmad writes as follows in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* :—

"When Ulugh Khān (Muḥammad Jauna) heard that his father was returning rapidly he ordered that a pavilion should be built in the space of three days near Afghānpūr, which is three *kurūh* from Tughluqābād, in order that when the Sultān arrived he might alight and pass the night there, that the people of the city might go out to receive him and wait upon him there, and that the next morning, at an auspicious hour, he might enter the city in royal state. When the Sultān arrived at that pavilion there were rejoicings in Tughluqābād, and triumphal arches were erected. Ulugh Khān, with the *maliks*, the *amīrs*, and the principal men of

¹ iii, 235.

² i, 300, n. 3.

the city, went out to receive him, and had the honour of waiting upon him. Sultān Tughluq Shāh sat in that pavilion, and a special table of victuals was brought for him. When the food was removed and the people understood that the Sultān would remount at once they left the building without waiting to wash their hands, and the Sultān remained behind for the purpose of washing his hands. Meanwhile the roof of the building fell, and the Sultān, beneath it, attained to the neighbourhood of God's mercy. The duration of his reign was four years and some months.

"In some histories it is related that as the pavilion was new and freshly built, and they caused the elephants which the Sultān had brought from Bengal to trot around it, the ground around the pavilion and its roof gave way. It will not be concealed from the minds of the discerning that the construction of such a pavilion, for which there was no necessity, casts on Ulugh Khān the suspicion of having compassed his father's death, and it is evident that the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi* (Baranī), since he wrote in the reign of Sultān Firūz, who had a great veneration for Sultān Muḥammad, may have refrained, out of regard for Firūz, from mentioning this matter. I have, however, constantly heard this assertion made by trustworthy men."

Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad then describes, in corroboration of this story, the threat sent by the emperor to Nizām-al-dīn Auliya and the *Shaikh's* reply.

Budāonī's account is as follows :—¹

"Sultān Tughluq Shāh, taking Bahādur Shāh (of Bengal) with him, returned to Dihli victorious and triumphant, and, travelling by double stages, made forced marches. Ulugh Khān (Muḥammad Jauna), upon hearing this news, gave immediate orders for the erection of a lofty and noble palace near Afghānpūr, which is at a distance of three *kurūh* from Tughluqābād. It was completed in three days, so

¹ *Bibliotheca Indica* text, i, 224. Lieut.-Col. Ranking's translation, i, 300.

that Sultān Tughluq Shāh might alight there, and, having passed the night in it and having rested, might depart thence at an auspicious moment and alight at Tughluqābād.

"The Sultān arrived there, and, Ulugh Khān having gone out to meet him with all the great men and grandees, spread a banquet of welcome. The Sultān gave orders for the elephants which he had brought from Bengal to be raced, and as the foundation of the new palace was recently laid and unsettled, the palace began to shake and totter with the tramp of the elephants. When the people became aware that the Sultān was mounting with all haste they hurriedly came out from the palace without even washing their hands. Sultān Tughluq Shāh was engaged in washing his hands, and so did not come out. In consequence he washed his hands of life and the palace fell upon him.

"We should not lose sight of the fact that from having built a palace such as this, which was quite unnecessary, there is a suspicion that Ulugh Khān may have built the palace without foundations, as was currently reported, but the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Baranī) makes no mention of this. His omission may possibly be due to a desire to flatter Firūz Shāh, and to regard for him."

Budāonī also tells the story of the emperor's threat to Nizām-al-dīn Auliya and of the *Shaiikh's* reply. Firishta discusses the question in the following passage:—¹

"When Ulugh Khān heard that his father was returning by forced marches he built near Afghānpūr a pavilion, which was completed in three days, in order that when his father arrived he might spend the night there, and in the morning, when the city had been decorated and all preparations for a royal reception made, he might enter the city in state. When the Sultān arrived there he alighted at the pavilion, having in view the purpose for which it had been built, and there were rejoicings in Tughluqābād and triumphal arches were erected, and on the following day

Ulugh Khān and the rest of the *amīrs* were honoured by being enabled to kiss the emperor's hand, and the Sultān, with the concourse which had come out to meet him, sat at meat in that pavilion. When the cloth was removed and men became aware that the emperor was on the point of mounting they came out with unwashed hands, and Ulugh Khān, the hour of whose death had not yet arrived, came out in order to parade before his father the horses, elephants, and other offerings which he had brought out for him. Meanwhile, the roof of the building fell, and the emperor, with five other persons who were beneath it, was received into the neighbourhood of God's mercy.

"It is written in some histories that since the pavilion was freshly built, and new, it collapsed from the shock occasioned by the racing of the elephants, and some historians have written that the construction of such a building, which was in no way necessary, gives rise to the suspicion that Ulugh Khān compassed his father's death, and that Ziyā Baranī, who wrote in the time of the emperor Firūz, who had great reverence for the memory of Sultān Muḥammad, refrained, from fear of Firūz, from recording the whole truth ; but it will be evident to all men of discernment that this story is most unreasonable, for Ulugh Khān was sitting with his father at meat, and whence can he have had the power to work this miracle, that the building should fall at the moment when he left it ? The most ingenious story of all is that of Ṣadr-i-Jahān Gujarātī, who has written in his history that Ulugh Khān erected this building by means of a talisman, so that when the talisman was broken the roof fell. Hājī Muḥammad Qandahārī has written in his history that at the moment when the Sultān was engaged in washing his hands a thunderbolt fell from the sky and split the roof asunder, so that it fell on his head, and this account, according to the estimate of what is likely to have happened, seems to be the most probable ; but God knows the truth of the matter."

Minor discrepancies between these accounts need not be

noticed. Firishṭa's reference to "some historians" is evidently a covert attack on Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad, for Firishṭa was addicted to biting the hand which fed him. Ḥājī Muḥammad Qandahārī's account was probably based on the misunderstanding of Baranī, which has already been noticed. Firishṭa's defence of Muḥammad Jauna is ingenious and plausible, but it is demolished by Ibn Baṭūṭah, who had the story from eye-witnesses. He says that the building, which was mostly of wood, stood high above the ground on a substructure of wood, and was built under the general supervision of "the well-known Malikzāda" and the immediate superintendence of Aḥmad ibn Ayyāz, afterwards entitled Khayāja Jahān, who was at that time supervisor of buildings, and was probably an architect by profession. Ibn Baṭūṭah writes: "The art in the construction of this building was that they contrived it in such a manner that when the elephants passed by on one side of it the pavilion fell"; he does not enter into details of the device by which the fall of the building was ensured, but from his account it appears to be likely that Ṣadr-i-Jahān's "talisman" was a beam left projecting from the substructure, which, when dislodged by an elephant, brought the building down. Ibn Baṭūṭah continues his account as follows:—

"The emperor alighted at the pavilion and his retinue was feasted there, and they dispersed. Muḥammad asked his father's permission to have the elephants paraded in full array before him, and the emperor assented. Shaikh Rukn-al-dīn told me that he was there with the emperor, and with the two of them was the emperor's favourite son, Maḥmūd. Muḥammad, the emperor's son, came and said to the Shaikh, "Akhund, it is now evening. Come down and retire." The Shaikh told me that he descended, and the elephants were brought up on one side [of the pavilion] as had been arranged, and when they came against the pavilion it fell on the emperor and his son Maḥmūd. The Shaikh told me that he heard the tumult and returned, and when he arrived

he found that the pavilion had fallen on the emperor. The prince ordered that axes and spades should be brought in order to dig him out, and they brought them to him at sunset, and they dug. The emperor was stretched over his son [Maḥmūd] as though to protect him from death. Some said that the emperor was dead when he was taken out, but others said that he was alive. His son [Muḥammad] made preparations for his funeral, and carried him by night to the tomb which he had built for himself without the city of Tughluqābād, which had been called after his name, and there he buried him. . . .

"On account of the art which the *amīr* Kḥyāja Jahān [Aḥmad ibn Ayyāz] had displayed in building the pavilion which fell upon Tughluq, he enjoyed much favour at the hands of Tughluq's son, and was advanced to the highest rank."

Ibn Baṭūṭah's impartial evidence is conclusive. His informant was one who had been present on the occasion, and for whose personal safety Muḥammad Jauna had shown solicitude. It was Muḥammad Jauna who suggested the parade of the elephants, by means of which the catastrophe was brought about, and the sudden promotion of Aḥmad ibn Ayyāz, who appears in Baranī's list of the officials of Ghīyāṣ-al-dīn Tughluq as a simple inspector of buildings, to be minister of the empire on Muhammad's accession completes the chain of evidence.

IV. *Chronology of the Reign of Muḥammad Tughluq*

The chronology of this reign is full of difficulties. The contemporary historian, Ziyā-al-dīn Baranī, a most valuable authority for details of the life and character of his master, of his measures, and of many events in his reign, fails conspicuously as a methodical chronicler. Events are not invariably recorded in their chronological order, and as dates are seldom assigned to them it is impossible to evolve order out of the chaos. Those who have followed him have

used him as their chief authority, and Nizām-al-dīn Alḥmad, in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, has imitated him so faithfully that for this reign of twenty-six years he gives only two dates, one of which is that of the emperor's death. As a source of information on chronological questions the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* may be neglected.

Firishta also bases his account on that of Baranī, but is less niggardly of dates. Baranī's *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* is the only authority, besides general histories, cited by him for this reign, and the source of his chronological information cannot be ascertained. He gives us, which no other author does, the month (*Rabī'al-awwal*, 725 = Feb.-March, 1325), but not the day of the death of Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq and the accession of his son Muḥammad, and besides this gives us nine dates, including that of Muḥammad's death. One or two others may be supplied from his account of the rebellion in the Dakan and the foundation of the Bahmanī kingdom.

‘Abd-al-Qādir Budāonī cites no authorities, except the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of his friend Nizām-al-dīn Alḥmad and the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, but gives us no fewer than sixteen dates, including those of Muḥammad's accession and death and attempts to marshal events in their chronological order, but has not been entirely successful.

Ibn Baṭūṭah, the Moorish traveller who visited India during this reign and remained in the country, is as niggardly of dates as Baranī, but supplies a few not given by other historians. After describing his arrival in the country, his journey to Dihlī, the city, and his reception there, he gives two long lists of various actions of the emperor, one of acts of generosity and the other of acts of cruelty; then comes a brief chronicle of the events of the reign, arranged, apparently, in chronological order. Some of these, which occurred before Ibn Baṭūṭah's arrival, and four of them which occurred after he had left Dihlī, and of which he probably heard in Bengal on his way to China, are based on information which he received from friends or companions, but for some others his

own experience vouched. Then follows a list of his personal experiences, and lastly an account of the journey of his mission across India after he had left Dihli. This account supplies us with most valuable information regarding the terrible condition to which the country had been reduced by Muḥammad's tyranny and misrule.

Ibn Baṭūṭah arrived in the Indus on September 12, 1333, and reached Dihli about the end of that year or the beginning of 1334, and except for a journey to Lāhor and two journeys in the Dūāb, one of which included a pilgrimage into Oudh, to the shrine of Sālār Mas'ūd at Bahrāich, remained at the capital until July 22, 1342, when he left the city as head of a mission which Muḥammad sent to China. When, therefore, he mentions, as he often does, any event of which he was an eye-witness, it is certain that it occurred between those two dates, and the order in which he mentions events often enables us to date them more accurately.

Two dates for events in the reign are given in chronograms by the court poet, Badr-al-dīn of Chāch, usually known as Badr-i-Chāchī or Badr-i-Chāch, and other dates are satisfactorily determined by legends on coins.

The first date to be ascertained is that of the death of Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq and the accession of Muḥammad. Firishta alone gives the month of his death. Rabi'-al-awwal, A.H. 725, which began on February 15, 1325. Muḥammad died on Muḥarram 21, 752, and Nizām-al-dīn Almad, Budāonī, and Firishta concur in giving the duration of his reign as twenty-seven years, without the addition of any months or days, regarding which Firishta is usually particular. This calculation places Muḥammad's accession on Muḥarram 21, 725, but it appears that Firishta, being in this case not quite sure of his dates, took no account of the forty odd days by which Muḥammad's reign fell short of twenty-seven years. His accession may be placed in February, 1325.

In the same year (A.H. 725 = A.D. 1325) Muḥammad

restored Ghiyās-al-dīn Bahādur, whom his father had brought to Dihlī as a prisoner, to the government of Eastern Bengal, as a vassal under the tutelage of Tātār Khān, now entitled Bahrām Khān, whom Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq had left in that province as governor.

One of Muḥammad's earliest acts was to order the compilation of a register of the land revenue of the empire on the model of the register already maintained in the districts near the capital. The order was probably issued in A.H. 725, but as registers were compiled, according to Baranī, for the provinces of Dihlī, Gujarāt, Mālwa, Devagīr, Telingāna, Kamplī, Dhorasamudra (Dvāravatipūra), Ma'bar, Tirhut, Lakhnāwatī, Satgānw, and Sonārgānw,¹ the work cannot have been completed until A.H. 726 (A.D. 1326). In the same year, Sultān Nāṣir-al-dīn having died in Western Bengal, Qadr Khān was appointed governor of that province.

Budāonī correctly places the rebellion of Malik Bahā-al-dīn Gurshāsp in A.H. 727 (A.D. 1327), but errs in saying that it occurred in Dihlī. Bahā-al-dīn Gurshāsp was the son of the sister of Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq, and therefore first cousin of Muḥammad. His fief was Sāgar, about 7 miles north of Shorāpūr, in the Dukan, and he had great influence in that country. Ibn Baṭūṭah says that on his uncle's death he refused to recognize his cousin's authority and Firishṭa says that his rebellion assumed serious dimensions, and spread throughout the Dakan. Gurshāsp advanced towards Devagīr, where he was defeated by an army under the minister, Khvāja Jahān, and Mujīr-al-dīn Abū Rijā and fled to Sāgar, whence, being unable to maintain himself against his pursuers, he fled and took refuge with the rāja of Kamplī, on the Tungabhadra, while Khvāja Jahān apparently retired to Devagīr to meet the emperor, who had arrived there from Dihlī.

It was probably Gurshāsp's rebellion that convinced

¹ Another author, Sirāj-al-dīn Abū Fath 'Umar, enumerates twenty-three provinces in the empire of Dihlī. See Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 203.

Muhammad of the necessity of a more central position than Dihli for the capital of an empire which included the Dakan and the Peninsula, for in this year he made Devagīr his capital, renaming it Daulatābād. The earliest coins struck at Devagīr under its title of *قبة الاسلام* were struck at this time. Some confusion has arisen in connexion with the date of this event, owing to historians having confounded two distinct measures taken by Muhammad. The first of these was the transfer of the capital from Dihli to Daulatābād. On this occasion the great officers of state, as well as minor officials connected with the central administration, were compelled to transport their families from Dihli, to build houses for them at Daulatābād, and to make that city their home, but it was not until two years later that Muhammad drove all the inhabitants of Dihli, *en masse*, across India to Daulatābād, and this was less an administrative than a punitive measure.

Khvāja Jahān was sent to compel the rāja of Kampli to surrender the fugitive Gurshāsp, and the rāja, driven to extremities, sent Gurshāsp with a recommendation to Vīra Ballāla III, rāja of Dvāravatipura, and performed the rite of *jaruḥar*. His eleven sons were captured, with other inhabitants of Kampli, and were forced to accept Islām.

Vīra Ballāla III was made of less stern stuff than the rāja and surrendered Gurshāsp who was sent to Daulatābād. Portions of his flesh, cooked with rice, were served up as food to his family, and the rest was thrown before the elephants. His skin, stuffed with straw, was exhibited in the various provinces of the empire, as an example to the disobedient, but when it reached Multān the governor, Malik Bahrām Aiba, Kishlū Khān, instead of sending it on, caused it to be buried.

The country between Daulatābād and the sea was still in the hands of the Hindūs, and towards the end of the year Khvāja Jahān was sent against the fortress of Kondhāna;

now Sinhgārh, held by the Kolī, Nāga Nāik. As the gallant Kolī held out for eight months the fall of Kondhāna must be placed in 728 (A.D. 1327-8).

In the same year Malik Bahrām Aiba, Kishlū Khān, rebelled in Multān. Two causes are assigned for his rebellion. Ibn Baṭūṭah says that he had seriously displeased the emperor by interring the stuffed skin of the unfortunate Gurshāsp,¹ and that he rebelled in anticipation of being attacked. Baranī suggests, though he does not assert, that the rebellion was due to the emperor's exorbitant demands. Firishṭa says that Kishlū Khān was included in the order directing all the great *amīrs* to send their wives and families to Daulatābād, and that an officer sent to Multān to see that he obeyed the order behaved so insolently that he was slain. Budāonī corroborates Firishṭa.

Muḥammad marched from Daulatābād to Multān by way of Dihlī, and defeated and slew Kishlū Khān. The details of the battle are given by Ibn Baṭūṭah, who six years later saw Kishlū Khān's head, or skull, hanging over the house which he had formerly occupied. Muḥammad was only restrained from ordering a general massacre of the inhabitants of Multān by the saint Rukn-al-dīn. Ibn Baṭūṭah says that Muḥammad, while he was at Multān, sent Khvāja Jahān to suppress a revolt in Kamālpūr, "on the sea coast."

From Multān Muḥammad was recalled to Dihlī by disturbances in the Gangetic Dūāb. In A.H. 729 (A.D. 1328-9) Tarmāshīrīn the Mughul, who from Firishṭah's description of him appears to have been 'Alā-al-dīn Tarmāshīrīn, the Chaghataī ruler of Transoxiana, invaded India. Firishṭa wrongly places this invasion in A.H. 727, and were it not for the position which he gives to the invasion in the sequence of events I should be inclined to believe that his text has

¹ Ibn Baṭūṭah says that the stuffed skin of Ghiyāṡ-al-dīn Bahādur accompanied that of Gurshāsp, but this is a mistake, for Bahādur did not rebel until A.H. 731 (A.D. 1330-1). Ibn Baṭūṭah had not yet arrived in India and wrote his account of this event from hearsay.

suffered from a very common error of the scribes, the substitution of *سبع* for *تسع*, but as he places the invasion among the earliest events of the reign I believe that he himself has been misled by this error in one of his authorities. Historians differ as to the means by which Muḥammad rid himself of the invader, but, whether he bought him off or drove him out of the country, the invasion was no more than a raid, and Tarmāshirīn disappeared as suddenly as he had come.

Muḥammad now remained in Dihli for two years. He was incensed both with the inhabitants of the Dūāb and the citizens of Dihli. The former, always turbulent and stiff-necked, were now accused, absurdly enough as it would appear, of having invited the Mughul to the country. Muḥammad could hardly have condemned himself more completely than by alleging that his subjects preferred a Mughul raid to his rule.

The citizens of Dihli were thoroughly disaffected, probably owing to the transfer of the capital, and, as a rising of shopkeepers against an army was out of the question, their indignation found a vent in anonymous letters, filled with abuse and curses, which they contrived to introduce into the palace and council-chamber of the emperor. Muḥammad avenged himself by driving the whole of the population of the city to Daulatābād, nearly 700 miles distant. Ibn Baṭūṭah was told that as the emperor looked at night, from the roof of his palace, over the desolate city and saw neither fire, smoke, nor lamp, he said: "Now is my heart rejoiced and my spirit appeased."

During the following year Muḥammad, still at Dihli, introduced two of his most disastrous measures—the enhancement of the assessment of the land in the Dūāb and the issue of his fictitious brass currency, which was an attempt to make brass tokens pass current as silver coins. The enhancement of the assessment was intended to be both a punitive measure and a means of replenishing the treasury, and failed of both its objects. Its extent was such as to deprive

the cultivators of their livelihood, and they left their holdings, burnt their crops, and took to brigandage. The effect of the introduction of the fictitious currency, which cannot be discussed in detail within the limits of this paper, were ruinous.

Meanwhile the *amīrs* and officials in attendance on the emperor were growing restive. At his command they had transferred their wives and families to Daulatābād, and he had now remained absent from the new capital for two years. Towards the end of the year, therefore, he returned to Daulatābād.

In the following year (A.H. 731 = A.D. 1330-1) Ghiyās-al-dīn Bahādur rebelled in Sonārgānw. The rebellion was crushed and the rebel slain by Bahrām Khān, who remained in Eastern Bengal as sole governor.

A.H. 732 (A.D. 1331-2) was comparatively uneventful, but matters were going from bad to worse.

Muḥammad cherished fantastic visions of extending his sway over Transoxiana and Persia, and with a view to their future realization encouraged prominent natives of those countries, by means of lavish gifts, to make India their home. It was probably in this year that Amir Naurūz, son-in-law of Tarmāshīrīn, and many other Mughuls came to India.

By A.H. 733 (A.D. 1332-3) the effects of the disastrous policy pursued in the Gangetic Dūāb, where a rural population had been converted into brigands and rebels, recalled the emperor from Daulatābād to Dihlī. No attempt was made to remedy the mistake already made. The province was treated as a hostile country. Muḥammad led a punitive expedition to Baran, now Bulandshahr, and from this centre pillaged the surrounding country, destroyed such crops as had been grown, and massacred the inhabitants, rows of whose heads soon garnished the city wall. From Baran he went on to Kanauj and Dalmau, which fared no better than Baran.

In A.H. 734 (A.D. 1333-4) Muḥammad was still in the

Kanauj and Dalmau districts, and on Muḥarram 1 of this year (Sept. 12, 1333) Ibn Baṭūṭah arrived at the mouth of the Indus and reached Dihlī either at the end of 1333 or early in 1334. He found ‘Imād-al-Mulk Sartiz governor of the province of Sind and Multān and Qutb-al-Mulk governor of the city of Multān. Muḥammad did not return to Dihlī until June 8, 1334, and on his return was received as a conqueror.

Meanwhile Sayyid Jalāl-al-dīn Aḥsan of Kaithal, who had been appointed governor of Ma‘bar and had his headquarters at Madura, had risen in rebellion, and Muḥammad after resting for seven months in Dihlī set out with the object of reducing the rebel. Baranī assigns no date to this rebellion, and errs in placing it, in point of time, after the rebellion of Fakhr-al-dīn Mubārak Shāh in Eastern Bengal, which occurred in A.H. 739 (A.D. 1338-9). This error has probably misled both Firishta and Budāonī, who assign A.H. 742 (A.D. 1341-2) as the date of this rebellion, but it does not excuse their describing Sayyid Aḥsan as Sayyid Ḥasan, and still less does it excuse Budāonī's error in confounding him with ‘Alā-al-dīn Ḥasan Khān, who some years later ascended the throne of the Dakan under the title of Bahman Shāh, and who was certainly not a Sayyid. Baranī, in another passage, corrects his error by saying that Muḥammad Tughluq was still in the Kanauj and Dalmau districts when he heard of the rebellion in Madura, and Ibn Baṭūṭah, who is corroborated by legends on coins, indulges us, on this occasion, with a date. He says that Muḥammad, having returned from the Dūāb to Dihlī on June 8, 1334, left the city again on Jamādī-al-awwal 9, A.H. 735 (Jan. 5, 1335), in order to suppress the rebellion in Ma‘bar, and his authority should carry some weight, for he was the rebel's son-in-law. The latest date on coins struck in Madura in the name of Muḥammad Tughluq is A.H. 734, and the earliest coins struck there in the name of Jalāl-al-dīn Aḥsan Shāh bear the date A.H. 735,¹ so that it was in that year

¹ One coin is said to bear the date 734, but this is doubtful. See *JASB.* pt. i, lxiv, 49, and *JRAS.* 1909, p. 667.

that Alḥsan Shāh proclaimed his independence, and as he was killed in A.H. 740 it is clear that Muḥammad Tughluq cannot have marched against him in A.H. 742.

Muḥammad marched from Dihlī to Daulatābād, where he levied large contributions and permanently enhanced the assessment on the land in the Marāṭha country. Having sent Khvāja Jahān, the minister, back to Dihlī, he advanced, at the end of 735 or early in 736, into Telingāna, on his way to Madura.

A rebellion now broke out in Lāhor, and the minister, Khvāja Jahān, marched from Dihlī to crush it. Both Firishta and Budāonī place this rebellion in A.H. 743, the year following that in which they place the emperor's departure from Dihlī for the south. It occurred in the year following his departure from Dihlī, but in 736, not in 743. Baranī, who probably accompanied the emperor, mentions this rebellion very briefly. He says (481), " Alḥmad-i-Ayyāz (Khvāja Jahān) came to Dihlī and a rebellion broke out in Lāhor, and that rebellion, too, was suppressed by Alḥmad-i-Ayyāz." Budāonī not only misdates the rebellion, but gives an entirely wrong account of it. He says: "And in the year 743 they treacherously slew Malik Hulājūn, Gul Chandar the Khokhar, and Malik Tatār the Less, governor of Lāhor, and when Khvāja Jahān was sent against them they came forth to meet him, and the rebels were thoroughly punished and defeated." Firishta's account is less incorrect, but is incomplete. He says: "And in the year 743 Malik Chandar, chief of the Khokars (Khokhars), raised the standard of opposition and slew Tātār Khān. The Sultān sent Khvāja Jahān to suppress him, and he utterly defeated the Khokars."

Ibn Baṭūṭah, who accompanied Khvāja Jahān on his expedition to Lāhor, is our best authority for the details of this rebellion, and his account is the fullest which we have. He says: "After the emperor had reached Daulatābād the *amīr* Hulājūn rose in rebellion in the city of Lāhor and assumed the royal title, and the *amīr* Quljand abetted him

in his rebellion and was made his minister. This news reached the minister, Khayāja Jahān, who was in Dihli, and he assembled the troops and collected the army and assembled all the Khurāsānīs and all the emperor's servants who were in Dihli, and took all his companions, including me, as I was in Dihli. . . . Hulājūn came to the attack with his army, and the meeting of the two armies took place on the bank of one of the great rivers, and Hulājūn was defeated and fled, and large numbers of his men were drowned in the river."

Hulājūn is the Arabicized version of the Mughul name Hulāgū, and this *amīr* was evidently one of the Mughuls whom Muḥammad Tughluq had encouraged to enter his service. In "*amīr Quljand*" we can recognize Gul Chandar, chief of the Khokhars.

This account, given by an eye-witness, completely disposes of Budāonī and Firishta. Hulāgū and Gul Chandar were the leaders of the rebels, not their victims, and Gul Chandar was not the prime mover in the rebellion, but an abettor and subordinate of Hulāgū. Budāonī is also mistaken in his description of the unfortunate governor of Lāhor who was slain by the rebels. He is not Tātār Khān the younger, who is always described as the adopted son of Ghiyās-al-dīn Tughluq, and was now governor of Eastern Bengal, with the title of Bahrām Khān, but Tātār Khān the elder.

Meanwhile Muḥammad was continuing his march through Telingāna and had reached Warangal,¹ when a pestilence, probably cholera, broke out in his army, and slew large numbers of all ranks, from *amīrs* to camp followers. Muḥammad himself was smitten, and the army could proceed no further. Leaving Malik Qabūl in Warangal as governor of southern Telingāna, he began, as soon as he was able to travel, to retrace his steps. Shihāb-al-dīn received the title of Nuṣrat Khān and was left in Bīdar as governor of northern Telingāna, or rather as farmer of the revenue, for he agreed to pay to the

¹ Ibn Baṭṭāḥ says Badarkot (Bīdar), but here the authority of Baranī is to be preferred.

treasury the annual sum of ten million *tangas*. Muḥammad continued in his retreat, and at Bīr suffered from a severe toothache. The tooth was extracted and buried, and Muḥammad's vanity caused to be erected over it a domed tomb, known as "the dome of the tooth", which is still standing.

In the meantime reports had reached Daulatābād that the emperor had succumbed to the pestilence and Malik Hūshang, an *amīr*, whom he seems to have regarded with peculiar affection, had rebelled in Daulatābād, but on learning that Muḥammad was still alive and was returning, fled from Daulatābād and took refuge with a Hindū chieftain in the Western Ghāṭs, who refused to surrender him. Muḥammad remained for some time in Daulatābād to recover his health, and having appointed his former tutor, Qutlugh Khān, governor of the province, with instructions to deal with the rebel Hūshang, set out for Dihlī. Before his departure he gave permission to all natives of Dihlī to return with him, and many accompanied him, but some had become attached to their new home and remained in the Dakan. He reached Dihlī in July, 1337.

As he passed through Mālwa the famine was sore in the land, and Dihlī was in no better case. The seven lean years, during which parents ate their children and the hides of animals were sold as human food, had begun. From the ruined Dūāb, where cultivation had been well-nigh extinguished, there was no relief, but there was corn in Oudh, which had prospered under the rule of 'Ain-al-Mulk, and the emperor led his people forth from the city to the banks of the Ganges. Here, in the autumn of 1337, he founded on the site of the ancient city of Khor,¹ about 165 miles from Dihlī, a city of booths, to which he gave the name of Sargadwārī, "the gate of heaven." Here the people were fed from the full granaries of Oudh, the contents of which were brought to the vast

¹ Khor was situated in 27° 33' N. and 79° 35' E., about 6 miles to the east of Shamsābād. Sargadwārī was the Sanskrit Swargadwāra.

camp by 'Ain-al-Mulk, and in the following year the booths were replaced by more permanent dwellings.

During Muḥammad's absence reports of his death had reached Dihlī as well as Daulatābād, and his favourite, Sayyid Ibrāhīm the Purse-bearer, son of Sayyid Jalāl-al-dīn Aḥsan, had been guilty of a treasonable act in his government of Sarsūti and Hānsī. Ziyā-al-Mulk was escorting the annual remittance of treasure from Sind to Dihlī and Sayyid Ibrāhīm had detained him in Hānsī on the pretext that the roads were unsafe, but with the object of seizing the treasure and proclaiming his independence as soon as the news of the emperor's death should be confirmed. When the report was discovered to be false, Ziyā-al-Mulk had been allowed to go his way, and no great harm had been done, but Ibrāhīm's design gradually transpired and some little time after the emperor's return from the Dakan he was put to death.

Nuṣrat Khān now rebelled in Bīdar, probably because he found himself unable to pay the promised contribution to the treasury, and the rebellion was crushed by Qutluḡh Khān, who was sent against him from Daulatābād. Nuṣrat Khān, strange to say, was pardoned.

Muḥammad's disastrous attempt to conquer Tibet by the dispatch of 80,000, or, according to other accounts, 100,000 horse into the Himālaya is placed, both by Budāonī and Firishṭa, in the following year, A.H. 738 (A.D. 1337-8), and as neither Baranī nor Ibn Baṭūṭah, who both mention the expedition, assigns a date to it we have no ground for questioning the statements of the two first historians. On the other hand, they receive some corroboration from the poet Badr-i-Chāch, who has an ode commemorating the capture, in this year, of the fortress of Nagarkoṭ (Kāngra), which was doubtless part of the larger enterprise. The army sent into the Himālaya was practically annihilated, and no more than ten men returned in the following year.

In A.H. 739 (A.D. 1338-9) Muḥammad Tughluq was still at Sargadwārī, and in this year, according to Budāonī, Bahram

Khān, the governor of Eastern Bengal died, and Fakhr-al-dīn, one of his officers, assumed independence and proclaimed himself king under the title of Fakhr-al-dīn Mubārak Shāh. Mr Thomas was inclined to believe, on the authority of a coin on which he read the date as 737, that this event must be placed two years earlier, but there appears to be no reason to doubt the correctness of Budāonī's date. The date on the coin is on its margin, in Arabic words, not figures, and from Mr. Thomas's illustration it appears to me that the common mistake of confounding سبع with تسع has been made.

Fakhr-al-dīn attacked Qadr Khān, Muḥammad's governor of Sakhnāwatī, but was repulsed. In the following year (A.H. 740 = A.D. 1339-40) he returned to Lakhnāwatī, slew Qadr Khān, and made himself master of the whole of Bengal. Budāonī's statement that Muḥammad Tughluq marched against him in 741, captured him, brought him to Lakhnāwatī, and put him to death, is entirely incorrect. Muḥammad was too much occupied, even had he not been crippled by the disaster in the Himālaya, to send an expedition into Bengal, which was lost to the empire, and Fakhr-al-dīn Mubārak reigned there for the next ten years.

In this year (740) 'Alī Shāh rebelled in the Dakan. He is described by Ibn Baṭūṭah as 'Alī Shāh Kar ("the Deaf") by Budāonī, wrongly, as 'Alī Shīr, and by Baranī as 'Alī Shāh, sister's son of Zafar Khān, and one of Qutluḡh Khān's centurions in the Dakan. Budāonī is again astray in his chronology. He places this rebellion in A.H. 746, but admits that it happened while the emperor was at Sargadwārī, which he left in A.H. 740, or at the latest, early in A.H. 741. The question is settled by Ibn Baṭūṭah's mention of the rebellion. He finally left the court of Muḥammad Tughluq on Ṣafar 17, 743 (July 22, 1342), so that the rebellion certainly occurred before that date.

'Alī Shāh had been sent by Qutluḡh Khān to collect the revenue from Gulbarga, rebelled there, slew Bhairon, the

Hindu who held the town, raised a force, and marched to Bidar, where he slew the governor and occupied the town. Qutlugh Khān was sent against him and defeated him, and 'Alī Shāh surrendered himself.

In the same year 'Ain-al-Mulk, governor of Oudh, rose in rebellion. Budāoni's chronology is again at fault. He places this rebellion in A.H. 747, and Firishṭa, apparently, places it in A.H. 745. Both dates are too late by some years. Ibn Baṭūṭah, who was with the emperor in Sargadwārī and accompanied him in his operations against the rebels and in his subsequent pilgrimage to Bahrāich, of both of which he gives a detailed account, left the imperial court, as has been said, early in A.H. 743. It is certain that the rebellion occurred before the emperor's return to Dihlī in A.H. 740.

The circumstances of the rebellion are briefly as follows : The emperor proposed to transfer 'Ain-al-Mulk, who had held the government of Oudh for many years and had done excellent service in supplying Sargadwārī with food, to the Dakan. 'Ain-al-Mulk was unwilling to leave Oudh, and suspected the emperor of a desire to ruin him. At this time several fraudulent officials fleeing from justice took refuge in Oudh and 'Ain-al-Mulk, who was loth to surrender them but feared the emperor's wrath, rose in rebellion. Fortune at first favoured him, for he was enabled to seize all the elephants, horses, and baggage animals of the imperial camp, which had their pasture on his side of the river, and Muḥammad, whose army was disorganized by the loss of the animals, and who suspected the loyalty of his *amīrs*, marched with all speed on Kanauj, seeking the protection of its walls. The rebels marched, on the opposite bank of the river, in the same direction and crossed the river near Kanauj, where a battle was fought, in which they were defeated and 'Ain-al-Mulk was captured. 'Ain-al-Mulk was kept in confinement and was treated with great severity until after the emperor's return to Dihlī, when, in 741, he was released and pardoned in consideration of his former good service. 'Alī Shāh was

brought from the Dakan at the same time, and was banished to Ghaznī, but returning afterwards to India was captured and executed.

After the suppression of 'Ain-al-Mulk's rebellion Muḥammad Tughluq made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the martyr, Sālār Mas'ūd, in Bahrāich, and thence returned to Dihlī.

It was at this time that Muḥammad Tughluq was tormented by doubts regarding the legality of his sovereignty, which had never been recognized by a Caliph, or sovereign pontiff of Islam, but the difficulty was to find the Caliph. The 'Abbāsīd Caliphs of Baghdād, long puppets in the hands of foreign *maires du palais* and bodyguards, had been finally extinguished by the Mughuls in A.D. 1258. After diligent inquiries from travellers and foreigners Muḥammad learnt of the existence in Egypt of a phantom, who styled himself al-Mustakfi bi'llāh, and was descended from the brother of the last 'Abbāsīd Caliph in Baghdād. He sent him a humble petition, seeking his recognition and at once substituted his name for his own on the coins of the empire, but when the first coins were struck at Dihlī in the name of al-Mustakfi the phantom Caliph was dead, and had been succeeded by another shadow, al-Wāthiq I (of Egypt), and he by another, al-Hākīm II (of Egypt).

Muḥammad Tughluq had been too precipitate. A little patience would have enabled him to maintain at his court, as the Mamlūks of Egypt did later, a submissive "supreme pontiff" of his own, for in this year there came to Dihlī from Transoxiana, where he had been living under the protection of the Mughul Khān, 'Alā-al-dīn Tarmāshīrīn, Ghiyās-al-dīn Muḥammad, son of 'Abd-al-Qādir, son of Yūsuf, son of 'Abd-al-'Azīz, son of the Caliph al-Mustanshir the 'Abbāsī (A.H. 1226-42) of Baghdād. His descent having been verified, he was received with extravagant honours and became a pensioner on Muḥammad's boundless liberality. Besides enormous gifts in money, he received as a residence and private estate, almost as a petty principality, Sirī, the city

of 'Ala-al-dīn Khaljī, and one of the four cities (Dihlī, Sirī, Tughluqābād, and Jahānpanāh) of which the capital was then composed. He was but a well-born beggar. Ibn Baṭūṭah, who had dealings with him, found him both mean and dishonest. He was known at court as *Makhdūmzāda* ("descendant of our lord").

In Dihlī Muḥammad received news of the rebellion of Shāhū Lodī the Afghān, who had slain Bihzād, the governor of Multān, and had seized that city and province. He marched from Dihlī to suppress it, and had left the city only a few stages behind him when he received news of the death of his mother, which deeply affected him. On reaching Dīpālpūr he received a petition from Shāhū, imploring his forgiveness, and learnt that Shāhū and all his followers had fled into Afghānistān. He returned to Dihlī by way of Sunām and Agroha, reaching the city in A.H. 742 (A.D. 1341-2), when the inhabitants were reduced to such straits by the famine that they were eating human flesh.

Budāonī does not mention Shāhū's rebellion in its proper place in the sequence of events and assigns no date to it. Firishṭa errs in placing it immediately after Muḥammad's return from Daulatābād and before the foundation of Sargadwārī. It occurred after his return from Sargadwārī to Dihlī.

Muḥammad remained at Dihlī throughout the year 743. He appointed Ibn Baṭūṭah his envoy to China, and dispatched him from Dihlī on Ṣafar 17 (July 22, 1342). Ibn Baṭūṭah's account of his journey, and its vicissitudes discloses to us the deplorable condition of the country. Hindūstān proper, the Gangetic Dūāb, and the country to the west of the Jauna, were seething with revolt, and the Muḥammadan governors were not safe even in their fortresses.

It seems to have been in the following year (A.H. 744) that the emperor led an expedition into the districts of Sunām, Sāmāna, Kaithal, and Guhrām, where various tribes of Hindūs had abandoned their villages and fields and retired, under the leadership of their chiefs, to encampments of

booths in the jungles, where they lived on the proceeds of brigandage and highway robbery. These large gangs of brigands were dispersed, their encampments destroyed, and their chiefs captured and brought to Dihlī, where some were converted to Islām, and many were made *amīrs*.

In this year Hājī Saʿīd al-Ṣarsārī arrived as envoy from al-Hākīm II, the 'Abbāsīd Caliph in Egypt, and was accorded a magnificent reception. The emperor humbled himself before him and received with extravagant demonstrations of respect the robe of honour and the decree conferring on him the title of *Nāṣir Amīr-al-Mu'minīn*. The celebration of the great festivals and the Friday prayers, which had been suspended until the emperor's sovereignty was confirmed by pontifical recognition, was resumed with great pomp and splendour, and the formal Friday sermon was revised, the names of such of Muḥammad's predecessors on the throne of Dihlī as had not received the recognition of one of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs being omitted from it. Every utterance of Hājī Saʿīd was received as a pontifical decree, and as Baranī, no unfriendly witness, writes: "He would not take a drink of water but in accordance with the Caliph's decree." Hājī Rajab Burqaʿī was sent to Egypt with an enormous quantity of treasure and many rich gifts for al-Hākīm II.

The date (A.H. 745) assigned by Budāonī and Firishṭa to a rebellion in Kara may be accepted as correct. The rebel, Nizām-al-Mulk, was a low-born adventurer, a sweeper, according to Firishṭa, who, finding himself unable to pay the large sum for which he had taken the district in farm, rose in rebellion and styled himself Sultān 'Alā-al-dīn. Muḥammad Tughluq was preparing to march against him when Shahr Allāh, brother of 'Ain-al-Mulk, marched from Oudh, attacked and captured Nizām-al-Mulk, and sent his head to Dihlī. Shaikhzāda Nizāmī, sister's son to the emperor, was appointed governor of Kara, and stamped out the embers of the rebellion with great rigour.

Early in this year (A.H. 745) Muḥammad Tughluq was

angered by the continuous decline in the revenue receipts in the Dakan, which had fallen, according to Baranī (501), "from crores and lakhs to thousands." Backbiters and place-seekers attributed the deficit to the dishonesty of the collectors appointed by Qutluḡh Khān. The emperor resolved to recall Qutluḡh Khān from Daulatābād and fixed the revenue demand for the Marāṭha country, according to Baranī, at sixty-seven crores (670,000,000) of silver *tangas*. Firishṭa gives the sum as 70,000,000 *tangas*, which appears to be more reasonable. Ibn Baṭūṭah, who lodged at Daulatābād on his way to the coast, says that the revenue was 170,000,000 *dīnārs*.

The poet Badr-i-Chāch left Dihlī on Sha'ban 1 of this year (December 8, 1344) charged with the duty of recalling Qutluḡh Khān from the government of Daulatābād. The pill was gilded for the emperor's faithful old tutor and servant, and the reason given by the poet for his recall was that he might gladden his eyes with a sight of the decree of the true Caliph, Aḥmad the Imām, Abūl 'Abbās, "the sun of the earth and the shadow of God."

Qutluḡh Khān was replaced by his brother, Maulānā Niẓām-al-dīn, 'Ālim-al-Mulk, from Bahroch, a mild and simple man to whom little real power was entrusted, for the Marāṭha country was now divided into four revenue districts (*shiqq*), over each of which was placed an official who could be trusted to enforce the emperor's demands. The new system of administration aroused in the Dakan much murmuring, which the feeble 'Ālim-al-Mulk was utterly unable to suppress. The roads between the Dakan and Dihlī were so disturbed that no treasure could be remitted to the capital from Daulatābād, where the money accumulated in the citadel was a tempting and easy prey, as we shall see, to any rebel who had the hardihood to seize it.

Towards the end of the year (745) in which Qutluḡh Khān was recalled from Daulatābād, 'Azīz Khammār¹ was dispatched

¹ In the *Bibliotheca Indica* text of Baranī 'Azīz is styled Ḥimār ("the Ass"). In the Cairo text of Ibn Baṭūṭah, the *Bibliotheca Indica* text of

from Dihli to take charge of the government of Mālwa, with his headquarters at Dhār. The emperor provided him liberally with funds and instructions. The origin of every disturbance, said Muḥammad, could be traced to the "centurions",¹ who supported, in the hope of plunder, every turbulent knave who raised his head in rebellion, and 'Azīz was instructed to take stern measures with the "centurions" of Mālwa. So prompt was his obedience that immediately after his arrival he executed eighty of these officials in Dhār. The barbarous act caused a rebellion of the centurions of the districts of Dabhoī and Baroda in the neighbouring province of Gujarāt, who rose and seized a number of valuable horses and a consignment of the revenue of that province, which Malik Maqbūl, the governor, was remitting to Dihlī.

Firishta and Budāonī say that the rebellion of the "centurions" of Dabhoī and Baroda occurred in A.H. 748 (A.D. 1347-8). Baranī says (503), "At the end of the year in which Qutluḡh Khān was recalled from Devagīr (Daulatābād), the government of Dhār was conferred upon the low-born 'Azīz Ḥimār, and the whole of Mālwa was delivered into his charge." The chronogram in the ode of Badr-i-Chāch determines the year of Qutluḡh Khān's recall from the Dakan (A.H. 745), and Baranī, in a later passage, confirms this date. After describing the execution of the centurions in Dhār, he says: "At the end of the month of

Budāonī, and the Bombay text of Firishta he is called Khammār ("the Vintner"). One dot only constitutes the difference between the two words, as usually written, and its omission may be due to a scribe's error or an author's deliberate pleasantry. Khammār was more probably his designation.

¹ This word literally translates the 'amīrs of hundreds, or *yāzdaśhīs*, who were not, however, purely military officers, but civil officials responsible for the collection of the revenue in groups of about a hundred villages each. Ibn Baṭūṭah had had dealings with 'Azīz Khammār when the latter was collector of revenue in the "thousand" of Amroha, which contained about 1,500 villages. The collectors were entitled to a commission of five per cent on their collections. The "centurions" were, of course, military officers as well, or they would not have been able to collect the revenue.

Ramāzān, A.H. 745, the news of the sedition and rebellion of the centurions of Dabhoī and Baroda, of their revolt against Muqbil (*sic*), the deputy minister in Gujarāt, of the plundering of the horses and treasure, and of the defeat of Muqbil, reached Sultān Muḥammad in the city (Dihlī), and Sultān Muḥammad was rendered anxious by the news of this very serious rebellion, and he proposed to march in person to Gujarāt in order to quell it."

Qutlugh Khān, in a petition presented through Baranī, deprecated the emperor's marching in person against the rebels, and volunteered for the duty, but Muḥammad was obstinate. Baranī continues (509): "The Sultān appointed to the regency the present emperor, Fīrūz Shāh, Malik Kabīr, and Almad-i-Ayyāz (Khvāja Jahān), came forth from the *Kūshk-i-Humāyūn*, and alighted at Sultānpūr, which is fifteen *kurūh* from the city. As three or four days yet remained of Ramāzān he halted in Sultānpūr." That is to say, in order to avoid marching during the fast Muḥammad halted until Shawwāl 1, 745 (February 5, 1345). Baranī adds that during the halt at Sultānpūr the emperor consulted him personally on the causes and remedies of rebellions.

While at Sultānpūr Muḥammad was annoyed by the news that 'Azīz Khammār had taken the field against the rebellious centurions of Gujarāt. 'Azīz, he said, was no soldier, and was courting disaster. His apprehensions were almost immediately confirmed by the news that 'Azīz had been defeated and killed. Baranī is habitually careless and inaccurate in his chronology, but there is hardly any possibility of error here. He is writing of events in which he participated and he is precise in the date which he assigns to them, which was probably fixed in his memory by the reason for the halt at Sultānpūr and the occurrence, before the emperor marched, of the great festival of the *Īd-al-Fitr*. He also receives partial corroboration from the poet Badr-i-Chāch.

It is, however, possible to prove, by means of a catalogue of the events which occurred between the emperor's departure

from Dihlī and another event, the date of which is known, that Baranī is right and that Budāonī and Firishṭa are wrong. A rebellion in the Dakan culminated on *Rabīʿ-al-ṣānī* 24, A.H. 748 (August 13, 1347) in the proclamation of 'Alā-al-dīn Bahman Shāh as king of the Dakan. Between Muḥammad's departure from Dihlī and that date the following events occurred :—

1. Muḥammad marched from Sultānpūr via Patan to Mount Ābū, a distance of about 540 miles, and probably took six weeks or two months to reach his destination.

2. From Mount Ābū a force was sent to Dabhoī and Baroda, 170 miles distant, to suppress the rebellion of the "centurions". It is improbable that the rebellion was suppressed in less than a month from the time when the force left Mount Ābū.

3. Muḥammad marched from Mount Ābū to Bahroḥ, and, as he was not pressed for time, was probably three weeks or a month on the road.

4. A force was sent from Bahroḥ to pursue the rebellious "centurions", who, having collected their wives and families after their defeat, were fleeing towards Daulatābād. This force came up with the fugitives on the banks of the Narbada, and again defeated them. The operations probably lasted at least a fortnight.

5. Two inquisitors were sent from Bahroḥ to Daulatābād for the purpose of ascertaining whether the "centurions" of the Dakan had been implicated in the rebellion in Gujarāt. One of these men loitered on the way, but the other reached Daulatābād, where his investigations caused much discontent. Two months, at least, probably elapsed before the emperor heard of this discontent.

6. After learning that the investigations had aroused opposition in Daulatābād, the emperor sent two *amīrs* thither, with orders to 'Ālim-al-Mulk, the governor, to collect a force of 1,500 horse, to assemble the "centurions" of the Dakan, and to send them to Bahroḥ. For the journey of the two *amīrs*

to Daulatābād and the assembly of all the centurions of the Dakan, at least three months should be allowed.

7. The two *amīrs*, with the centurions, left Daulatābād, but at the first stage from the city the centurions grew apprehensive, slew the two *amīrs*, returned to the city, imprisoned the governor, and proclaimed Malik Muḥ the Afghān king of the Dakan.

8. Muḥammad, on hearing of the rebellion at Daulatābād, marched thither, arriving, say, six weeks after the rebellion had broken out, defeated the rebels in the field, and afterwards besieged them in the fortress for three months.

9. Muḥammad was recalled to Gujarāt by news of the rebellion of Malik Taghī, and marched from Daulatābād, leaving a force to besiege the fortress.

10. Two or three months after his return to Gujarāt, Muḥammad received news of the defeat of his army before Daulatābād and the proclamation on Rabī-'al-ṣānī 24, A.H. 748 (August 13, 1347) of 'Alā-al-dīn Bahman Shāh as king of the Dakan.¹

We thus have, roughly, about a year and a half to account for between Muḥammad's departure from Dihlī and the proclamation of Bahman Shāh in the Dakan. To this we must add a period for Muḥammad's stay in Bahroch, which was evidently of some duration, for while he was there he undertook the reform of the administration of Gujarāt and the collection of several years' arrears of land revenue. If, as Budāonī and Firishtā say, the rebellion of the "centurions" of Gujarāt did not occur until A.H. 748, we have less than four months, even supposing the rebellion to have broken out on Muḥarram 1, into which to fit all the events enumerated above. Baranī's dates allow two years, six months, and twenty-four days—a reasonable period for the occurrence of all the events and for the emperor's prolonged stay at

¹ Another authority gives Sha'bān 28, 748 (Dec. 3, 1347) as the date of this event, but the earlier date is usually accepted. The adoption of the later date would not affect the argument.

Bahroch. They may therefore be accepted without question.

The chronology of the reign presents no more difficulties.

The news which had recalled the emperor to Gujarāt was that one, Ṭaghī, who had originally been a shoemaker and a slave of Ṣaffīdar Malik, had raised the remaining centurions of Gujarāt, imprisoned Shaiikh Mu'izz-al-dīn, governor of Patan, slain his deputy, Malik Muẓaffar, advanced southwards and plundered Cambay, and was then besieging Bahroch. Muḥammad started from Daulatābād, Baranī meeting him when he had travelled two or three stages from the city, and accompanying him to Bahroch. Ṭaghī fled from this town on Muḥammad's approach and Malik Yūsuf Bughrā was sent in pursuit of him, but was defeated and slain at Cambay. Muḥammad then marched to Cambay, and Ṭaghī fled to Asāwal (Almadābād), but when he heard that the emperor was following him thither, continued his flight to Patan, where he had already, before Muḥammad's arrival at Bahroch, caused Shaiikh Mu'izz-al-dīn and other officials to be put to death.

Famine and privation obliged the emperor to halt for about a month at Asāwal, and while he was there the rainy season set in and news was received that Ṭaghī was advancing towards the town, and had reached Kādī. Muḥammad marched from Asāwal in a downpour of rain, attacked and defeated the rebels and drove them back on Patan. The son of Yūsuf Bughrā was sent with a force in pursuit of the rebels, who fled, with their families and dependants, from Patan to Khambāliya. The emperor marched to Patan and halted there for some time, and it was there that he learnt, in August, 1347, that his army had been compelled to flee from Daulatābād, and that 'Alā-al-dīn Bahman Shāh had been proclaimed king of the Dakan. After some hesitation he decided to postpone the attempt to recover the Dakan, and to devote his attention to the suppression of Ṭaghī's rebellion and to the establishment of order throughout Gujarāt.

Baranī says: "He spent three rainy seasons in Gujarāt. One (June to October, 1348) he spent in Mandal-Pātrī,¹ and during that rainy season the emperor was employed in improving the administration of Gujarāt, and in organizing his army. The second rainy season (June to October, 1349) he spent in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Gīrnār (Junagarh), and when the chief of Gīrnār saw the strength of the victorious army and the magnificence of the great host, he purposed to capture the disloyal wretch, Ṭaghī, alive, and to surrender him. When Ṭaghī discovered this secret design he fled from there and went to Tattah, where he joined the Jām of Tattah; and when the rainy season was over the emperor captured Gīrnār, and brought under his own administration the coasts and islands of that region; and the *rānas* and chiefs came to court and made their submission and received robes of honour and rewards, and in Gīrnār Khengār (the Rāo of Kachh) and the *rāna* of Gīrnār were captured and brought to court, and the whole of that country was annexed. The third rainy season (June to October, 1350) Sulṭān Muḥammad spent in Gondal.² Now this Gondal is a village in the direction of Tattah of the Sūmarus and Maṛīla, and in Gondal the Sulṭān fell sick, and fever oppressed him, and he halted for some time while the sickness lasted. . . . Then the Sulṭān recovered from his sickness and marched with his whole army from Gondal until he reached the bank of the Indus, and crossed the river at his leisure with his army and elephants, and Ultūn Bahādur, with four or five thousand Mughul horse belonging to Amīr Farghan joined the emperor. . . . When Sulṭān Muḥammad, with his countless host, moved towards Tattah and arrived within thirty *kurūh* of that place it was the 'Āshūrā (Muḥarram 10, A.H. 752 = March 9, 1351), and the Sulṭān fasted, and when he broke his fast he ate fish, and it disagreed with him, and his sickness returned and again fever

¹ Two towns immediately to the east of the Little Rann. Mandal is in 23° 16' N. and 71° 55' E. and Pātrī is in 25° 10' N. and 71° 48' E.

² In Kathiāwār, situated in 21° 58' and 70° 48' E.

oppressed him, but notwithstanding his illness he embarked on a boat and travelled on the second and third day after the 'Āshūrā, and halted within fourteen *kurūh* of Tattah. . . . In the course of two or three days, during which he halted within fourteen *kurūh* of Tattah, the Sultān's illness grew much worse, and the whole army was disturbed by reason of the Sultān's suffering. . . . On Muḥarram 21, A.H. 742 (March 20, 1351), on the bank of the Indus, within fourteen *kurūh* of Tattah, the Sultān went to the next world."

I append a chronological table embodying the conclusions at which I have arrived.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE REIGN OF MUHAMMAD TUGHLUQ.

A.H. 725 (A.D. 1325).

February. Accession.

Ghiyās-al-dīn Bahādur allowed to return to Sonargānw.

A.H. 726 (A.D. 1326).

Qadr Khān appointed governor of Lakṣnāwatt.

Preparation of a register of the land revenue.

A.H. 727 (A.D. 1327).

Rebellion of Bahā-al-dīn Gurshāsp in the Dakan.

Capital transferred to Devagir (Daulatābād).

Muḥammad goes to Daulatābād.

Capture and execution of Gurshāsp.

Expedition to Kondhāna.

A.H. 728 (A.D. 1327-8).

Capture of Kondhāna.

Rebellion of Bahrām Aiba, Kishlā Khān, in Multān, suppressed by Muḥammad.

Khyāja Jahān quells a revolt in Kamalābād.

Qavām-al-Mulk Maqbūl appointed governor of Multān and Sind.

Muḥammad recalled to Dihli by disturbances in the Dūāb.

A.H. 729 (A.D. 1328-9).

Muḥammad at Dihli.

Invasion of India by Tarmūshīrīn the Mughul.

Disaffection in the Dūāb and at Dihli.

Removal of the inhabitants of Dihli to Daulatābād.

A.H. 730 (A.D. 1329-30).

Enhancement of the assessment in the Dūāb.

Issue of the fictitious currency.

Muḥammad returns to Daulatābād.

A.H. 731 (A.D. 1330-1).

Rebellion of Ghiyās-al-dīn Bahādur in Sonargānw crushed by Bahrām Khān, who remains sole governor of Eastern Bengal.

A.H. 732 (A.D. 1331-2).

Muhammad at Daulatābād.

A.H. 733 (A.D. 1332-3).

Muhammad returns from Daulatābād to Dihli.

Expedition into the Dūāb and devastation of the districts of Baran, Kanauj, and Dalmau.

A.H. 734 (A.D. 1333-4).

Muhammad at Kanauj and Dalmau.

September 12, 1333, Ibn Baṭūṭah arrives at the mouth of the Indus.

‘Imād-al-Mulk Sartiz governor of Sind and Multān and Quṭb-al-Mulk governor of the city of Multān.

Ibn Baṭūṭah arrives at Dihli.

June 8, 1334, Muhammad returns to Dihli.

Ziyā-al-dīn Baranī enters the service of Muhammad Tughluq.

A.H. 735 (A.D. 1334-5).

January 5, 1335, Muhammad leaves Dihli to quell the rebellion of Jalāl-al-dīn Aḥsan Shāh in Madura.

Famine in Dihli.

Muhammad reaches Daulatābād and levies supplies, enhancing the assessment in the Marāṭha country.

Famine in the Dakan.

Muhammad advances into Talingāna.

Khyāja Jahān returns to Dihli.

Rebellion of Hulājūn and Gul Chandar the Khokhar in Lāhor. Tātār Khān, governor of Lāhor, slain.

A.H. 736 (A.D. 1335-6).

Rebellion in Lāhor quelled by Khyāja Jahān. Hulājūn slain.

Muhammad reaches Warangal but is compelled by a pestilence in his army to retreat.

Malik Qabūl appointed governor of Warangal.

Shibāb-al-dīn Nuṣrat Khān appointed governor of Bidar.

“Dome of the Tooth” built at Bīr.

Reports of Muhammad’s death and rebellion of Malik Hūshang in Daulatābād.

Rebellion of Sayyid Ibrāhīm the Pursebearer, in Hānsī.

Muhammad returns to Daulatābād and halts there.

Qutluḡ Khān appointed governor of Daulatābād.

A.H. 737 (A.D. 1336-7).

July, 1337, Muhammad returns to Dihli.

Severe famine in Dihli.

Issue of loans to cultivators.

Execution of Sayyid Ibrāhīm the Pursebearer.

Foundation of Sargadwārī.

Rebellion of Nuṣrat Khān in Bidar quelled by Qutluḡ Khān.

A.H. 738 (A.D. 1337-8).

Muhammad at Sargadwārī.

Disastrous expedition into the Himālaya.

Permanent buildings replace booths at Sargadwārī.

A.H. 739 (A.D. 1338-9).

Muhammad at Sargadwārī.

Return of the remnant of the army of the Himālaya.

Death of Bahram Khān in Sonargāh. Malik Fakhr-al-dīn *Sitāhdār* assumes independence and is proclaimed Fakhr-al-dīn Mubarak Shāh. He attacks Qadr Khān in Lakhnāwatī, but is repulsed.

A.H. 740 (A.D. 1339-40).

Fakhr-al-dīn Mubarak Shāh again attacks Qadr Khān in Lakhnāwatī, slays him, and becomes master of both Eastern and Western Bengal.

Rebellion of 'Alī Shāh in Gulbarga and Bidar.

Rebellion of 'Ain-al-Mulk. Battle of Kanauj.

Pilgrimage to Bahrāich.

Muhammad returns to Dihlī.

A.H. 741 (A.D. 1340-1).

Mission to al-Mustakfi, 'Abbāsīd Caliph in Egypt.

Coins struck in the name of al-Mustakfi.

'Ain-al-Mulk and 'Alī Shāh pardoned. The latter is banished to Ghazni but afterwards returns to India and is executed.

Arrival of the 'Abbāsīd Ghiyāṣ-al-dīn, "the *Makhdūmzāda* of Baghdād," at Dihlī.

Rebellion of Shāhū Lodi the Afghān in Multān.

Muhammad marches to quell the rebellion.

A.H. 742 (A.D. 1341-2).

Muhammad, on reaching Dipālpūr, learns that Shāhū has fled and returns to Dihlī.

A.H. 743 (A.D. 1342-3).

Muhammad at Dihlī. Famine.

Ṣafar 17 (July 22, 1342), Ibn Baṭūṭah leaves Dihlī.

Disturbances and revolts throughout the Dūab.

A.H. 744 (A.D. 1343-4).

Muhammad's expedition into the districts of Sunām, Sāmāna, Kaithal, and Guhrām.

Arrival in Dihlī of Hājī Sa'id Ṣarṣarī, envoy from the 'Abbāsīd Caliph, al-Ḥākim II.

Hājī Rajab Burqa'ī sent to Egypt as envoy to the Caliph.

A.H. 745 (A.D. 1344-5).

Rebellion of Nizām-al-Mulk (Sultān 'Alā-al-dīn) in Kara, suppressed by Shahr Allāh, brother of 'Ain-al-Mulk.

Decline in revenue receipts in the Dakan.

Shahbān I (December 8, 1344), Badr-i-Chāch leaves Dihlī to recall Qutluḡ Khān from Daulatābād.

'Aziz Khammār appointed governor of Mālwa. Massacre of eighty "centurions" at Dhār.

Rebellion of the "centurions" of Dabhoī and Baroda.

Shawwāl 1 (February 5, 1345), Muḥammad leaves Dihli (Sultānpūr) for Patan and Mount Ābu.

Expedition sent against the rebellious "centurions" of Dabhoī and Baroda.

A.H. 746 (A.D. 1345-6).

Suppression of the rebellion and flight of the "centurions" towards Daulatābād.

Muḥammad marches from Mount Ābū to Bahroḥ, which he makes his headquarters.

Pursuit of the "centurions", who are defeated on the Narbada.

Two inquisitors sent to Daulatābād.

Unrest in Daulatābād.

Kānhayya (Krishna) Nāik of Telingāna and Vira Ballāla III of Dvāravatipūra unite to expel the Muslims from Telingāna and the Camatic. Warangal recovered by Krishna. Flight of 'Imād-al-Mulk Sartiz to Daulatābād. Kāmpli recovered by a son of its former rāja, who apostatizes from Islām.

Vira Ballāla III founds Vijayanagar.

Return of Hājī Rajab Burqa'ī with the Shaikh-al-Shuyākh, envoy of al-Hākim II of Egypt.

A.H. 747 (A.D. 1346-7).

Two amīrs sent to Daulatābād to summon the "centurions" of the Dakan to Bahroḥ.

Revolt of the "centurions" of the Dakan.

Rebellion in Daulatābād. Ismā'īl Muḥ the Afghān proclaimed king of the Dakan under the title of Naṣr-al-dīn Shāh.

Muḥammad marches to Daulatābād and besieges the fortress.

The "centurions" disperse to their districts. 'Imād-al-Mulk Sartiz sent to Gulbarga to attack the "centurions".

A.H. 748 (A.D. 1347-8).

Rebellion of Taghī in Gujarāt.

Muḥammad returns to Gujarāt.

'Imād-al-Mulk Sartiz defeated and slain by the "centurions" in Gulbarga.

The "centurions" relieve Daulatābād.

Naṣr-al-dīn Shāh abdicates.

Rabi'-al-ṣunī 24 (August 13, 1347), Ḥasan Zafar Khān is elected King of the Dakan under the title of 'Alā-al-dīn Balman Shāh.

Muḥammad arrives at Bahroḥ. Taghī flees to Cambay. Yūsuf Bughrā defeated and slain at Cambay.

Muḥammad marches to Cambay. Taghī flees to Asāwal (Aḥmadābād).

Muḥammad marches to Asāwal. Taghī flees to Patan.

June, 1347. Rainy season sets in. Muḥammad halts for a month in Asāwal.

Taghī advances to Kadi but is defeated and flees to Patan, and thence to Khambāliya.

Muḥammad occupies Patan, where he learns of the proclamation of Bahman Shāh in Daulatābād.

Taghī takes refuge with the *rāna* of Girnār (Junagarh).

A.H. 749 (A.D. 1348-9).

Muḥammad has his headquarters in Mandal and Pātri.

October, 1348. Muḥammad marches to Girnār.

A.H. 750 (A.D. 1349-50).

Muḥammad encamped before Girnār.

Girnār is captured and the *rāna* and Khengār, Rāo of Kachh, make their submission.

Taghī flees to Sind.

A.H. 751 (A.D. 1350-1).

Muḥammad, on his way to Sind, falls sick at Gondal, where he spends the rainy season (June to October, 1349).

The leading men of Dihli are summoned to camp and large reinforcements are assembled from Dīpālpūr, Multān, Uch, and Sihwān.

Muḥammad recovers and marches from Gondal to the Indus, where he is joined by a force of Mughuls.

A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351-2).

Muḥarram 21 (March 20, 1351). Muḥammad dies on the bank of the Indus, fourteen *kurūh* above Tattah.

V. *Parentage of the Child Enthroned in Dihli by Khvājah Jahān after the Death of Muḥammad Tughluq*

Firūz ibn Rajab, Muḥammad's cousin, who had been left in Dihli as one of the council of regency when the emperor left the capital for Gujarāt in February, 1345, had been summoned to the imperial camp at Gondal in 1349, and was with the army on the Indus when Muḥammad died.

The condition of the army after the emperor's death was deplorable. The troops were encumbered with their wives and families, who had been brought from Dihli to Gondal and had accompanied the army to Sind, and had lost all spirit for fighting. The Mughul auxiliaries openly joined the enemy in plundering the camp, and disaster stared the demoralized and leaderless host in the face. The *amīrs*, from the moment when Muḥammad breathed his last, urged Firūz to assume command of the army and proclaim himself emperor, but he exhibited a reluctance which, to do him

justice, does not appear to have been feigned, and for two days resisted their importunity. On March 23, however, he gave way, was proclaimed emperor, and set himself to the performance of his arduous task. There was no longer any prospect of bringing the operations against Taghī and the Jām to a successful conclusion, and all that he could hope to do was to withdraw the army, without disaster, from its perilous position. He succeeded, and the army began its retreat from Sind in safety, but not with honour. The treacherous Mughuls were bought off, the Sindīs were sufficiently intimidated to restrain them from attacking in force, and the army set out on its march to Dihli.

The task which had lain before the new emperor was one from which a more resolute man might well have shrunk, but it is doubtful whether its difficulty is sufficient explanation of the readiness of Firūz to forgo a throne. It is possible that he did not regard himself as Muḥammad's heir.

Baranī says that Muḥammad had always had some intention of designating Firūz his heir, and fulfilled that intention on his death-bed. Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad says that the attention shown by Firūz to Muḥammad in his last illness so affected the latter that he made him his heir. Firishta follows Baranī, and Budāonī says that "Firūz ascended the throne in accordance with the authority appointing him the heir of Sulṭān Muḥammad", and "by the consent of the chiefs of the Shaiḫs and the leading vazīrs and amīrs". Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, in his Tarīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī, says that Muḥammad Tughluq treated Firūz with great kindness, and gave him special opportunities for becoming acquainted with the details of the administration of the empire, but does not say that he made him his heir.

Baranī's statement that Muḥammad on his death-bed made Firūz his heir is to some extent discounted by his obligation, as a court official, in both reigns, to represent the succession as being perfectly regular. He wrote when Firūz's ascent of the throne was a comparatively recent event and it was his

duty to record that it was not a usurpation. This could very easily be accomplished by representing a few kindly words spoken by a dying man as a nuncupative will.

The other contemporary, Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, wrote when Firūz had occupied the throne for many years and it was no longer necessary to justify an accomplished fact.

It may be doubted whether Firūz was Muḥammad's heir. He was his first cousin, the son of Ghiyāṣ-al-dīn's younger brother, Rajab; but Muḥammad had had five brothers, Bahrām Khān, Maḥmūd Khān, Mubārak Khān, Mas'ūd Khān, and Nuṣrat Khān. All of these princes are said by Baranī to have been living when Muḥammad Tughluq ascended the throne, though it is probable that Maḥmūd had shared the fate of his father. Mas'ūd was executed for treason. The fate of the others is not known, but they are not heard of during Muḥammad's reign. Nuṣrat Khān probably died during the reign or his title would not have been conferred on Shihāb-al-dīn, but Mubārak Khān, at least, seems to have been living when Firūz was proclaimed in Sind, and unless he had been blinded, a recognized disqualification, his claim was superior to that of Firūz. Nor is it certain that all the brothers of Muḥammad Tughluq died without male issue, and it is possible that Muḥammad himself left a son.

Budāonī tells a curious story, to which no reference is made by the contemporary historians, to the effect that during Muḥammad's absence in Gujarāt and before Firūz had joined him, Shaiḫh Naṣīr-al-dīn, Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, had secretly nominated Firūz as emperor, and that the nomination had been confirmed by the 'Abbāsīd Ghiyāṣ-al-dīn, known as "the *Makhdūmzāda* of Baghdād". News of the conspiracy reached the emperor, and he summoned all three to the camp, and on their arrival issued orders for the immediate execution of the two holy men, and drank himself into a state of insensibility. Firūz, apparently, was only detained in custody. A son of Muḥammad had gone on a hunting expedition, and when the guards understood that the emperor was drunk and

his son absent, they liberated the three prisoners. Firūz then succeeded in making away, in some manner not mentioned, with Muḥammad's son, and "raised the banner of sovereignty". This improbable story, which is not mentioned by either of the contemporary historians, and for which Budāonī can cite no better authority than oral tradition, may be dismissed as apocryphal, but it suggests the existence of a legend to the effect that the succession of Firūz was not regular.

At Uch, on the way to Dihli, news reached the army that Khvāja Jahān, the only member of Muḥammad's council of regency now remaining in the capital, for Malik Qatril was dead, had proclaimed as emperor in Dihli Ghiyāṣ-al-dīn Maḥmūd (or Muḥammad) Shāh, a child of six or seven years of age, whom he represented to be a son of Muḥammad Tughluq. Baranī describes the child as "an unknown bastard", and is followed by Budāonī, Firishta, and Nizām-al-dīn Aḥmad, who describe him as "an obscure child" and "a child of obscure origin". Baranī, then, reflecting the views of the army, proceeds to heap abuse on Khvāja Jahān for his treason and rebellion.

Shams-i-Sirāj Afif, on the other hand, casts no aspersions on the birth of the child, and absolves Khvāja Jahān from blame in the matter, though he admits that the proclamation was an unfortunate mistake. The facts of the case as related to him by Kishvar Khān, son of Bahrām Aiba, Kishlū Khān, were that when, on Muḥammad's death, the Mughul auxiliaries plundered the great bazar of the imperial camp, Malik Tūntūn, a confidential slave whom Khvājah Jahān had sent to Muḥammad, was so overcome with fear that he fled to Dihli and reported that Muḥammad Tughluq was dead, that the Mughuls had plundered the bazar and attacked the army, that there had been much bloodshed, that Tātār Khān and Firūz had disappeared, and that most of the *maliks* had been killed. Malik was a trusted slave and Khvājah Jahān believed his report and mourned alike for Muḥammad and

Firūz, whom he loved as a son. He then, in all good faith, according to 'Afif, placed the infant son of Muḥammad on the throne. 'Afif himself says not a word suggesting that the child was supposititious, but admits that the *amīrs* of the army asserted that Muḥammad had left no son.

Khyāja Jahān having placed the infant on the throne immediately raised in Dihlī an army of 20,000 horse to support him and maintain order, and on learning that Firūz was alive and was advancing with an army on Dihlī, refused to recede from the position which he had taken up, and sent envoys to Firūz to inform him that he had proclaimed Muḥammad's son in Dihlī, and to invite him to assume the regency. Those writers who maintain that the child set up by Khyāja Jahān was supposititious represent him as bitterly regretting his precipitancy, and as persisting in the course which he adopted under the impression that rebellion was the one unpardonable sin, and that there could be no forgiveness for him.

The story as told by Baranī, the uncompromising adherent of Firūz, and those who have followed him, is unconvincing. Khyāja Jahān had been the most devoted of Muḥammad's servants, and had regarded Firūz as a son, and it is most improbable that he should have foisted on the people of Dihlī, as his dead master's heir, a supposititious child. The situation in the capital when Malih's disturbing news became known, was doubtless critical, but the veteran minister did not require the assistance of a puppet to enable him to cope with it. Nor is there any reason why Khyāja Jahān should have despaired of the clemency of Firūz. Even the bloodthirsty Muḥammad had pardoned more obstinate rebels, and Khyāja Jahān had acted in good faith on a credible report and in the best interests of the empire.

On the arrival of Khyāja Jahān's envoys at the camp, Firūz assembled Muḥammad's most intimate courtiers and consulted them. They are said to have replied that Muḥammad had left no son, and that Firūz was

unquestionably his heir, but this circumstance has the appearance of a subsequent fabrication. Nobody was more likely than Fīrūz to know whether Muḥammad had left a son or not, and consultation with courtiers on this subject would have been unnecessary. The account of the consultation of Fīrūz with the doctors of the law is more convincing. They omitted all mention of the authenticity of the child's birth or the merits of Fīrūz's hereditary claim to the throne and merely decided that the first claimant of the throne was the fitter to fill it. Their omission to consider the case in its legal aspect, which was peculiarly their business, is significant, and if it had been certain that the child was not Muḥammad's there would have been no necessity to consult them.

It was soon apparent, even to Khvāja Jahān himself, that his case was hopeless. Qavām-al-Mulk, Khān Jahān Maqbūl, the most powerful *amīr* in the capital, fled from the city and joined Fīrūz, and by the time the army reached Hānsī Khvāja Jahān, disregarding the advice of his friends resolved to appear before Fīrūz before he entered the city and to seek a pardon. After the camp had left Hānsī he appeared before Fīrūz as a suppliant, bareheaded, and with a chain and a naked sword suspended from his neck, and was kindly received. The badges of guilt were removed, a turban was bound on his head, and Fīrūz assured him that he had never believed that he had acted otherwise than in good faith. He was intent, not only on pardoning, but on reinstating him, his eighty years notwithstanding, in the office of *vazīr*, and was only deterred from fulfilling his benevolent intention by the vehement protests of the *malīks* and *amīrs* against such misplaced leniency. They drew a lurid picture of what their own fate would have been had Khvāja Jahān defeated the army, and were evidently resolved that he should suffer the punishment due to rebellion. The unpardonable crime, in their eyes, was probably the dissipation of much of the treasure which they had expected to share. Fīrūz was unwilling to abandon his old friend and colleague, and held out

for three days, but at length his resolution failed. Summoning Malik 'Imād-al-Mulk, he privately informed him that he had decided to leave Khvāja Jahān's fate in the hands of the *maliks* and *amīrs*. They told the minister that at his age he should devote the rest of his life to religious duties, and that they had assigned to him, for his support, the district of Sāmāna, where he might spend the short remainder of his days in retirement. He was sent off thither, but had travelled only a few stages when he was overtaken by Shīr Khān, the commandant of Sunām and Sāmāna, who had been sent after him by the *maliks* and *amīrs* of the army. He at once divined Shīr Khān's mission, and submitting without a murmur to his fate, was beheaded by an executioner who had accompanied the emissary.

This completes the case. It was the officers of the army, not Fīrūz himself, that insisted on the minister's death, and a motive for their animosity has already been shown. Another may be found in the severities of Muḥammad's reign. There were probably few among the *maliks* and *amīrs* who had not at one time trembled before the minister, but Fīrūz displayed contemptible weakness in abandoning his old friend, of whose innocence he appears to have been convinced, to their vengeance.

The conclusions to be drawn from the evidence before us and from the conduct of Fīrūz and the officers of the army are as follows:—

(1) The infant enthroned in Delhi was a son of Muḥammad, and Khvāja Jahān was justified in regarding him as the heir to the throne.

(2) Nothing that Muḥammad may have said on his death-bed, so long, at least, as he retained possession of his senses, amounted to recognition of Fīrūz as his heir, though it is highly probable that he bequeathed to him the regency and exhorted him to do all in his power to extricate the army from its dangerous situation.

(3) Khvāja Jahān was guiltless of disloyalty and was the

victim of the animosity of the officers of the army, to which Fīrūz basely abandoned him.

For the weakness of Fīrūz there is no excuse, but his usurpation may be defended on the ground on which Germany defended her perfidious attack on Belgium, that of necessity. Muḥammad's death in the camp and in the face of the enemy had completely demoralized an already disheartened army. The Oriental is not familiar with the principle of delegated authority, and it is probable that nothing but the prestige of an emperor, present in the midst of the army, could have saved it from dissolution.

The Historical Position of Ramananda

By J. N. FARQUHAR, M.A., D.LITT. (Oxon)

I AM glad my paper in the *Journal* for April, 1920, on the above subject has drawn from Sir George Grierson and Mr. Sītā Rām their interesting articles in the October and April numbers.

I had already given up the theory that Rāmānanda himself came from South India before the appearance of Sir George Grierson's paper; and the evidence which he has been able to lay before us has strengthened me in my changed position. I still believe, however, that the source of the teaching of Rāmānanda is to be found, not in the Śrī-Vaishṇava sect, but in the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*.

I am extremely sorry if any word of mine has caused Mr. Sītā Rām or any other Hindu the slightest pain. I have sought to write with the deepest respect, not to say reverence, for all the beliefs and feelings of the Hindu people. But I hardly think that any Hindu scholar will say that I am wrong in using the word "harem" in connexion with Sītā's captivity in Laṅkā, since *Antaḥpura* is the word used in the text of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.¹

I should also like to assure Mr. Sītā Rām that I have considered very carefully all the similarities between the Śrī-Vaishṇava sect and Rāmānanda's position. The difference between us lies not in any want of consideration, but in a different judgment as to the conclusion which ought to be drawn from all the evidence that lies before us.

A. The question at issue, then, is the source of the Rāmānandī system. All Rāmānandīs believe to-day that Rāmānanda belonged to the Śrī-Vaishṇava sect, of which Rāmānuja is the chief ornament, but that, in consequence

¹ Aranya-kāṇḍa, canto 54, vv. 13 ff.

of a dispute arising from the extreme rigour of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava social rules, he left it and founded a sect of his own. Yet, in spite of the breach, it is believed that he taught the Viśiṣṭādvaita system of Rāmānuja to his disciples, and that that has been the doctrine of his church from that day to this. The tradition is as old as Nābhājī, the author of the *Bhakta-māla*. The exact date of this work is not known,¹ but the general date of the author is quite clear; and we may make the bearing of his evidence on the problem intelligible by saying that he wrote about 150 years after the death of Rāmānanda.²

The tradition has not been traced farther back: no allusion to it has been found in Tulsī Dās, whose *Rāmāyaṇa* was begun about a century after the Master's death.³

But if the tradition is universal to-day, and if it goes back as far as Nābhājī, why should we suggest that it is untrue?

The settlement of all questions about Rāmānanda is beset with very grave difficulties, because the Master wrote no book himself; and none of his immediate disciples left a piece of literature fit to serve as a picture of the teaching of the great leader. The earliest book which gives any detailed and trustworthy evidence as to the Rāmānandī faith is Tulsī Dās's great work, and the next is the *Bhakta-māla*. It is quite true that the greatest of Rāmānanda's immediate disciples, Kabīr, left a body of very valuable and original verses; but as his religious position is in several features very different from his Master's, we cannot take his utterances as direct evidence of Rāmānanda's beliefs, although they may possibly be used to throw light on the question indirectly. Nor do the poems of Pīpājī, Rai Dās, and Senājī give us much help. On the other hand, scholars of every type regard it as certain

¹ Sir George Grierson tells us that the year A.D. 1639 is implied in the text, *JRAS.*, 1901, p. 607.

² My own dates for Rāmānanda's life are A.D. 1400-70; and at this point they are significant for this reason, that no scholar will be found to propose later dates.

³ The date is A.D. 1574; Grierson *I.A.*, xxii, 93.

that Tulsī Dās represents Rāmānanda's main teaching so faithfully that we need not hesitate to turn to him for evidence. But before we study Tulsī Dās, we had better realize what Rāmānuja's system is.

In contrast to Śaṅkara's absolute monism, Rāmānuja taught a modified monism. Both say "Brahman is all that is"; but, while Śaṅkara attributes our vision of the world and all plurality to *māyā*, illusion, Rāmānuja regards the world and human souls as forming the body of God. Each soul is an *aṁśa* of the body of Brahman, and is a personal being, possessing a measure of freedom. The world and souls are real: there is no *māyā*. Thus, both these thinkers repudiate entirely the Sāṅkhyan doctrine of *prakṛiti*, primordial matter; and Rāmānuja repudiates *māyā* as well.

The Brahman of Rāmānuja is Nārāyaṇa, also called Viṣṇu, the god of the sect. Release is won by knowledge of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu, and knowledge is gained by meditative *bhakti*. To Śaṅkara Brahman is undifferentiated intelligence; it is impersonal and *nirguṇa*. To Rāmānuja Brahman is personal and "endowed with all imaginable auspicious qualities", and thus can never be regarded as *nirguṇa*. To Śaṅkara Brahman has no consort, but Rāmānuja calls Nārāyaṇa "the Lord of Lakshmī, the abode of Lakshmī". The goddess, however, is not woven into his theology at all.

The Śrī-Vaiṣṇava sect adores Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu with his consorts, and all the Vyūhas and their consorts, and all the Avatāras with their consorts and followers. Rāma is but one of many Avatāras. They refuse to worship Śiva or any other god; but they recognize every divinity of the Vaiṣṇava group.

The system is called the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Sampradāya; and, since the Supreme is Nārāyaṇa, the mantra of the sect is *Oṃ namo Nārāyaṇāya*. Brāhman ascetics belonging to the sect are Tridandī Sannyāsīs.

The teaching of Tulsī Dās is singularly different from all this. Rāma is the Supreme, and all the phrases of the

Upanishads are applied to him and to no other. In Rāma alone is there *mukti* in this evil Kali age. His consort is *Sītā*, and she is *prakṛiti*, the source of the material world, and also *māyā*. Rāma, the Supreme, wields the mighty power of *māyā*. There is no Viśiṣṭādvaita teaching to be found in the book.

Rāmānandīs call their system the Śrī-Saṁpradāya; and the mantra of the sect is *Oṃ Rāmāya namaḥ*. Rāmānandī ascetics are not sannyāsīs, but sādhus, and are called Vairāgīs.

How are we to explain these facts? The *Tulsīkṛit Rāmāyaṇa* is universally held to represent the teaching of Rāmānanda; and it is the Bible of all Rāmānandīs to-day. Yet it contains no single doctrine which is characteristic of Rāmānuja.

Further, it is clear as noonday that Tulsī Dās's system is older than Rāmānanda. It is found in the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*; and while there are slight differences, the points of agreement are so numerous that the only natural solution of the problem seems to be to conclude that Rāmānanda and his guru Rāghavānanda were ascetics belonging to a Ramaite order and used the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* as their scripture. Tulsī Dās wrote not in order to displace the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, but to give its teaching to the people in the vernacular. The following facts seem to justify these conclusions :—

1. The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Rāma-charit-mānas* teach the same theological system.

Rāma is the Brahman of the Upanishads, beyond the reach of human minds, without qualities, *nirguṇa*, *aguṇa*; and yet he became incarnate for the sake of the gods and his own beloved followers: and thus, living under *māyā*, he has many qualities, is *saguṇa*. In this evil Kali age there is Release in Rāma alone. He is therefore the Lord of Brahmā and Śiva. Through *bhakti* Release is won. Those who take refuge in his name find Release.

Rāma wields *māyā*. By it he created the whole world. He is the great actor. By *māyā* he deceives men. By it he seemed

to be deceived himself when incarnate, but he is always the Lord, the Controller of *māyā*.

Rāma is the Lord of Sītā, who is both *prakṛiti* and *māyā*.¹

What Rāma wills is done, and none can alter it; determinism is taught.

Thus the system taught in these two works is a theological conglomerate, formed from the Sāṅkhya, the Advaita Vedānta and a theistic incarnation theory.

2. The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* is written as a sort of reproduction of the original *Rāmāyaṇa*, with the same number of books, each bearing the old title, although the theology is completely new. Tulsī Dās follows the same plan.

3. In the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* we are told that Śiva originally told the whole story to Pārvatī; and Tulsī Dās faithfully repeats this account.

4. In the original epic, the real Sītā is carried away by Rāvaṇa; but in the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* Rāma makes the real Sītā enter the fire before the appearance of Rāvaṇa. It is thus an illusory Sītā that is carried away to Lankā; and the real Sītā does not reappear until the fire-ordeal is held after the death of Rāvaṇa. Tulsī Dās has adopted this also.

5. The baby Rāmā in the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* shows himself as the eternal One to his mother, and then takes again the form of a baby and begins to cry. The episode reappears in Tulsī Dās.

6. The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* is used by all Rāmānandīs to-day, and they possess a Hindī commentary on it.

7. In the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* there is a reference to the *Agastya Saṁhitā*.² It was clearly used as the authoritative work for worship by those who used the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*.

¹ Sītā is identified with *prakṛiti* and *māyā* in the much earlier *Rāma-pūrva-tāpanīya Up.*, 17, 24-6, 61, 89, and in the *Rāma-uttara-tāpanīya Up.* (Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishads des Veda*, pp. 807, 808, 813, 817, 821). Indeed, the same essential theology can be traced in these Upanishads, in the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and in the *Rāma-charit-mānas*.

² IV, iv. 31.

The same *Agastya Samhitā* is in use in Sanskrit¹ among Rāmānandīs to-day ; and a Hindī version² of several chapters has been published with a life of Rāmānanda included.

On the other hand, there is a Rāmānandī work in Sanskrit, which I have not yet seen, and which probably does contain Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrine. It is called *Vaiṣṇava Matābja Bhāskara*, i.e. "Light on the Lotus of Vaishṇava Opinions." (Readers will at once think of the famous Mahāyāna Buddhist work, *the Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*.) As to its date, author, or contents, I have no information ; but it is probably a fairly recent work.

B. But if Rāmānanda and Tulsī Dās after him taught a Rāma gospel so distinct from the Rāmānujīya system, how did the tradition originate and find credence ? It is probable that it arose from the concurrence of two distinct causes.

First, the *Śrī-bhāṣya* of Rāmānuja is such a noble theistic document that it is much used in many schools besides his own ; and it would be strange indeed if there were not a number of scholarly Rāmānandī Vairāgīs in the sixteenth century accustomed to read it for themselves and to teach it to disciples. Since Rāmānanda had left no *bhāṣya*, Rāmānuja's work was clearly the best Vedānta treatise for them to use. The differences between it and their own Rāma-faith would not trouble them, since there was no Rāmānandī *bhāṣya* to make them stand out in prominence.

Secondly, there were considerable groups of Rāmānujīyas in North India in close proximity to the Rāmānandīs in those days, just as there are to-day. What, then, could be more natural than to make friends with this Vaishṇava group,

¹ Published by Seth Chhotelāl Lakshmīchand, Fyzabad. Śiva and Pārvatī appear at the beginning, but the work is a dialogue between Agastya and Sūtikṣhṇa, and deals almost exclusively with ritual. A small handbook for Rāmānandī pūjārīs is published both in Sanskrit and Hindī, the *Śrīrāmārchanā Paddhati*. The publisher is Seth Chhotelāl.

² Published at the Gokuldāsī Ranahar Puṣṭakālay, Dākar, near Ānand, Gujarāt, and also at the Jñānabhāskar Press, Barabānki.

whose *Śrī-bhāṣya* they revered and loved? They might even receive instruction in the Viśiṣṭādvaita system, if there were some notable guru in the neighbourhood.

From this friendship a feeling of unity would arise, and some Rāmānujīya would one day suggest that, after all, they were really one, and that there was no material difference in their teaching. Once the belief in the unity of the two groups was established, the rise of the tradition about the Master would only be a question of time.

There is another point. In the tradition itself there is clear proof that the intercourse from which it sprang took place in the north, not in the south. Rāmānujīyas in the south universally speak of their sect as the *Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Sampradāya*, while in the north the phrase they use is the *Śrī-Sampradāya*; and it is the latter phrase that is used by Rāmānandīs. It is clear that the theory of the four Sampradāyas (*Śrī*, *Brahmā*, *Rudra*, and *Sanakādi*, i.e. the northern Rāmānujīyas, the Mādhvas, the Viṣṇusvāmīs, and the Nimbārkas) arose among Rāmānujīyas in the north, before the rise of the Rāmānandī, Vallabhāchārya, and Chaitanya movements, which changed so radically the balance of the sects. The Rāmānandīs would then take over the theory from their friends.

Thus the evidence suggests that Rāghavānanda, who came from the south, was a Ramaite Vairāgī, and used as his scriptures the *Vālmīki* and the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*s and the *Agastya Samhitā*, and that he won over Rāmānanda to his faith early in the fifteenth century, and thus started the new movement. At some date in the sixteenth century there came friendly intercourse with the Rāmānujīyas of the north, and the belief in their identity; and then there followed the legend about Rāmānanda. The whole had taken firm root before Nābhājī wrote, and has continued to be believed until to-day.

A most interesting parallel, from north India also, may be cited to show how easily such a mistaken theory arises.

The Viṣṇusvāmī form of the Vedānta is dualist, *dvaita*, while the Vallabhāchārya form is monistic; indeed, it is called *śuddhādvaita*. To Viṣṇusvāmī Rādhā was a woman, while to Vallabhāchārya she was the eternal consort of Kṛiṣṇa the supreme Brahman. Yet the Vallabhas have almost completely absorbed the Viṣṇusvāmīs; and in the process they started the theory that the two are one; and that misstatement is almost universally believed in North India to-day.

I do not suggest that I have proved my case; but I do suggest that it is clear, on the face of the evidence, that there is a serious problem to be solved; and that my reconstruction of the history may possibly prove right. Further study of all the relevant literature may reveal decisive facts.

Spontaneous Nasalization in the Indo-Aryan Languages

By SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

PROFESSOR TURNER, in his valuable articles on Gujarātī Phonology, refers to what he terms "Spontaneous Nasalization". In regard to Gujarātī he says (*JRAS.*, 1921, p. 344) "there seems from the earliest times to have been a tendency to pronounce vowels with the velum incompletely raised, which results in the vowel becoming nasalized". Similarly, Professor Bloch (*La Formation de la Langue Marathe*, § 70) says "Toute voyelle longue tend à développer une résonance nasale", and he discusses this question at greater length in his article on "La Nasalité en Indo-Aryan" on pp. 61 ff. of the *Cinquantenaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*.

Although he does not call attention to the fact, all the Gujarātī nasalized vowels of which Professor Turner gives examples are of secondary origin, and are long.¹ Similar nasalization is found in Hindī and in other modern Indo-Aryan languages, except those of the extreme north-west, where the phonetic rules are different.

Both Professor Bloch and Professor Turner look upon this tendency to "spontaneous nasalization" as dating from very early times, long before the present stage of development of the modern languages had become established; but, so far as I can gather from the writings already referred to, they consider the particular instances of this nasalization to which they draw special attention as occurring in the modern languages, to be developments which have arisen in late times and which have taken their birth in these modern languages themselves. I think, however, I can show that

¹ The one exception, *mājār*, is only apparent. Here the *ā* represents a theoretical *ā*, which has been shortened owing to its position before a long vowel with the stress accent.

the length of the vowel has nothing whatever to do with the nasalization, and that the instances of nasalization to which they refer are not peculiarities of the modern languages, but are an inheritance from earlier stages. In order to do this it is necessary to go a stage further back and to discuss the state of affairs in Prakrit.

Omitting a few less important cases, in literary Prakrit there are two classes of compound consonants, viz. :—

1. Double consonants.
2. Compounds in which the first element is anusvāra or a class nasal.¹

Excluding the North-West, in the modern languages the regular developments of these compounds are respectively :—

1. The double consonant is simplified, and the preceding vowel is lengthened in compensation.
2. The anusvāra or class nasal becomes anunāsika, and the preceding vowel is lengthened in compensation.

Examples of these are :—

1. Sanskrit.	Prakrit.	Hindī.
<i>cakra-</i>	<i>cakka-</i>	<i>cāk.</i>
<i>śuṣkaka-</i>	<i>sukkhā-</i>	<i>sūkhā.</i>
<i>agrē.</i>	<i>aggahi.</i>	<i>āgē.</i>
<i>vyāghra-</i>	<i>vaggha-</i>	<i>bāgh.</i>
<i>nṛtya-</i>	<i>ṇacca.</i>	<i>nāc.</i>
<i>svidyati.</i>	<i>sijjāi</i>	<i>sījē.</i>

and so on in thousands of cases.

2. <i>kaṅkaṇa-</i>	<i>kaṅkaṇa-</i>	<i>kākan.</i>
<i>jaṅghā.</i>	<i>jaṅghā.</i>	<i>jāgh.</i>
<i>vandhya-</i>	<i>vañjha-</i>	<i>bājh.</i>
<i>kānta-</i>	<i>kanta-</i>	<i>kāt.</i>
<i>candra-</i>	<i>canda-</i>	<i>cād.</i>

and so many others.²

¹ Prakrit grammarians treat these two as interchangeable. See Mārkaṇḍeya, iv, 24, where we have, e.g. both *jalam manthāi* and *jalam manthāi*. Cf. Pischel, § 269.

² In the above I have omitted other changes, such as *kāgan*, for *kākan*, or *cān*, for *cād*. As regards the former, see note 2, p. 385, below.

The "spontaneous nasalization" referred to above occurs only in the words falling under class I. As I have on previous occasions pointed out,¹ this nasalization is much more common than we should gather from the study of the literary dialect alone. It is very frequently met with in rural dialects. Examples from the literary dialect are :—

<i>karkara-</i>	<i>kakkara-</i>	Bg. <i>kākar</i> , H. <i>kaṅkar</i> .
<i>makṣikā.</i>	<i>makkhiā.</i>	G. <i>mākhī</i> , H. <i>mākhī</i> .
<i>pakṣa-</i>	<i>pakkha-</i>	H. <i>pākh</i> , a side ; H. <i>paṅkhā</i> , a fan.
<i>akṣi-</i>	<i>akkhi-</i>	H. <i>ākh</i> .
<i>mudga-</i>	<i>mugga-</i>	H. <i>māg</i> , M. <i>mūg</i> .
<i>√mārg-</i>	<i>√magga-</i>	G. <i>√māg-</i> , H. <i>√māg-</i> , H. <i>√maṅg-</i> .
<i>uccaka-</i>	<i>uccaa-</i>	H. <i>ūcā</i> , Bg. <i>uñca</i> .
<i>satya-</i>	<i>sacca-</i>	H. <i>sāc</i> , H. <i>sañc</i> .
<i>chardati.</i>	<i>chaddāi.</i>	H. <i>chāṛē</i> , Old H. <i>chaṇḍē</i> .
<i>nidrā.</i>	<i>niddā.</i>	H. <i>nīd</i> , or <i>nīḍ</i> .
<i>sarpa-</i>	<i>sappa-</i>	H. <i>sāp</i> or <i>sāp</i> .

and so many others. In the above I have not mentioned all the languages in which each word occurs, contenting myself with mentioning one in each case.

It should be noted that in the above there are a number of pairs, in one of which the "spontaneous nasal" is *anunāsika*, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, while, in the other, it is a class nasal without such compensatory lengthening. Thus we have :—

- kākar* and *kaṅkar*.
- pākh* and *paṅkhā*.
- māg-* and *maṅg-*.
- ūcā* and *uñca*.
- sāc* and *sañc*.
- chāṛ-* with an old form *chaṇḍ-*.

¹ See *ZDMG.*, I, 1896, pp. 21, 22.

In the rural dialects many more such pairs can be heard of which no trace will be found in the dictionaries. Such cases are rather instances of the personal equations of the respective speakers than of local dialect. In the same village one man may say *sāc* and another may say *sañc*, or the same man may say one or other as the rhythm or the style of the sentence may demand. Many such cases will be found in the Index to *Bihār Peasant Life*. Now, it is clear that whatever the long vowel may have to do with the nasalization of *sāc*, it can have nothing to do with the nasalization of *sañc*.

I think we must look upon the nasalization of such as *sāc* as not occurring spontaneously in the modern stage of the language, but as descendants of nasalized Prakrit forms. In Prakrit, the vowel before a compound consonant must be short, so that we cannot have any form such as *sāñca*. The only possible form with a class nasal would have been *sañca*, and from that *sāc* would be a quite regular derivative, under head 2 above. If this is true, then in pairs such as *sañc* and *sāc* we must look upon *sañc* as the older form, of which *sāc* represents a further—later—stage of development.

May we therefore assume such a Prakrit form as *sañca*- or *saṃca*- as existing in Prakrit alongside of the *sacca*- given by the grammarians? I think that we can.

In Mk. iv, 20 (= Vr. iv, 15; Hc. i, 26; Pischel, § 74) there are given a number of words parallel to *saṃca*-, which do insert a nasal instead of doubling the consonant as we should expect under the ordinary rules. To quote a few, such are :—

Sanskrit.	Prakrit.
<i>vakra</i> -.	<i>vaṃka</i> - instead of <i>vakka</i> -.
<i>darśana</i> -.	<i>daṃsana</i> - instead of <i>dassana</i> -.
<i>gr̥ṣṭi</i> -.	<i>gaṃṭhī</i> - instead of <i>gaṭṭhī</i> -.
<i>puccha</i> -.	<i>puṃcha</i> - instead of <i>puccha</i> -.
<i>sulka</i> -.	<i>suṃka</i> - instead of <i>sukka</i> -.

The question is how did such words get into Prakrit? The answer will be found in the Prakrit grammarians' lists of

Dhātvy-ādēśas. These are lists, given in the grammars, of Prakrit roots which may, or should, be substituted for Sanskrit roots of similar meanings. As pointed out by Professor Jacobi,¹ a large number (I calculate about 388 out of 930) of these are admittedly Dēśī words, catalogued as such in the *Dēśīnāmamālā*. We have no grammar of these Dēśī dialects. All that we have to go by are vocabularies and lists of words, and in these we find quite a number of pairs similar to those given above for the modern languages. Taking verbal roots alone, such are :—

Sanskrit.	Prakrit.
<i>spṛśati.</i>	<i>ālukkhañ, ālumkhañ, ālumghañ.</i> ²
<i>kaṇati, kvaṇati.</i>	<i>okkhaṇaṇ, oṇḡaṇaṇ.</i>
<i>taḡṣati.</i>	<i>cacchañ, camchañ.</i>
<i>carcayātē.</i>	<i>cappañ, campañ.</i>
<i>yunakti.</i>	<i>jujjañ, jumjañ.</i> ³
<i>trpyati.</i>	<i>thippañ, thimpañ.</i>
<i>taḡṣati.</i>	<i>rappañ, rampañ.</i>
<i>valati.</i>	<i>vappañ, vanphañ.</i>

and so many non-verbal forms which can be collected from the *Dēśīnāmamālā*. From the above it is evident that Dēśī dialects, or at least some of them, freely substituted an anusvāra (or class nasal) plus a consonant for a double * consonant prescribed for literary Prakrit by the Indian grammarians. As certain forms of this literary Prakrit had no hesitation in borrowing words from the Dēśī dialects ⁴ we are entitled to assume that the so-called irregular words *vanika-* and so forth quoted above are also Dēśī words

¹ *Bhavisatta Kaha*, p. 63*.

² Cf. Skt. *kaṇkaṇa-*, Hindi *kāgan*, referred to in note 2, p. 382, and similar instances in the modern languages of softening after a nasal.

³ Here it is the form with the nasal which is original, and *jujjañ* which is the by-form. Similarly we have *maggāñ* < *maṇḡati*. From this we learn that Dēśī dialects looked upon *mj* and *jj* as interchangeable.

⁴ Jacobi, op. cit., p. 63*.

which in the literary language have ousted the regular literary forms from use.

That this assumption is not extravagant is shown by a consideration of a work entitled the *Mahārtha-mañjarī* of Mahēśvarānanda, of which a manuscript has been in my possession for some years.¹ This consists of a series of Gāthā verses written in the old Apabhraṃsa (or Dēśī) dialect once spoken in Kashmīr and is provided with a Chāyā and a commentary. The language of the verses contains numerous examples of the representation of standard Prakrit double consonants by anusvāra plus a single consonant. The metre shows that it is anusvāra, not anunāsika, that is intended, and there is no lengthening of the preceding vowel. So frequent are these spellings that when the MS. first came into my possession, I was tempted to assume that they were simply a scribe's graphic device for indicating a double letter in the Śāradā alphabet. I made inquiries on the point from Kashmīr and was assured by the most competent authorities that no such graphic device had ever existed. We may therefore take it that the spelling shows the actual word intended by the author. I here give a hurriedly made up list of such words occurring in the first twenty verses of the work, indicating in each case the number of the verse in which it is to be found :—

Mahārtha-Mañjarī with verse number.	Corresponding form in Literary Prakrit.	Corresponding Sanskrit form.
<i>aamñōṇa</i> - (? read <i>amñomñā</i> -), 12.	<i>aṇṇomñā</i> -.	<i>anyōṇya</i> -.
<i>aṃpa</i> -, 6.	<i>appa</i> -.	<i>ātma</i> -.
<i>uṃbhāvaṃttm</i> , 17.	<i>ubbhāveṃtī</i> .	<i>udbhāvayantī</i> .
<i>kaṃtārō</i> , 11.	<i>kattārō</i> .	<i>kartā</i> .
<i>jaṃtha</i> , 7.	<i>jattha</i> .	<i>yatra</i> .

¹ An edition, taken from the same unique MS. as that from which mine was copied, has lately been published as No. XI of *The Kashmīr Series of Texts and Studies*.

Mahārtha-Mañjarī with verse number.	Corresponding form in Literary Prakrit.	Corresponding Sanskrit form.
<i>jaṁsam</i> , 4.	<i>jassa</i> .	<i>yasya</i> .
<i>ṇimca</i> -, 1, 18.	<i>ṇicca</i> -. <i>ṇiccalojjōō</i> .	<i>nitya</i> -. <i>niścalōddyōtaḥ</i> .
<i>ṇimcalamjōū</i> , 2.	<i>ṇatthi</i> .	<i>nāsti</i> .
<i>ṇamthi</i> , 7.	<i>ṇittusā</i> .	<i>nistuṣā</i> .
<i>ṇimthusām</i> , 16.	<i>tattha</i> .	<i>tatra</i> .
<i>taṁtha</i> , 7.	<i>paccakkham</i> .	<i>pratyakṣam</i> .
<i>paccamkham</i> , 5.	<i>pajjālōaṇa</i> -. <i>puṇṇō</i> .	<i>paryālōcana</i> -. <i>pūrṇaḥ</i> .
<i>paṁjālōaṇa</i> -, 8.	<i>vibbhama</i> -. <i>māhappam</i> .	<i>vibhrama</i> -. <i>māhātmyam</i> .
<i>puṁṇō</i> , 18.	<i>vatthu</i> -. <i>viappa</i> -. <i>savvaṇṇō</i> .	<i>vastu</i> -. <i>vikalpa</i> -. <i>sarvajñāḥ</i> .
<i>bimbama</i> -, 6.	<i>saḥāvassa</i> .	<i>svabhāvasya</i> .
<i>māhampaṁ</i> , 5.	<i>sippāim</i> .	<i>śilpāni</i> .
<i>vaṁtha</i> -, 8.		
<i>viaṁva</i> -, 17.		
<i>saṁvaṁṇū</i> , 18.		
<i>saḥāvamsa</i> , 8.		
<i>siṁpāi</i> , 17.		

But such nasalizations are older even than the above. As Professor Bloch himself points out,¹ instances are found in the Asōka inscriptions, where we have *aṁna*- (*anya*-), *aṁṇātra* (*anyatra*), *puṁṇam* (*puṇyam*), *hiraṁṇa*- (*hiranya*-), *tambapamni* (*tāmraparni*), and so on. What the origin of this nasalization may be, I leave to phoneticians to decide, but I think that I have shown that this "spontaneous nasalization" spoken of by Professor Bloch and Professor Turner has not arisen spontaneously in the modern vernaculars in their present stage of development, but is an inheritance from the oldest times, and that we have documentary evidence of its existence from the days of the Asōka inscriptions through all the stages of Prakrit down to the present date. Moreover, it has nothing to do with the quantity of the vowel nasalized. It is true that in the modern languages the nasalization generally occurs with long vowels, but this is merely


¹ *La Nasalité en Indo-Aryan*, p. 67.

a coincidence of two different lines of development. Neither has any causal connexion with the other. In the earlier stages of the Indian languages, these nasalizations never, and could never, occur with a long vowel, a state of affairs exactly the contrary to that which we now find existing. But the nasalization is there all the same, and is associated not with any vowel-change or vowel-quantity, but with the simplification of Sanskrit conjunct consonants.








Notes on some Babylonian Rulers

By C. J. GADD, B.A.

1. .

THE founder of the third dynasty of Ur has long been known by the name of Ur-Engur. This has been regarded as an improved reading for Ur-Gur, a form which was once generally used by Assyriologists. The change was made when the publication of fresh material revealed that the sign  was pronounced *engur* by the Sumerians. It is not difficult to show that *gur* is untenable, for this value seems to have been inferred from a fragment of a god-list, K. 4366 (published in *Cuneiform Texts*, pt. xxv, pl. 48, l. 3), which has :—

† *en-gur* |    | ¹¹¹ *E-a šá na-[a-ri ?]*.

Hence,  was held to be phonetically equivalent to , and was accordingly read *gur*. But in no place elsewhere is  assigned the value of *gur*, whereas it is several times glossed *engur*. In the text quoted above, therefore, the full pronunciation which should have been given in col. 1 is *en-engur*, i.e. *bél apšl* "lord of the deep", a perfectly natural name for the god Ea in his aspect as a river-god (if the proposed restoration be correct). Whether the pronunciation given by the text, *en-gur*, is a real haplography for *en-engur*, or whether it is simply a phonetic writing which exemplifies the very common dropping of a consonant at the end of Sumerian words (*e(n)-engur* > *êngur*), it is hardly possible to decide. In any case, there is no ground for reading  as *gur*. On the other hand, *engur* is attested by *Cuneiform Texts*, xii, 26, rev., col. ii, 18, and xxxv, 2, 48, and is certainly a value of the sign.    has therefore been commonly read as "Ur-^aEngur". But there is no more justification for this form than for the old Ur-Gur. No ^a. *Engur* has been found in the literature, nor, so far as we can see, did any such god ever exist. For the Sumerian *engur*, in both the passages just quoted, is given as the equivalent of the Akkadian loan-

words *apsû* and *engurru*, meaning "the deep", and is simply a concrete substantive, not a proper name. The case of $\rightarrow\text{†} \text{𒂍}$ is widely different, and some material bearing upon it may here be examined.

The tablet B.M. 46559, a fragment of a Babylonian god-list, has the following entries in reverse, col. iii, ll. 21-3 (published in *Cuneiform Texts*, xxix, 46):—

nam-mu $\rightarrow\text{†} \text{𒂍}$
^{a.} nina-a ,,
 i-id ,,

It should first be noticed that the reading of the second line differs from that of *C.T.* Although ^{a.} *Ê-a* was read both by the late Professor King and by Dr. Pinches in the *JRAS.* of 1905, p. 147, and in spite of the smallness of the sign on the original, I have little hesitation in substituting $\rightarrow\text{†} \text{𒂍}$ for $\rightarrow\text{†} \text{𒂍}$. The god Ea is *bêl apsî* certainly, but not *apsû* himself, and Ninâ¹ is a much more suitable identification with the river-goddess. The above extract, therefore, indicates that $\rightarrow\text{†} \text{𒂍}$ was called Nammu, was identified with Ninâ, and might bear the general name of "River (*id*)-goddess". The next passage is from the tablet B.M. 38128, rev., col. ii, ll. 15-20 (*Cuneiform Texts*, xii, 26):—

† i	𒂍	≧	na-a-ri || ^{nat.} Nâru ($\rightarrow\text{†} \text{𒂍}$)
† i-id	,,	,,	^{nat.} Nâru (as above).
† en-gur	,,	,,	šu-lu-u.
			ap-su-u.
			en-gur-ru.
† nam-mu	,,	,,	$\rightarrow\text{†} \text{𒂍}$

Here it is possible to read $\rightarrow\text{†} \text{𒂍}$ in the last line, and thus $\rightarrow\text{†} \text{𒂍}$ is apparently not explained. Nevertheless it is clear that, in late documents, no distinction is generally maintained between 𒂍 and 𒂍 , for, if we could believe

¹ Cf. also the passage in Reisner, *Sumer.-babyl. Hymnen*, quoted below.

the evidence at this point in our inquiry, we should have to say that both $\rightarrow\text{𒌦}$ 𒊩 and $\rightarrow\text{𒌦}$ 𒊩 𒊩 could be read indifferently *id* and *nammu*. Yet this is clearly not the case, since the only Sumerian word for "river" is *id* and the only writing of that word is 𒊩 𒊩 . It is to be presumed, therefore, that the Sumerian name of the river-goddess is *Id*, and therefore, by elimination, $\rightarrow\text{𒌦}$ 𒊩 would be left with the reading *Nammu*, as suggested also by our first extract. The desired distinction is actually established by the "Yale" syllabary (ll. 57-60), where 𒊩 is explained as $\rightarrow\text{𒌦}$ 𒊩 𒊩 in l. 58 and as $\rightarrow\text{𒌦}$ 𒊩 in l. 60. The Sumerian readings corresponding to these are missing from the text, but the matter is placed beyond doubt by the Assyrian duplicate, B.M. 108862 (*Cuneiform Texts*, xxxv, 1-8), obverse, col. i, ll. 46-9, which read as follows:—

𒌦 i	𒊩	na-a-ru.
𒌦 i-id	„	$\rightarrow\text{𒌦}$ 𒊩 𒊩
𒌦 en-gur	„	ap-su-u.
𒌦 nam-mu	„	$\rightarrow\text{𒌦}$ 𒊩

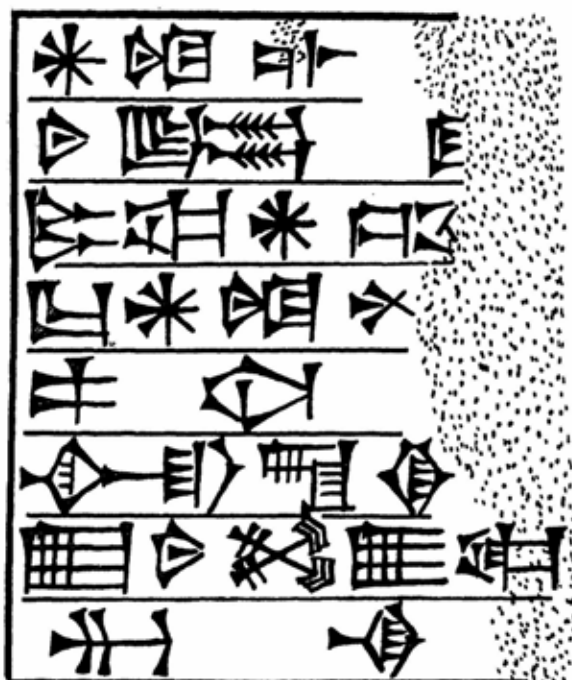
The close connexion of *Nammu* with *Ninâ* is exemplified in Reisner's *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*, p. 110, No. 57, ll. 11 and 12, where \hat{e}^a *nammu* is followed in the next line by \hat{e}^a *nindâ*. The precise nature of this relationship, however, I cannot further elucidate, nor can I say in what respect the name borne by the subject of this note differed from that of *Ur-Ninâ*, the early king of Lagash. But, at least, the evidence here collected seems to demonstrate that

𒌦 $\rightarrow\text{𒌦}$ 𒊩 = *Ur* \hat{e}^a *Nammu*.

2. *Ur-Ningirsu, Governor of Lagash.*

The short text reproduced herewith is copied from a copper statuette in the familiar Sumerian style of the objects called *kanêphoroi*. It represents a man, naked from the waist upwards, carrying on his head what is presumed to be a basket of earth, which he supports with both arms upraised. Downwards from the waist the statuette, as usual, tapers off

into an elongated cone, bluntly rounded at the bottom. The inscription is engraved in one column round the upper part of this cone-shaped base; its right edge is thus damaged by oxidization, which spreads from the bottom to a point about half-way up the cone. It is quite clear that the statuette has been stuck for many years in damp ground up to this point, and this was, doubtless, the object of tapering the base in



this characteristic fashion, the figure being set in its original place by the simple expedient of sticking it into the ground. For permission to publish this text I am indebted to Major Burn, the owner of the original object. Restorations of the damaged portions are placed in square brackets.

1. ^a. *nin-mar*-(*KI*). 2. *sal šag-g[a]*. 3. *dumu-sag* ^a. *n[na]*.
4. *ur*-^a. *nin-g[ir-su]*. 5. *pa-te-si*. 6. *lagaš*-(*KI*)-[*ge* ?].
7. *ê-sal-gil-sa-ka*-[*nî*]. 8. *mu-na*-[*dû*].

"For Ninmar, gracious lady, eldest daughter of Nina, Ur-Ningirsu, the governor of Lagash, has built her Queen's Palace of the Treasure."

Ur-Ningirsu has long been known as the son and successor of the celebrated Gudea of Lagash. It is, also, no new suggestion that he was contemporary with Šulgi,¹ the second king of the third dynasty of Ur. One of the most interesting features of the present inscription is that it seems to afford strong support to this view. For there is a short votive inscription of Šulgi, said to be derived from a black stone, presumably a gate socket, and published in I. Rawlinson 2, No. ii, 4, which records that the king "built for Ninmar her Queen's Palace of the Treasure in Girsu" (*ê-sal-gil-sa-gir-su*-(*KI*)-*ku-ni*). It seems only natural to infer that these two inscriptions refer to the same operation and the same occasion, and that both the suzerain (Šulgi) and the vassal (Ur-Ningirsu) deposited their memorials in the completed building; the contemporaneity of these two rulers is thus placed almost beyond doubt. The significance of this circumstance with respect to the duration of the fifth dynasty of Uruk, inaugurated by Utu-ḫegal, I have noticed elsewhere.² Ur-Ningirsu appears to have been particularly devoted to the cult of Ninâ, whose "priest" he is declared to have been in two other inscriptions, so that her "eldest daughter", Ninmar, was a fitting object of his pious care. The *ê-sal-gil-sa* was presumably the name of this deity's temple; if the translation given requires any explanation, it may be recalled that *ê-sal*, in the pre-Sargonic tablets, has been shown³ to refer to the establishments of Baranamtarra and Shashag, the consorts of the early governors, Lugal-anda and Urukagina of Lagash, while *gil-sa* = *šulcuttu* is noted in Meissner, *Selt. Assy. Ideogr.*, 825.

The statuette from which the above inscription is taken

¹ For this version of the name hitherto read Dungi, see Zimmern, *Ber. Sächs. Gesell. Wissen.*, 1916, No. 5, p. 31, n. 3.

² *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad*, pp. 31, 32.

³ By Allotte de la Fûye in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. ix, 143.

may be supposed to come from the same site as the stone of Šulgi, which is said in I. Rawlinson to have been found at Tall Eed. This locality is to be found on the maps¹ some 25 miles almost due west of Lagash (Tall Loh) and to the south of Umma (Tall Yokha). From Lagash it is now separated by two rivers, for Lagash lies to the east of the Shaṭṭ-al-Hayy and Tall Eed to the west of the Shaṭṭ-al-Khar. If Ur-Ningirsu was in control of this place under Šulgi, the local dominion of Lagash must have been fairly extensive at this time. And, indeed, several generations before, Nammaḥni of Lagash had probably ruled also in Umma, so that this discovery is not altogether surprising. Tall-Eed, therefore, is in all probability the site of E-Ninmar, a place of considerable importance in the days of Sargon of Akkad, who "smote E-Ninmar, its wall he destroyed, and the whole of its territory from Lagash to the sea he smote; his arms he washed in the sea" (Poebel, *Historical Texts*, No. 34, obv., cols. i and ii, ll. 48-60). The language of Sargon seems to suggest that, in his time, Lagash itself was subject to E-Ninmar; under Šulgi and Ur-Ningirsu the position was reversed.

3. *The Eighth or "H" Dynasty of Babylon.*

The break between cols. iii and iv, on the reverse of the Babylonian king-list "A" (*Cuneiform Texts*, xxxvi, 25), has caused the disappearance of the greater part of this dynasty, which consisted, according to the summary, of twenty-two "reigns". The king-list preserves only traces of the first two, and the last five, names. Fortunately, several of the missing entries have been supplied by new, though still very fragmentary, material, from the excavations on the site of the ancient Ashur. Thus, the Berlin fragment V.A.T. 11261 (published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, No. 10) supplies the first seven kings,

¹ British General Staff Geograph. Sect. No. 2563, where the place is called Tel Ede. I am informed that the proper spelling is probably Tall 'Ayad.

and No. 182 of the same publication, col. iii, has the first nine, ending with Bau-aḥ-iddina, the defeated opponent of Adad-nirari IV of Assyria.¹ From this point onwards there is a break until the king-list takes up the enumeration again with Eriba-Marduk, the eighteenth member of the dynasty. One other Ashur fragment, VA.T. 11345 (Schroeder, op. cit., No. 13), has, however, the beginnings of names 16-19, thus carrying the record back two names above the king-list. These names begin respectively Marduk-bêl-[] and Marduk-apal-[]. There is another fragment bearing upon this point in the list, which has only recently been referred to its correct position. It bears the British Museum number 81-7-27, 117, and consists of a small flake from the extreme left edge of what was probably a large tablet. It is designated in the *Catalogue* as a "Part of a list of names of officials and their titles, etc.", and was published by the late Rev. Dr. C. H. W. Johns as No. 888 of his *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*. The editor recognized its true nature subsequently, and translated it with comments in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1918, pp. 125-30. A further examination of the original reveals, however, that the text of *Assyrian Deeds* No. 888 is not altogether satisfactory, and this circumstance has to some extent prejudiced the translation. The following modifications are to be noted:—

- line 1. Is almost entirely gone, and it is difficult to understand how Dr. Johns was able to read II *lugal-e-ne*. . . I can form no opinion as to what stood in this place.
- line 2. Read ^{amel} MI(R), not ŠID (*šangu*); the sign is incomplete, but enough remains to show that it was MIR, and the line doubtless contained the title MIR-UŠ, i.e. *riḍ šabê*, applied to the fifteenth king of the dynasty, as it is to Sinmash-Shipak in King's *Chronicles*, ii, p. 51.

line 3. ^{m.šu} Marduk-apal-ŠE(Š). The copy, *Assyr. Deeds*

¹ "Synchronous History," col. iv, 1 ff., and Sm. 2106, rev. (*Cuneif. Texts*, xxxiv, 41 and 43).

888, is correct, save that the shading should come right up to the signs. The last sign, therefore, can be nothing but *ŠEŠ* in this context, and it can have been only by a slip that Dr. Johns made the name Marduk-apla-iddina; it should, of course, be read Marduk-apal-ušur. This pretender to the style of "Merodach-Baladan II" must therefore disappear, and that title revert to the celebrated enemy of Sargon and Sennacherib, who belongs to the next Babylonian dynasty.

line 4. Read I *lugal bal kúr*, not *NU*; and the line may be completed after the usual formula: I *lugal bal kúr[-kal-di mu-bi X in-ag]*.

line 10. Read I *lu(gal)*, not *NI*, and complete as above.

It will be seen, from what has preceded, that 81-7-27, 117, is a fragment of a king-list, drawn up according to the regular formulæ in use since the earliest compilations of such records. In the small section preserved, it is curious to note that kings of Kaldû and the Sea-Land occupy the throne alternately. Thus, Marduk-apal-ušur is said to be of Kaldû, Eriba-Marduk of the Sea-Land, and, if line 9 were preserved, it would clearly have recorded that Nabû-šum-iškun was of Kaldû. Possibly it is on account of this rapid alternation of ruling-houses that the summary of this dynasty in the king-list "A" speaks of twenty-two *bal*, not *lugal*, as in all other cases. But, if this be so, and if the summary mean "twenty-two dynasties", or "ruling-houses", it is clear that the figure 22 becomes unreliable as the number of kings in the "H" dynasty; it would be quite possible that there were more, since each *bal* might have comprised more than one king. But the validity of this suggestion cannot be tested until a complete list is recovered, nor, in any case, could the number of kings in the gap be very considerable, since only thirty-eight years in all elapsed between the death of Adad-nirari IV, the Assyrian conqueror of Bau-aḥ-iddina, and the accession of Tiglath-pileser III, who was contemporary with Nabonassar.

More Notes on the Eight Immortals

By W. PERCEVAL YETTS

THE following notes are intended to supplement an article written in 1912 and published in JRAS. for October, 1916, pp. 773-807. The theme then was the tradition of the group as generally accepted at the present day, and limitation of space confined the study to one hero-tale for each of the Eight. The tales were translated intact from an illustrated compilation of Taoist mythology which continues in popular favour and provides a fairly representative treatment of the subject. With a scope so restricted, the former article made but a small contribution towards a better understanding of an important national cult. It is essayed here to probe a little deeper and in more varied places in search of evidence about the origin and evolution of the conception.¹ The writer feels that apologies are due for the scrappy nature of these notes rather than for reverting to the topic; for surely there is call for much fuller inquiry, considering the ubiquity of the Eight in the folk-lore and folk-art of the Far East during many centuries, and the scant attention paid them by Western students.

The Chinese delight in numerical categories; and it is wise to exercise caution in attributing peculiar significance to one among so many. Yet there seems reason for regarding eight as a kind of "perfect" number. Foremost are the Eight Trigrams 卦, a conception of extreme antiquity which has provided a basis for much speculation in the domains of philosophy and all kinds of magic. Corresponding to each of the Trigrams is a beast, and thus a group of Eight Animals 物 is constituted. Then there are the Eight Frontiers

¹ Again grateful acknowledgment is due to my friend Dr. Lionel Giles for kindly correcting the translation of several difficult passages and for reading the proofs. His specialized knowledge of Taoist literature has rendered his generous help invaluable.

表 of the world (of China), meaning the four cardinal points and the four intermediate angles.¹ Similarly, there are the Eight Regions 方 and the Eight Winds; and 八蠻 was a general term for all tribes of barbarians living on the fringes of the empire. The year has eight special periods 節 (or 正). Eight were the sacrifices 蜡 offered by the ancient sovereigns at the close of the year,² and the conception of the Eight Spirits 神 is probably as old as history.³ Musical sounds were anciently recognized as of eight kinds, hence 八音 stood for the musical instruments that made them.⁴ There is a tendency, too, in literature to arrange subjects under eight heads. Witness the 八書 of the *Shih chi*, in which Ssü-ma Ch'ien discusses various rites and branches of learning; the numerical arrangement being based, it is said, on the two equinoxes, the two solstices, and the four seasons.⁵

¹ Thus these lines of the poet Li Po: 仙風道骨可與神遊八極之表 "Having the air of a *hsien* and my person permeated with *Tao*, I can wander through boundless space in the company of spirits". Also compare the terms 八達, which means "in every direction", and the similar 八荒.

² v. *Li chi*, Legge, *S.B.E.*, xxvii, 431.

³ v. Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.*, iii, 432 seq. Ssü-ma Ch'ien says that the Eight Spirits have existed since earliest times; but he also quotes a tradition that the belief dated from about 1100 B.C. The Eight are the Lords of the Sky, Earth, Sun, Moon, Four Seasons, the *Yin* and *Yang* principles, and of War. It is noteworthy that the Roman Catholics have adopted the name of the first, 天主, as their term for God. The same two characters are used for Indra by Chinese translators and writers on Buddhist subjects.

⁴ The term denoted all musical instruments. It included those fashioned from eight kinds of materials: metal, stone, silk, bamboo, wood, earth, skin, or a gourd. v. *Shu ching*, Legge, *Chin. Class.*, iii, pt. i, 41. There is no space to discuss here this interesting topic; it must suffice to mention that "metal" comprised bells, "stone" sonorous hanging stones, "silk" stringed instruments, "bamboo" flutes, "wood" sonorous box types, "earth" things like the ocarina, "skin" drums, and "gourd" that strange-shaped reed-organ 笙, the body of which resembles a teapot. v. *Hsiao hsüeh kan chu*, 小學紺珠, ix, 12.

⁵ v. Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.*, i, Intro. ccxvii.

The foregoing examples are but few among many that might be advanced to support the theory claiming peculiar significance for our group in respect of the number of its components. While not wishing to labour the point, it does seem that, among the many numerical categories of the Chinese, sets of eight are characterized by a certain quality of symmetrical completeness.

The following passage, calling attention to the catholicity of the Eight, is perhaps not out of place here, though it argues that the group embraces all sections of the community because of the personalities of its individual members, rather than because of its numerical constitution. At the same time it bears out the notion of completeness.

The Eight Immortals are Chang, Han, Lü, Ho, Ts'ao, Han, Lan, and Li. Here we have old and young, male and female, rich and honoured, and poor and humble. The old are represented by Chang [Kuo]; the young by Lan [Ts'ai-ho] and Han [Hsiang Tzū]; warriors by [Han] Chung-li; scholars by Lü [Tung-pin]; the noble by Ts'ao [Kuo-chiu]; the sick (i.e. physically defective) by Li [T'ieh-kuai]; and women by Ho [Hsien-ku].—*Shih wu yüan hui* 事物原會, quoted in *Chi shuo ch'üan chên*¹ 集記詮真, 214.

Further, to uphold the thesis that our set of Eight was no chance combination, it is proposed to show that a series of groups, the same numerically if not identical in their membership, may be traced back to various dates prior to the constitution of the modern group. So far as we know the archetype of the lot is the legend of the Eight Worthies,² Pa Kung

¹ This is a compilation from multitudinous sources published towards the end of the last century by the native scholar Huang Po-lu 黃伯祿, who became a member of the Roman Catholic clergy. As its title suggests, the main purpose of the work is to discredit non-Christian beliefs. Its well-arranged pages have provided the basis for much that has been published by Western writers on Chinese religion, though the source of information has not always been acknowledged. It has frequently been consulted in the preparation of these notes.

² Not to be confused with the eight ministers of state under An P'ing Wang 安平王 who were called by the same name, Pa Kung.

八公, related to the second century before the Christian era. Lately M. Pelliot has called attention to it in his important article¹ on the writings of the Philosopher Mou 牟子. That these worthies were early recognized as *hsien* is proved by a sixth century inscription which speaks of a "picture of the Eight Immortals of Huai-nan" 淮南八僊之圖; and a similar phrase is attributed to the Empress Wu some two hundred years later.² Popular estimate regarding the continuity of an Eight Immortals tradition dating back at least as far as the time of the Worthies is indicated, too, in the entries which the *Tz'ü yüan* has under the heading 八仙.

The story of the Eight Worthies is contained in the well-known collection of Taoist hero-tales written in the fourth century by Ko Hung 葛洪, and takes up a large part of his article about that famous patron of Taoist philosophers and magicians, the Prince of Huai-nan 淮南王, who figures in the lore of the cult as a *hsien* himself. Professed adepts of *Tao* from all parts of the empire flocked in the second century B.C. to the palace of the Prince. One day eight³ of them with hoary beards and every sign of extreme age arrived at his gates. The gate-keeper, noting that their persons proclaimed failure in the quest of perennial youth which

¹ v. *T'oung Pao*, xix, 318, 404-6.

² r. Pelliot, *loc. cit.*, 406.

³ According to the *Hsiao hsieh kan chu*, vi, 14, the names of Huai-nan's Eight Worthies were as follows: Tao Wu 左吳, Li Shang 李尚, Su Fei 蘇飛, T'ien Yu 田由, Mao P'i 毛披, Lei P'i 雷被, Chin Ch'ang 晉昌, and Wu P'i 伍破. But it must be remarked that this list is quite inconsistent with the tale told by Ko Hung if it be intended that it should relate to the eight magicians. The names quoted in this note are those of courtiers and others frequenting the Prince's palace. Thus they constitute yet another group under the style Pa Kung, distinct from the *hsien*. Dr. Giles has kindly pointed out a variation of the narrative, as told by Ko Hung, appearing in *Lu i chi* 錄異記 (quoted in *T'u shu*, Section xviii, Bk. 229), where the Eight Worthies are made to declare by what names they were known. These are all fanciful pseudonyms of Taoistic import.

preoccupied his master, hesitated to admit them. Then followed a dialogue in which the gate-keeper remarked on their obvious lack of the magic means of warding off senility. They retorted that he should not judge by mere appearances. "However," said they, "if the Prince dislikes our aged looks, we will become young." Scarcely were the words uttered when all the Eight Worthies turned into youths of about fifteen. Their hair became black and silky, and their complexions like peach-bloom. The amazed gate-keeper ran and told the Prince, who, not waiting even to put on his shoes, hurried out to receive them with every mark of distinction. Having abased himself in suitable terms of oriental metaphor, the Prince put himself at the feet of the Worthies as their humble disciple. The latter, now appeased, changed back into their former shapes, and then proceeded to enumerate their powers of magic. Since the list provides such a complete summary of wonders claimed in Taoist lore to be worked by *hsien* in general, it is deemed worth while to translate it here in full:—

One of us is able without effort to call up wind and rain, and instantaneously to raise clouds and mists. He can trace lines across the land and they become rivers, and by scooping up the soil he can make mountains. Another of us can cause high hills to collapse, and the sources of deep springs to dry up. He can tame tigers and panthers, summon scaly monsters and dragons to appear, and press the spirits 鬼神 into his service. Another of us can divide his personality¹ and transform his shape, and is also able to become visible and invisible at will. He can hide whole army corps, and turn midday into night. Another can ride the clouds and tread the empyrean, cross the sea and walk upon the waves. He can go in and out where there is no crevice,² or travel in a breath one thousand *li*.

¹ The power of self-multiplication is possessed by many Taoist magicians and is not unknown in Christian hagiology, e.g. St. Anthony of Padua and St. Alfonso of Liguori, both of whom were seen in at least two places simultaneously. Some *hsien* are credited with being able to reduplicate their persons a hundredfold and more.

² A reminiscence of *Tao t'ê ching*, xliii: 無有入於無間 "That which has no substance enters where there is no crevice". Lieh Tzū has a story of a man who could float in and out of a rocky cliff; and a like

Another can enter flames unscathed, and plunge into water without a wetting. Neither swords wound him nor arrows find him their target. He feels no cold in winter frosts, nor does he sweat in summer heat. Another is capable of a myriad transformations: bird, beast, plant, or tree—as the fancy takes him, he can become each or any of these. He can move mountains and bring rivers to a halt; he can transport a palace or shift a house. Another can boil mud into gold, and freeze lead into silver. He is able to fuse the Eight Minerals¹ [of the alchemist] into a liquid from which pearls soar aloft [in place of vapour]. He rides in a chariot of clouds with dragons for his team, and floats above the Great Purity.²—*Shên hsien chuan* 神仙傳, iv, 2 seq.

After the Worthies of the Prince of Huai-nan the next group in our series seems to be the one alluded to in the second century treatise *Mou Tzŭ li huo* 牟子理惑, recently translated by M. Pelliot under the title "Meou-tseu ou Les doutes levés".³ The passage may, however, point back across and even beyond the four hundred years separating its writer from the Prince. It mentions certain *Records of the Eight Immortals* 八仙之錄, and specifies Wang Ch'iao 王喬 and Ch'ih Sung 赤松 as members of the group. Both these names occur in the oldest legends of Taoist saints; at least, it may truly be said so of the latter, who is presumably the Ch'ih-sung Tzŭ written about in the *Lieh hsien chuan* of Liu Hsiang 劉向. That famous classic of Taoist hagiology contains also a notice of Wang-tzŭ Ch'iao

feat was performed by the first so-called Taoist pope, Chang Tao-ling. Compare also a note in a book ascribed to a third century author which recounts the powers of a number of Taoist magicians who lived under the Emperor Wu Ti of the Wei dynasty: 出入不由門戶 "They go in and out without using the doors".—*Po yü chih* 博物志, v, 1.

¹ According to the list given in the *Tz'ü yüan*, they are: cinnabar, realgar, copper carbonate, sulphur, mica, ? sal ammoniac, nitre, and ochre.

² Taoists distinguish "Three Purities" 三清, each being the abode of *hsien*: (1) "Jade Purity" 玉清; (2) "Upper Purity" 上清; (3) "Great Purity" 太清. The last, according to Ko Hung, is forty li above the earth and of crystalline hardness.

³ *T'oung Pao*, xix, 255-433.

王子喬, in which he is described as the heir to King Ling 靈 (571-545 B.C.). M. Pelliot has discussed the identities of Wang Ch'iao and Wang-tzŭ Ch'iao,¹ and therefore I will only remark that reason may be shown for taking the first two characters of the name Wang-tzŭ Ch'iao to mean merely "Son of the king", and that Wang Ch'iao and Wang-tzŭ Ch'iao figure in art as two separate and different entities. The former is depicted carried through the air with each foot on a wild duck, while the latter rides a crane (or phoenix) and plays the reed-organ of which he was so fond. The surmise may be hazarded that from the context of this passage by the Philosopher Mou one is justified in regarding the 八仙 used there as a sort of collective term for *hsien* in general.

The next known group in chronological sequence of record is probably the Eight *Hsien* of Shu 蜀之八仙, alluded to in the *Annals of Shu* 蜀紀 by Ch'iao Hsiu 譙秀 of the Chin dynasty (A.D. 265-419). The passage, as quoted in the *Tz'ü yüan*, runs as follows:—

The Eight *Hsien* of Shu are these: Jung Ch'êng Kung 容成公, the hermit of Hung-mêng 鴻濛, now called Ch'ing-ch'êng Shan² 青城山. The next is Li Êrh 李耳, born in Shu. The third is Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒, also a hermit of the Ch'ing-ch'êng Mountain. The fourth is Chang Tao-ling 張道陵, associated with what is now called Hao-ming Kuan 鶴鳴觀. The fifth is Chuang Chün-p'ing 莊君平, the diviner of Ch'êng-tu 成都. The sixth is Li Pa-po 李八百, at the Lung-mên Grotto in Hsin-tu 新都. The seventh is Fan Ch'ang-shêng 范長生 of the Ch'ing-ch'êng Mountain. The eighth is the Master Êrh Chu 爾朱先生 of Ya-chou 雅州. Votaries have painted pictures of the Eight.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 406, 407.

² This famous mountain is south-west of Ch'êng-tu. It is called the "administrative centre of the *hsien*" 神仙都會之府, and it was the fifth in the series of the Ten Mysterious Palaces of Celestial Places 十洞天. v. Chavannes, *Mém. conc. l'Asie Or.*, iii, 132, 137 seq.

It will be noted that all these *hsien*, except one or two, lived in Han times or earlier. A short biography of Jung Ch'êng Kung appears in the old *Lieh hsien chuan*. Said to have been a minister of state under the Yellow Emperor, he again appeared to mortal ken in the reign of King Mu (1001-946 B.C.). Li Êrh are the family and personal names respectively of Lao Tzŭ. Accounts do not agree that he was born in Shu. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien says his native place was in the township of K'u 苦, and critics place this in modern Anhui. Tung Chung-shu, according to the *Ch'ien Han shu* 前漢書, was native of a town now known as Tsao-chiang 棗強 in Chihli. About 150 B.C. his scholarly attainments brought him the post of Doctor at the Academy of Learning. Chang Tao-ling is famed as the first Celestial Preceptor 天師. He was born A.D. 34 at a spot now included in Chehkiang. Ko Hung says: "Hearing that the people of Shu were simple, honest folk, easy to teach and convert, and that there were in that region many celebrated mountains, he departed thither with his disciples, and settled on the Crane's Call Mountain."—*Shên hsien chuan*, iv, 8. Chuang Chün-p'ing lived at the beginning of the Christian era. He used to tell fortunes in the market-place of Ch'êng-tu. "As soon as he had taken a hundred cash he would shut up shop and let down the blind, and spend the rest of the day studying the works of Lao Tzŭ."—v. *Chi shuo ch'üan chên*, 216. Chuang, being the personal name of Han Ming Ti, was taboo, and therefore the diviner's name is generally written Yen, as in the next list, p. 405. The account given of Li Pa-po in the later *Lieh hsien chuan* says that he lived for eight hundred years under the Hsia, Shang, and Chou dynasties, and that he never moved without travelling eight hundred *li*. At times he would retire as a hermit into mountain forests, at others he would make his home amid the hurly-burly of the markets. According to the *Ssŭ-ch'uan t'ung chih* 四川通志, xxxviii, 1, Ch'ang-shêng, "Long-life," was the name given as a mark of respect to Fan Yu 范友 by his fellow-countrymen of

Shu. His *tsǔ* was Tzǔ-yüan 子元; he was a native of Fou-ling 涪陵. He mixed in worldly affairs, and is said to have refused an offer of the throne when the third ruler of the Ch'êng 成 State took possession of Ch'êng-tu in 303. The latter at his instigation assumed the imperial title, and appointed Fan Yu a Minister of State, conferring on him a marquisate and the title "Grand Preceptor of Heaven and Earth" 天地太師. I have not been able to trace the Master Êrh Chu.

There is another list which differs little from that of the Eight *Hsien* of Shu just quoted. The passage recording it provides the interesting information that this particular group was recognized in the tenth century; for the Mêng Ch'ang 孟昶 referred to was the second ruler of a small state in the central part of modern Szechwan, and he surrendered in A.D. 965 to the forces of the founder of the Sung dynasty. It runs as follows:—

Tradition accounts the Eight *Hsien* to be Chung-li Ch'üan, Lü Tung-pin, and the rest. Now, the Taoist priest Chang Su-ch'ing¹ 張素卿 presented to Mêng Ch'ang of the Later Shu State 後蜀 a picture of the Eight *Hsien* on the anniversary of his birthday. It portrayed Li Êrh, Jung Ch'êng, Tung Chung-shu, Chang Tao-ling, Yen Chün-p'ing, Li Pa-po, Fan Ch'ang-shou 范長壽, and Ko Yung-k'uei² 葛永瓚. For particulars see *Mao t'ing k'o hua* 茅亭客話 by Huang Hsiu-fu 黃休復, and *T'u hua chien wên chih* 圖畫見聞志, in which Li O³ 李阿 and Ch'ang-shou Hsien

¹ "Famous for his paintings of Taoist philosophers and divinities"—Waley, *Index of Chinese Artists*, 5 (London, 1922). Dr. Giles has kindly called my attention to what must be almost a contemporary notice of his work and this picture in particular in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi* 太平廣記, cexiv, 3. Here the list of the Eight *Hsien* has Li I 李己 instead of Li Êrh.

² Lived in the third century A.D., assuming that the identification of him with Ko Hsien-wêng 葛仙翁 be correct. In the prefecture of Ch'êng-tu there is a hill named after him, from which, so the legend goes, he ascended on high as a *hsien*. v. *Chi shuo ch'üan chên*, 216.

³ There is an article on Li O in *Shên hsien chuan*, x, 4. He used to frequent the market-places of Ch'êng-tu. Generation after generation saw him still young and showing no sign of old age.

長壽仙 are given [instead of the names Li Erh and Fan Ch'ang-shou].—Chü i lu 居易錄, quoted in *Yen pu tsa chi* 簫曝雜記, vi, 16.

An echo of the old tradition is traceable in the name of the eighth century coterie of bibulous *littérateurs* styled the Eight Immortals of the Wine Cup, and *Biographies of the Eight Immortals* is the recorded title of a book belonging to about the same period. Both were alluded to in my former article (p. 776). Tu Fu 杜甫, the contemporary of Li Po who was one of the famous coterie, wrote a poem called *The Song of the Eight Immortals of Drinking*.¹

M. Pelliot cites an inventory of a picture collection of the Southern Sung dynasty (1127-1278), in which eight scrolls are catalogued as representing the Eight Immortals painted by the eleventh century artist Sun Chih-wei 孫知微. He also refers to a passage mentioning in the middle of the twelfth century a 八仙圖.²

Perhaps for some hundreds of years the Eight Immortals tradition had no wide popularity. In support of this conjecture may be advanced the fact that the conception (except in the guise of the drunken coterie mentioned above) is missing from the great collection of numerical categories³ compiled by the thirteenth century writer Wang Ying-lin 王應麟. Then, towards the end of the Ming period an historical critic of note, Hu Ying-lin 胡應麟, discussed the legend as if it was of no great importance nor established antiquity. The same attitude of somewhat careless contempt towards Taoist tales, so characteristic of Confucian scholars, is shown in the following essay published in 1790. The writer is Chao I 趙翼. There are several well-known books from his pen besides the one in which this appears.

¹ v. *Tu Shao-ling ch'üan chi hsiang chü* 杜少陵全集詳註, i, 17 seq.

² *Loc. cit.*, 404, 405.

³ Entitled *Hsiao hsüeh kan chü*, v. *sup.*, p. 398.

⁴ v. *Giles, Biog. Dict.*, 2253.

⁵ He took his second degree between 1573 and 1620.

The popular tradition, handed down for generations, speaks of the Eight Immortals as Han Chung-li, Chang Kuo-lao, Han Hsiang Tzū, T'ieh-kuai Li, Ts'ao Kuo-chiu, Lü Tung-pin, and two female *hsien*—Lan Ts'ai-ho and Ho Hsien-ku. Such books as the *T'ai p'ing kuang chi* and the *Shên hsien t'ung chien* 神仙通鑑, while recording the lives of *hsien*, do not provide detailed particulars, nor make mention of the so-called "Eight Immortals".¹

Hu Ying-lin states that stories of the Eight Immortals as a collective group date from the Yüan period. The teachings of Wang Chung-yang² 王重陽 were then greatly in vogue; Chung-li was entitled Chêng-yang 正陽, and Tung-pin Shun-yang 純陽, Ho Hsien-ku being a disciple of the latter. Such was the origin from which developed, by the addition of other persons from time to time, the group under its present designation. There is a play acted at the present time, entitled *The Eight Immortals going to worship the Star of Longevity*. This is derived from an ancient text of the Yüan dynasty, so that there are good grounds for the view that the legend of the Eight Immortals originated in that period. Among the Eight are several persons who appear in the dynastic histories; but the rest of them are only to be found here and there in fiction and works of imagination.

While many of the wild unrealities described cannot be accepted as based on actual fact, yet we may pick out passages affording evidence of historical authenticity [for some of the Eight]. With regard to Chang Kuo, for instance, see the *Old T'ang History* 舊唐書 on the twenty-second year of the

¹ Though true in regard to the Yüan group, this statement ignores the notice in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, referred to in note 1 on p. 405, concerning the older Shu group. The oversight is strange, especially since the notice is headed "Pictures of the Eight Immortals".

² The name by which Wang Chê 王嘉 was generally known. He was the famous Taoist who drew many disciples to his headquarters at a monastery in Shantung, and became the founder of a Northern School of esoteric Taoism. He is said to have been a pupil of Lü Tung-pin; but, since he lived in the twelfth century, the tradition can hardly have an historical basis. There is no reason to doubt that one of his pupils was Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un 邱長春, so renowned for his great journey at the age of over seventy across China to Jinghiz Khan's camp near the borders of India. His success in turning the Khan to more humane ways is an instance of the moral force of Taoist teachings too seldom recognized.

k'ai-yüan period [A.D. 784], where it is recorded that the Master Chang Kuo 張果先生 of Hêng Chou¹ 恒州 had conferred on him the title Silver-and-Blue Kuang-lu Ta Fu² 光祿大夫, besides the designation (*hao*) of T'ung-yüan Hsien-shêng 通元先生.³

For Chung-li Ch'üan see the biography of Ch'ên T'uan 陳搏 in the *Sung History* 宋史. It is narrated there that once, when Ch'ên Yao-tzū 陳堯咨 was visiting T'uan, he found a Taoist with his hair done up in ancient fashion⁴ already seated in the guest's place. Yao-tzū inquired privily of Ch'ên who the Taoist was. Ch'ên replied—The Philosopher Chung-li⁵ 鍾離子. In the biography of Wang Lao-chih⁶ 王老志 there is mention of a beggar, calling himself The Master Chung-li, who presented Lao-chih with some of the magic drug 丹. Having swallowed it, the latter lost his reason, and left his home, abandoning his wife and children.

¹ The modern Ta-t'ung 大同 in Shansi.

² "Under the Ch'in and the Han dynasties the emblem of a Kuang-lu Ta Fu was of silver and had a blue cord. Under the Chin 晉 dynasty senior and junior grades of this rank were instituted, one receiving the insignia of a gold seal with a purple cord, the other that of the Kuang-lu Ta Fu as of old. The Southern Ch'i dynasty was the first to use the titles 'Gold-and-Purple Kuang-lu Ta Fu' and 'Silver-and-Blue Kuang-lu Ta Fu', and succeeding dynasties continued the names, until the Ming who abolished them."—*Tz'ü yüan* under 銀青. The late Manchu dynasty retained the title Kuang-lu Ta Fu as the first grade of the highest of the titles of honour 封贈.

³ The passage quoted is to be found in viii, 23. References in these notes to the dynastic histories are to the 1878 edition.

⁴ v. *inf.*, p. 416.

⁵ The biography referred to is in *Sung shih*, colvii, 2-4; but it does not contain this passage. Ch'ên T'uan was a famous Taoist magician who was unable to talk till the age of four or five when a river sprite suckled him. Thenceforth he exhibited supernatural powers. He was the object of imperial interest under several of the Five Dynasties, and we read the usual tales of his ignoring summonses to Court or obeying them in that off-hand manner characteristic of his kind. Later, the first two Sung emperors requested his attendance and when at last he responded he indulged in his peculiar propensity for going into a trance lasting a month or more. He is said to have departed this world about A.D. 990 at the age of 118. Two works on alchemy in the Taoist Canon (Wieger, Nos. 131, 132) are attributed to him. In pictorial art he is often represented riding on a mule, and so might be mistaken for Chang Kuo.

⁶ *Sung shih*, colxii, 8.

With regard to Lü Tung-pin, look again at Ch'ên T'uan's biography, where he is described as a native of Kuan-hsi¹ 關西 living in retirement. He was versed in sword magic, and lived to be more than a hundred. His steps were light and nimble, and he could travel several hundred *li* in an instant of time. He frequently visited T'uan at his library.² These three men are all to be found in the dynastic histories, so we may perhaps lend credence to what is said about them.

Han Hsiang Tzū is reputed to have been a grand-nephew of Han Ch'ang-li³ 韓昌黎, the same to whom is addressed Han's poem about his banishment beyond the Lan Pass. But the poem does not contain a word about his possessing any powers of Taoistic magic. Such books as the *Yu yang tsu tsu*⁴ 酉陽雜俎 and *Ch'ing so kao i* 青瑣高議, when referring to this poem, contain the gloss that Hsiang was able to cause flowers to spring up, and made appear on their petals a couplet conveying allusions to the Ch'in Mountains and the Lan Pass in anticipation of the event; that is, before his uncle had been exiled.⁵ When the uncle actually did come to the Lan Pass and Hsiang turned up there too, the former was able to complete the poem.

According to the genealogical tables of the ministers of the T'ang dynasty, Hsiang was the son of Lao Ch'êng 老成. (Note.—There is a poem of Ch'ang-li's addressed to his brother's son, Lao Ch'êng.) Hsiang took the doctor's degree and was appointed an Assistant in the Grand Court of Revision in the third year of the *ch'ang-ch'ing* period [A.D. 823]. There is no mention at first of his having strange magical powers. But there is a stanza by Ch'ang-li addressed to a certain cousin⁶ at Hsü-chou 徐州. It runs as follows:—

¹ In Shensi.

² The passage is in *Sung shih*, colvii, 2. In the original it says: "He lived to be more than a hundred, yet had the face of a youth."

³ Ch'ang-li is the *hao* of Han Yü, and is derived from the name of the ancestral home of his family in Chihli.

⁴ This book was written by a contemporary of Han Yü. v. Wylie, *Notes on Chin. Lit.*, 193, 2nd ed.

⁵ This applies only to the *Ch'ing so kao i*. The *Yu yang tsu tsu*, xix, 4, makes the miracle take place after Han Yü's banishment, which quite spoils the story.

Strictly, son of a male paternal third cousin.

"If you ask who it is that knocks at my door,
I reply that it is a kinsman,
Who claims to have strange magic
And to probe mysteries and to know the workings of
Heaven."¹

The kinsman being a cousin, he could not have been a grand-nephew; and the expressions "probing into mysteries and understanding Heaven's workings" only mean that he was something in the nature of an astrologer, able to tell persons' fortunes. Thus further on in the poem he says:—

"His words betokening a meeting with me in the future
were no flattery."

This must refer to the time when he was acting as an Assistant.

As a matter of fact, Hsiang accompanied Ch'ang-li to Ling-nan [i.e. Kuang-tung]. (Note.—Ch'ang-li has a poem addressed to Hsiang entitled *Passing the night at the mouth of the Tsêng River*. The Tsêng River is the one at Tsêng-ch'êng Hsien in Kuang-chou.) Thus Hsiang was really not able, like the cousin at Hsü-chou, to "understand the workings of Heaven", and we need not waste further time in discussing the gloss on the Lan-t'ien poem² attributing to him feats of wildly improbable magic.

No historical account has anything to say about T'ieh-kuai Li. The biography of Ch'ên Ts'ung-hsin 陳從信 in the *Sung shih*³ mentions a certain Li Pa-po, who called himself Eight-hundred Years 八百歲. Ts'ung-hsin served him with great assiduity in the hope that he would impart his magical arts to him, but in the end learned nothing at all. In the biography of Wei Han-ching 魏漢津 it is recorded that he (i.e. Wei) acknowledged as his preceptor a Li Pa-po⁴ who had lived under the T'ang. The latter imparted

¹ This poem is not included in Han Yü's collected works.

² The town of Lan-t'ien, in the Shensi prefecture of Hsi-an, is near the Ch'in Range.

³ cclxxvi, 14.

⁴ *Sung shih*, cclxii, 7. Here his name is given as Li Liang 李良. It does not appear that Taoist myth claims for him such longevity as to identify him with the Li Pa-po mentioned above, p. 404. The *Sung shih* has this anecdote of him: "Once when passing the Dragon Gate of San-shan, Li Pa-po, hearing the sound of the waters, turned to the bystanders and said that there must be some jade at the bottom. Forthwith he threw off his clothes, plunged into the river and emerged clasping a boulder which turned out to be real jade."

to him the secrets of the alchemist's crucible. So there was a Li Pa-po in the Sung period who was heard and spoken of, but nothing is said about his being lame or having an iron crutch. Hu Ying-lin identifies our *hsien* with Liu the Cripple 劉跛子, mentioned in the *Shên hsien t'ung chien*; but the two surnames, Liu and Li, cannot be thus capriciously imputed to him. The *Hsü t'ung k'ao* 續通考 also speaks of a Sui dynasty (589-618) man whose *ming* was Hung-shui 洪水 and whose child-name was Kuai-érh 拐兒, but without reference to any book as the source of information, so that this identification is just as devoid of foundation as the other.

It has been handed down that Ts'ao Kuo-chiu was the younger brother of the Empress Dowager Ts'ao of the Sung dynasty. According to the *Sung shih*,¹ Ts'ao I 曹佺, a younger brother of the Empress Dowager Tz'ü-shêng Kuang-hsien 慈聖光獻, died at the age of 72. So he does not appear to have succeeded in becoming a *hsien*. Apart from him, no relative of the imperial house studied with a view to *hsienship*, so that this again is a case of reckless hearsay tradition. The *Tao shan ch'ing hua*² 道山清話 records that a certain Yen Shu³ 晏殊 was a re-incarnation of the *hsien* Ts'ao Pa-po 曹八百. The person here referred to as Ts'ao Pa-po can hardly be identified with Kuo-chiu; certainly he was not related to the royal family.

About Ho Hsien-ku the *Liu kung fu shih hua* 劉貢父詩話 says that she was a native of Yung-chou 永州, while the *Hsü t'ung k'ao* declares her to have been born at Tsêng-ch'êng in Kuangtung. Tsêng Ta-ch'ên 曾達臣 in his *Tu hsing tsa chih* 獨醒雜誌⁴ tells us that she lived during the reign of the Emperor Jên-tsung (1022-1063) of the Sung dynasty; on the other hand, the *Hsü t'ung k'ao* states that she belonged to the time of the T'ang Empress Wu (684-705). Some of these tales must be false, because of the wide discrepancies between them.

¹ cexlii, 10.

² A collection of miscellaneous anecdotes. It dates from the Northern Sung dynasty (960-1126), but the author is unknown.

³ According to the *Sung shih*, about A.D. 1004 there was a wonderfully clever youth named Shu 殊, whose *tsü* was T'ung-shu 同叔.

⁴ v. Wylie, *Notes on Chin. Lit.*, 2nd ed., 198.

With regard to Lan Ts'ai-ho, the *T'ai p'ing kuang chi* says that he was usually attired in a ragged blue gown, with one foot shod and the other bare. In summer he wore quilted garments, and in winter he would sleep in the snow. He used to go into the market-places carrying a large pair of castanets, and sing the following in a loud voice:—

"Lan Ts'ai-ho for song and dance, for song and dance!"

How short our sojourn here below!

The ancients have passed away like running water, never to return;

While the men of to-day are pressing on in ever increasing multitude."

Yüan I-shan¹ 元遺山 introduced him into one of his poems; the passage runs:—

"I tremble at the appearance of white hairs even more than P'an Yo² 潘岳;

People laugh at my blue gown—like that of Ts'ai-ho."

He also inscribed the following on a picture of Lan Ts'ai-ho:—

"Long castanets and loud songs are no sure sign of madness.

You, my children, are equally excited in your pursuit of money.

Whenever, then, you meet the old fellow in the blue gown,

Dance a measure with him in the breeze of spring."

This Lan Ts'ai-ho, then, was a male, and therefore the error persisted in of making him appear dressed as a female in present-day plays is highly ridiculous.—*Kai yü ts'ung k'ao* 陔餘叢考, xxxiv, 24 seq.

Readers of the foregoing essay will, no doubt, have formed the opinion that Chao I set out to discredit Taoist legendry. At any rate, it is evident that he did not approach the Eight Immortals in a sympathetic spirit, and the main tenor of his discourse is destructive without attempting to throw light on the human side of conceptions entering widely into the lives of his fellow-countrymen. His attitude is, nevertheless,

¹ According to the biography in his collected works, *I-shan hsien-sheng wen chi* 遺山先生文集, he lived 1190–1257. His hao was Hao-wên 好問.

² A poet and official of the fourth century noted for his beauty.

worthy of study, for it is that of the orthodox scholar of the old type. It illustrates, too, that lack of scientific instinct which strikes some of us in the modern West as so strange. These remarks are far from intending to infer that bigotry and intolerance in religious and imaginative realms are more signal with the Chinese than with us. What is meant is that the Confucianist has not yet taken up the science of folk-lore as an intellectual exercise worthy of his dignity.

Chao I appends to his essay a number of references to books relating to the Yüan group. Unfortunately many of the works are not available in London, but accessible sources have been drawn on for the notes that follow.

The legend about Chung-li Ch'üan, translated in the former article (p. 778) from the *Lieh hsien chuan*, merely says that he was in command of an expedition sent by a Han emperor against the Tibetans who defeated him. Some passages quoted in *Chi shuo ch'üan chên*, 208, date him much more definitely. There it is stated that he was at one time on the staff of the general Chou Ch'u 周處, who, as we know from the *Chin shu* 晉書, served under an emperor of that dynasty during the period A.D. 280-90, and died on the field of battle. The great Han dynasty came to an end in A.D. 220, so that if there be an element of truth in the popular legend it seems more probable that it was under the Minor Han 蜀漢 of the epoch of the Three Kingdoms that Chung-li Ch'üan commanded an army.

Other writers dismiss the tale connecting our *hsien* with a Han dynasty, yet it does not appear that their arguments are conclusive. For example:—

Han Chung-li Ch'üan was a T'ang man, but at the present day he is erroneously identified with the Han general Chung-li Mei 鍾離昧. This is, however, a mistake. The aforesaid Han Chung-li is the name of a place, not of a man.—*Ting é tsa lu* 訂譌雜錄, iii, 2.

The dictionary *Tz'ü yüan* has the following entry under Han Chung-li:—

Chung-li Yün-fang, whose personal name was Ch'üan, was a *hsien* at the time of the T'ang dynasty and a contemporary of Lü Yen 呂巽 . . . At the present day men call him Han Chung-li. This is due to the character "Han" having been erroneously connected with what follows; and consequently a legend has arisen identifying Chung-li Ch'üan with the Han general Chung-li Mei. Moreover, Han Chung-li is the name of a place, not that of a man. To give an example, the following lines occur in a poem by Tu Fu 杜甫: "I have lately heard that my younger sister, Madame Wei, has been welcomed in Han Chung-li."

It is not easy to follow the line of reasoning. Perhaps the argument is that our *hsien* was actually one named Ch'üan, a native of Han Chung-li. That this combination of names led to confusion with the famous Han general Chung-li Mei, and so the *hsien* figures in legend at one stage of his career as a Han general. There is, however, another clue to the riddle; and it is to be found in the famous Sung catalogue of handwriting entitled *Hsüan-ho shu p'u* 宣和書譜. The book is alluded to in the above passage from the *Tz'ü yüan*, but, since it is there misquoted, I have omitted the sentence from the translation. The statement that the *hsien* himself claimed to have been born under the Han may but refer to one of those instances of Taoists dating back their births to a fabulous antiquity; so that this claim in itself presents no great obstacle to the theory that our *hsien* was actually a contemporary of Lü Tung-pin. Here is the passage in the catalogue:

The Master Chung-li is a *hsien*, whose date is unknown. His personal name is Ch'üan. From time to time he appears, and mixes in mundane affairs. He himself declared that he was born under the Han dynasty. Lü Tung-pin held him in reverence, following him as a disciple. A collection has been made of their dialogues and poems.

He is portrayed as a fine and dignified old man; sometimes with high hat and purple robes [such as persons of distinction wear]; sometimes with curly beard and shaggy whiskers, his hair twisted into a coil on either side of his uncapped head, his

skin tattooed and his feet bare. With proud mien he stands a tall and comely figure. Of a truth his glance soars above the Four Seas and wanders beyond the limits of earthly horizons. Chung-li styled himself "An unofficial personage in the capital of the empire" 天下都散漢 and the "Untrammelled One".

He wrote in running script:—

"The exalted monk who has *Tao* attained is hard to find:

O when! O when! shall I go back to join him?"

These lines are traced with no ordinary penmanship; their forms are light and delicate as vapours that float upward and mingle with the clouds.

Besides these lines he composed in the seventh month of the seventh year of the *yüan-yü* period [A.D. 1092] four cantos addressed to Wang Ting-kuo¹ 王定國 mainly on the profound and earnest study concerned with the quest of longevity and the Philosopher's Stone. The poem is well worthy of careful perusal. At the end the writer discusses his own calligraphy and declares it to be derived from his study of the sinuosities of dragons and serpents, and the connoisseur will not question the truth of this statement.

At present the collection in the imperial gallery contains one example of Chung-li's running hand, and that is the poem addressed to Wang Ting-kuo.—*Hsüan-ho shu p'u*, xix, 18.

All that has been said in these notes about Chung-li Ch'üan leaves him a very hazy figure historically. But we will not, like Wang Ying-lin, because proof is lacking of his substantial existence dismiss him as unworthy of our serious regard. He is, indeed, a very real and tangible personality in the mythic fancy of the Chinese, and we may be sure that the conception arose from definite origin and sufficient cause. Assuming that his mortal prototype was a contemporary of Lü Tung-pin, and assuming, too, that the bronze mirror we are about to discuss is justly assigned to the Sung period, we may recognize the myth being represented pictorially at an

¹ The date here given indicates that this Wang Ting-kuo cannot be the famous statesman of that name who lived 962-1024, unless the poem was dedicated to him after his death.

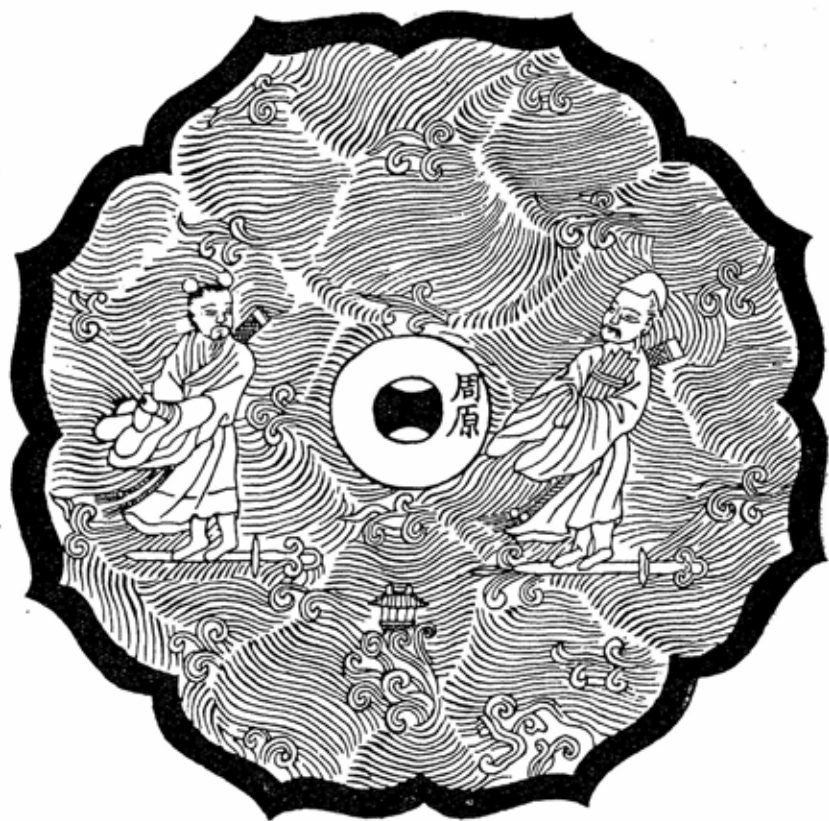
early stage in its career. This opportunity is all the more welcome because several times in the foregoing pages instances have been given of the Eight Immortals manifested in the folk-art as well as the folk-lore of the country. But all these have been mere written allusions to pictures. Here is an actual design cut in wood taken from that well-known catalogue of antiquities called *Chin shih so* 金石索. It portrays a bronze mirror said by the compilers of the work to belong to Sung times. This is their comment :—

The picture on the mirror shows the two *hsien* Chung-li and Lü Tsu crossing the water, each standing on a sword. In the midst of the sea a pavilion is poised on the crest of a wave. Within the circular space surrounding the central knob are inscribed in intaglio two characters Chou Yüan—doubtless the man who cast the mirror.

There can be no doubt that the compilers of the *Chin shih so* were justified in their identification of the figures. The presentment of the Patriarch Lü will be discussed later. Chung-li Ch'üan is recognizable by his association with Lü Tung-pin, by the mode in which his hair is dressed, and by the indication of a fan in his left hand. This gathering of the hair into two coils, one on either side of the head, is characteristic of Chung-li Ch'üan. It was an ancient practice to cut short a child's hair with exception of two tufts. The tufts were kept till the parents died as reminders of filial obligations. On the death of the father the right one was cut off; on the mother's death the left.¹ Perhaps this custom of antiquity was the origin of the kind of *coiffure* affected by Chung-li Ch'üan and, according to pictures, by other *hsien* too. In the Sung period it was considered an out-of-date fashion; but, as has been remarked, it was often the foible of eminent Taoists to associate themselves with the distant past.

No better argument could be found for the substantial nature of our *hsien*, whether he be the product of mythic

¹ c. Cuvreur, *Li Ki*, i, 629 seq. Also v. *Shih ching*, i, iv, 1.



BACK OF A SUNG MIRROR.

(From *Chin shih so.*)

fancy or of a lingering legend about an actual man, than this very human and real figure reproduced from a supplement to the well-known picture-book *Chieh tzü yüan* 芥子園. Certainly there is no hint of the warrior about his jovial and well-nourished person.

Accounts of Lü Tung-pin's parentage and birth-place are varied and conflicting, and there is no space for them here, even if to detail them might serve a useful purpose. Many are to be found quoted in Father Huang's compilation mentioned on p. 399. We have seen that Wang Ying-lin passes Lü by with a shrug; yet the student may find in the volumes devoted to him much sound historical evidence of a kind. It is evidence of modes of thought and action prevailing among the shapers and transmitters of the legend, who thus unconsciously hold up a mirror reflecting the religion and manners of their own times.

If we seek to prove that a mortal prototype of the Lü Tung-pin legend actually existed and was born towards the end of the eighth century, probably one of the strongest arguments that could be advanced is a pictorial one. In the *Burlington Magazine* for September of last year I attempted to trace the graphic tradition of this *hsien* from its supposed beginning in a contemporary portrait, through a series of intermediate pictures, down to one dated 1901—all strikingly alike in design. The first is attributed to the artist T'êng Ch'ang-yu 滕昌祐, and shows our *hsien* apparently aged between sixty and seventy. It is a masterly drawing with an air of reality that convincingly proclaims it a portrait drawn from life. A discussion and reproduction of it may be found in the first volume of *Ars Asiatica* jointly written by the late MM. Chavannes and Petrucci. Data are there given (p. 11) which indicate no chronological inconsistency in attributing a portrait from the living model to the brush of T'êng Ch'ang-yu. It is known that T'êng was alive in 881 and that he lived to be more than fourscore and five. The very fact that this picture has been perpetuated unchanged in all

鍾離權



CHUNG-LI CH'ÜAN.

(From Supplement to *Chieh tsü yüan*.)

essentials down to the present day is in itself a strong presumption that its subject was a real man. It manifests that purely indigenous art of China concerned in portraying national heroes with characteristic conservatism and unswerving fidelity to tradition.

The latest of the series described in the *Burlington Magazine* was in 1901 incised on a stone stele and set up at Yo-chou 岳州 in a three-storied tower, the Yo-yang Lou 岳陽樓, one of the buildings celebrated in Chinese essay and poem. Yo-chou is closely associated with the Lü Tung-pin legend. There is a popular rhyme about the *hsien's* visits to this locality. It runs:—

Thrice he came to Yo-yang and men did not know him,
Chanting aloud, he flew across the Tung-t'ing Lake.

三到岳陽人不識
朗吟飛過洞庭湖

In the former article (p. 797) it is told how Lü spent four centuries wandering about China, Yo-chou being one of his haunts. Several visits made there under assumed names are narrated in the book of his exploits entitled *Lü Tsu ch'üan shu* 呂祖全書. On one of these occasions he paid his respects to the prefect T'êng Tsung-liang 滕宗諒, who being favourably impressed by his appearance and conversation, caused a portrait of his visitor to be painted and set up in the Yo-yang Lou. The tale ends with a note that this was the beginning of the portraits of the Patriarch exhibited in the Tower.¹ The point is interesting, because this part of the story may be actual fact. In the *Sung shih*, cciii, 3, there is a biography of the prefect from which we can derive his date, since he is described as a contemporary of Fan Chung-yen 范仲淹, and the latter lived 989–1052.²

The Yo-yang Lou has been destroyed from time to time, and doubtless with it the portraits of the Patriarch perished.

¹ v. *Lü Tsu ch'üan shu*, ii, 9.

² Giles, *Biog. Dict.*, 535.

But it seems that memory linking him with the spot has been kept alive by the provision of fresh portraits whenever the Tower has been restored. Another presentment of Lü is now preserved there besides his traditional portrait above mentioned, and, like it, is incised on a stone slab. It was painted by one Wang Ch'i 王詰 in 1864. The story told in the accompanying inscription is worth relating. Wang was wishful to paint the Patriarch Lü, but all the portraits he could find showed him with calabash and magic sword, looking far too much like a knight-errant to suit his fancy. One night lying slightly indisposed he dreamed he saw a Taoist holding in his hand an enormous date. Wang asked the apparition his name; but he answered not, merely pointing to two cash hanging from his girdle. When Wang awoke he was much puzzled as to the meaning of his dream. The governor heard of it, and gave the following explanation. The two cash mean two square holes, which allude to the form of the name Lü 呂, and the date refers to an old pavilion called "Fairy Date Pavilion" 仙棗亭 then in need of restoration. Thus the Patriarch had at the same time manifested himself to his artist votary, and expressed his desire for the rebuilding of the Taoist shrine. Wang's picture shows him holding a huge date, and differs much from the traditional version of the dignified Lü Tung-pin.

It should be remarked that this play on the form of his name character 呂 was a favourite foible of the Patriarch. Again and again he is described perpetrating a caligraphic pun or anagram by turning the two squares into different characters. For instance, he would call himself 回道士 or 回處士.

Besides his magic two-edged sword the most constant attribute or distinguishing mark of Lü Tung-pin is his cap. Many men of note have given free play to their fancy in regard to their headgear. Tung-pin was more restrained in taste than some of them, and, moreover, he shared his design with a famous contemporary, the poet Po Chü-i 白居易. So

the cap (shown in the wood-cut reproduced opposite p. 789 of the former article) is called after one or other of the two, 純陽巾 or 樂天巾.¹ The one represented on the Sung mirror (p. 417) is evidently intended for this pattern, though so badly is it drawn that it looks at first sight more like a Western schoolboy's cricket cap. At any rate, it is this peculiar cap that makes the identification of the figure on the mirror most certain.

Wide discrepancies in respect of time and place are found when one compares the popular account of Ho Hsien-ku as contained in the modern *Lieh hsien chuan* and the following story narrating her encounter with Lü Tung-pin. In this her date is given about a century later than in the other, and her native town is fixed in a neighbouring province some 250 miles distant from Canton. There seems little to suggest a historical basis for the myth of Ho Hsien-ku.

To the student of folk-lore this tale will be of special interest, since it exhibits the world-wide theme of supernatural lapse of time. Generally the mortal is summoned to perform some service for the superhuman denizens of a mysterious Otherworld. Or else he or she is drawn by curiosity, greed, love of pleasure, or perhaps unconsciously by a spell to enter their domain. Not only is the enchanted person prevented from returning to ordinary mundane existence, but remains, while under the spell, unconscious of the flight of time and immune from its ravages.

The theme occurs in a number of Taoist legends, and I fancy it may be claimed that they constitute a distinct type possessing a characteristic feature. Stories of supernatural lapse of time all over the world commonly tell of return to the inevitable fate of mortals so soon as the spell has been removed. When the human being re-enters natural life his bodily frame quickly assumes a condition more or less compatible with the actual flight of time that has occurred unknown to him during his enchantment. If in reality a lifetime has passed

¹ r. *San ts'ai t'u hui* 三才圖會, Section on Dress, i, 23.

while he was in fairyland, he emerges a tottering grey-beard; if centuries have sped by, he promptly crumbles into a heap of dust. Such a fate would, of course, be out of place when Taoistic magic is concerned, and we see devotees of *Tao* regaining home and human society very little changed since they left the world of mortals. The spell on Ho Hsien-ku imposed by Lü Tung-pin with his magic peach lasted but a month, and hence the instance is not a typical one. A better example is the well-known tale of Wang Chih 王質, the Chinese Rip van Winkle, who returned after centuries to his native place, and, saddened by the disappearance of his former associations, retired to the mountains and became a *hsien* presumably in a condition far more youthful and vigorous than that of his Western counterpart. The story of the female member of the group of Eight is published as one of the episodes in the career of Lü Tung-pin. It runs as follows:—

Ho Hsien-ku was a girl who frequented the markets and streets of Ling-ling 零陵 [forming the prefectural city of Yung-chou 永州 in Hunan]. At the age of thirteen she accompanied a girl friend into the hills to pluck leaves of the tea-plant.¹ All at once she missed her companion, but walked on alone. When it came to retracing her footsteps she lost the way. At this juncture she spied standing at the foot of the eastern peak a man with long beard and purple eyes, wearing a tall cap on his head and dressed in cheap garments. This was none other than the Patriarch Lü. To him Hsien-ku humbly made obeisance again and again. The Patriarch gave her a peach. "Eat it all," said he, "and some day the time will come for you to soar on high, otherwise your abode will still be here on earth."

As soon as Hsien-ku had finished eating the fruit, the Patriarch pointed out to her the way back, and she returned home. According to her own account she had stopped away but one day, and she was not aware that a whole month had passed. From that time onward she felt no hunger, and menstruation ceased. Understanding profoundly the affairs of mortals, she was able to foresee human joy and tribulation.

¹ Tea entered into the composition of many Taoist nostrums.

In course of time she gained release from the trammels of the flesh (*shih chieh* 尸解).¹—*Lü Tsu ch'üan shu*, ii, 38.

The same tradition in briefer and less complete form is found in *Ming i t'ung chih* 明一統志:—

In her youth Ho Hsien-ku met a magician 異人, who gave her a peach to eat. Having done so, she felt no hunger. She had the power of foreknowing the misfortunes and happinesses of mortals.—Quoted in *Chi shuo ch'üan chên*, 214.

Another account from the book devoted to topics connected with Lü Tung-pin is as follows:—

Hsien-ku went into the hills to gather tea, and there she chanced to meet the Patriarch Lü, who imparted to her methods of cultivating vitality 修養. Moreover, he gave her some of the Drug of Immortality 金丹, which she swallowed. He took her to see the Patriarch Chung 鍾祖, and led her to the Isle of P'êng-lai 蓬萊.² There she paid homage to Mu Kung 木公 and Chin Mu 金母.³ Chin Mu carried her back with her to the Gardens of Boundless Space,⁴

¹ See note in former article, p. 783.

² One of the Isles of the Blest in the Eastern Sea. P'êng-lai is the most famous of the group; indeed, its name is often used alone to represent this ocean paradise myth of the Taoists. It seems that P'êng-lai is exalted above its fellows; for according to the Record of the Ten Islands 十洲記 it is accessible only to those *hsien* who can fly, and in palaces of heavenly splendour crowning its peaks live some who rank among the holiest of adepts 太上真人. It is the home, too, of the "Nine Ancient Worthies" 九老丈人. v. Yetts, *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 35-62.

³ Names for Tung Wang Fu 東王父 and Hsi Wang Mu 西王母 respectively, who in Taoist mythology appear to be male and female embodiments of cosmic forces, and also to exercise special control over the destinies of mortals at the time when they attain the goal of *hsien*ship. These two early provided a subject for pictorial representation, as exemplified in the Shantung sculptures and in the decoration of several Han mirrors reproduced in *Chin shih* so.

⁴ Lang Yüan 閼苑, one of the terrestrial abodes of *hsien*. In the famous art catalogue of the Emperor Hui Tsung (A.D. 1101-26) entitled *Hsüan ho hua p'ü* 宣和畫譜, there is mention of Yüan Kao 阮告 as painting pictures of female *hsien* and landscapes of the Jasper Pool (Yao Ch'ih 瑤池) and the Lang Yüan. The Jasper Pool is one of the wonders of the fairyland in the K'un-lun Mountains 崑崙山 presided

and set her to sweep up leaves fallen from trees of the magic peach 蟠桃. Hsien-ku appeared from time to time among mortals.—*Lü Tzu ch'üan shu*, ii, 38 seq.

Oral tradition provides an explanation of the ladle which is the recognized attribute of Ho Hsien-ku. The girl had a stepmother who dealt harshly with her and kept her toiling beyond her strength at menial domestic duties. It will be recalled that the popular account tells how as the result of a dream Hsien-ku vowed never to marry.¹ The prospect of the hated daughter remaining permanently at home embittered the parent still more and resulted in further ill-usage. In spite of this treatment Hsien-ku behaved with such exemplary filial piety that Lü Tung-pin was moved to come and rescue her from her miserable servitude. One day he arrived and found her busy at work in the kitchen, and as he carried her away to paradise she still grasped in her hand the ladle which she was using at the time.²

There are variations to the tale of Li T'ieh-kuai, Li of the Iron Crutch, as told in its most popular form in the former article. One legend says that his *ming* was K'ung-mu 孔目, and that he had a diseased foot. The Fairy Queen Hsi Wang Mu 西王母 admitted him to the celestial paradise of the *hsien* and gave him official status there, bestowing on him an iron crutch. Li had previously met Chung-li Ch'üan (who is described there as a Han general), and had been invested by him with a Taoist title. Another account calls him Li Ning-yang 李凝陽, and gives fuller details about his *hun* revitalizing the cripple's corpse.³

One version of the Eight Immortals group gives him

over by Hsi Wang Mu. Both Yao Ch'ih and Lang Yüan occur frequently in the euphemistic phraseology of poets and essayists. They are, for instance, used as names for Peking.

¹ v. former article, 782.

² v. Wilhelm, *Chinesische Volksmärchen*, 74 (Jena, 1919).

³ For the foregoing see the passages quoted in *Chi shuo ch'üan chên*, 215.

the name Li Yüan-chung 李元中. From the same source comes the information that Li Yüan-chung lived in the T'ang period between the years 713 and 779, and that he studied *Tao* for forty years on Mount Chung-nan 終南, the famous resort near Ch'ang-an of Taoists and other recluses. The account says:—

His *yang* spirit left its carnal tenement, which [afterwards in the spirit's absence] was eaten by a tiger. So the spirit took possession of the body of a crippled beggar, who had just died, and made that its abode—nobody realizing what had happened.—*Shih wu yüan hui*, quoted in *Chi shuo ch'üan chên*, 214.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

THE NAME OF CARCHEMISH

An article by Lieut.-Colonel L. A. Waddell, in the last number of the *Journal* (*JRAS.*, 1922, p. 267), on "The Oropus title of Carchemish", seems to me to call for a reply.

Colonel Waddell states that "the usual Greek and Greco-Roman name for the strategic town occupying the site of the old sacred city of Carchemish was 'Hierapolis', which Greek name is generally assumed to be the source of the modern name by which the site is known to the Arabs—'Jerablus.'" This is not correct. So far from being "usual", the name is not supported by any literary or archaeological evidence; that it ever was applied to the site is a mere theory based on the resemblance between the words "Jerablus" and "Hierapolis", and Dr. Hogarth has shown (*Carchemish*, pt. i, pp. 21 *seq.*) that the derivation is unnecessary.

Colonel Waddell then finds another origin for "Jerablus" and for "Europus", in the name of a Homeric warrior whom he cites as "Europylos chief of the Ketei". To obtain this result (a) he assumes that the people whom he calls "Ketei" (Homer calls them Keteioi) are the Hatti; (b) he assumes that the "Ketei" leader is named after the "Ketei" capital, stating that Homer commonly gives a chief the name of his principal town, and that "Europylos" in Greek means "wide-gated", and could only be applied to a city. It would be difficult to parallel from Homer the alleged Homeric usage. Unfortunately, too, "Europylos," which looks so attractively like "Europus", but does not mean "wide-gated" in Greek, is a pure invention of Colonel Waddell's—Homer calls the chief "Europylos", which means "wide-gated", but cannot be twisted into "Europus". (c) He assumes that the capital of the "Ketei"—Hatti would be Carchemish,—which certainly was not the capital of the Hatti, an Anatolian power whose

chief town was at Boghaz-keui. (d) He assumes that the Seleucid Greeks, finding the name "Europulos" (which he has explained as Greek), could not understand it, and supposing the termination to be Assyrian, dropped it and "Grecianized" the word into "Europus" or "Oropus".

Apparently not quite satisfied with his own explanation, Colonel Waddell goes on to say that more probably the immediate source of the Greek "Oropus" is the Akkado-Assyrian Arba-ilu, and he has "observed some evidence indicating that Arba-ilu was Carchemish". We now have as alternative names for the site Carchemish, Europulos, Arba-ilu, Nana, Ninus, Hierapolis, Europus, and Oropus!

The facts seem to be these. Carchemish, Gargamis, is amply certified as the name of the city throughout the whole Hittite period (v. Hogarth, l.c., p. 14). That this name was retained when the Assyrians dominated the place after 717 B.C. is proved by a neo-Babylonian inscription which I found on the site. From 604 B.C. until the Hellenistic period the site was virtually if not totally uninhabited. Refounded by the Greeks, it was by them called Europus;—not, I think, Oropus—a Greek altar found on the site favours the former version, which is also that preferred by the classical writers; Hogarth has pointed out that "Europus" is probably a Greek approximation to a native name, better represented by the Syriac form Aghropos or Aghripos, which itself may be a survival of "Gargamis"; the fact that the place had lain deserted for more than 300 years, and that the racial and linguistic character of the surrounding population had during that time been considerably modified, would account for the degradation of the old city-name to something more like the Syriac.

"Oropus" I take to be due to a confusion. Hierapolis is Membidj (Bambyce). Even if Dr. Sayce's emendation of Ammianus xiv, 8 (*JRAS.*, 1921, p. 47) be accepted, there is still no need to apply "Hierapolis vetus" to Carchemish, and the adjective is, if anything, against the attribution;

Bambyce, while it may not have been so ancient as Hittite Carchemish, was continuously inhabited before and during the Persian period when Carchemish was unoccupied, and therefore was much older than Greek Europus. "Ninus" in Ammianus goes with Hierapolis, and otherwise see Hogarth's note on the name. Arba-ilu is Arbela. Europulos is nonsense. As to the Shatt el Arab, I fail to see what it can have to do geographically or historically with Europus, or why anyone should seek a recondite explanation of so obvious a name.

C. LEONARD WOOLLEY.

BAGHDAD

The well-documented article in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (i, 563) contains the latest information concerning the pre-Muḥammadan origin of the name *Baghdād*. That this name is of Iranian origin is to be considered as established, and that in, or near, the site chosen by Maṣṣūr there was a locality *Baghdāda* (with slight variations in the spelling of the penultimate and the last syllables) is also admitted on all hands, but the proofs adduced by scholars in this connexion lack some important facts.

1. The "Synodicon Orientale" of the East Syrian (the so-called Nestorian) Church, mentions for the year A.D. 424 a bishop of a town or village¹ of Baghdād, called Yazīd-Bōzīd (vowels uncertain).² An unavoidable misreading by J. B. Chabot, the editor of the Synods, gives the name as Baghrad³; and this error, due to the carelessness of a modern scribe, led the celebrated Syriac scholar to join the substantive *dar* with the proper name Baghdad and transcribe the word as *Darabgerd*.⁴ In 1908 I carefully examined the original MS.

¹ In the text *dār*.

² *Syn. Orient.*, p. 44.

³ The difference is one of a diacritical point between *Dālath* and *Rāish*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

(of about A.D. 800-50) preserved in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, near Alkosh, and noticed that the words are clearly written *Dār Baghdād*, and this error of Chabot's copyist is also noted by the late Bishop A. Scher in his Arabic work, *Histoire de la Chaldée*, 1912, ii, 12. In the year A.D. 775, or less than ten years after its foundation, Baghdad is already known in the book of the Synods as "Baghdad, the city of Peace".¹

2. The name Baghdad was and is borne by some other towns or villages in Mesopotamia. A small ancient town, entirely inhabited by West Syrian Uniates, and situated at a distance of four hours' journey south-east of Mosul, is called even in our days *Baghdaida*,² and the same name is also borne by an equally ancient village in the Oramāri district of Kurdistan, near the Persian frontiers.

A. MINGANA.

THE LOCATION OF ISIN

Two most serious lacunae in our knowledge of the early geography of Sumer and Accad still exist, the location of Agade, capital of the old Semitic empire of Sargon and of Isin, capital of the rival kingdom of Ellasar. The kingdom of Isin, founded by Ishbi-Girra in 2357, divided the old empire of Ibi-Sin of Ur with the kingdom of Ellasar, and contained 16 kings, whose names figure largely in the history of the period. Isin was captured in the year 2132 by Rim-Sin of Ellasar, and the city together with its diminished lands passed temporarily into the control of Ellasar. The modern ruins of Isin have never been located, but Assyriologists have generally supposed this capital to have been situated somewhere north of Nippur on the old course of the Euphrates, now the Shatt-en-Nil. Meissner, in *OLZ.*, 1917, 141, adduced a passage from a religious text to prove that Isin

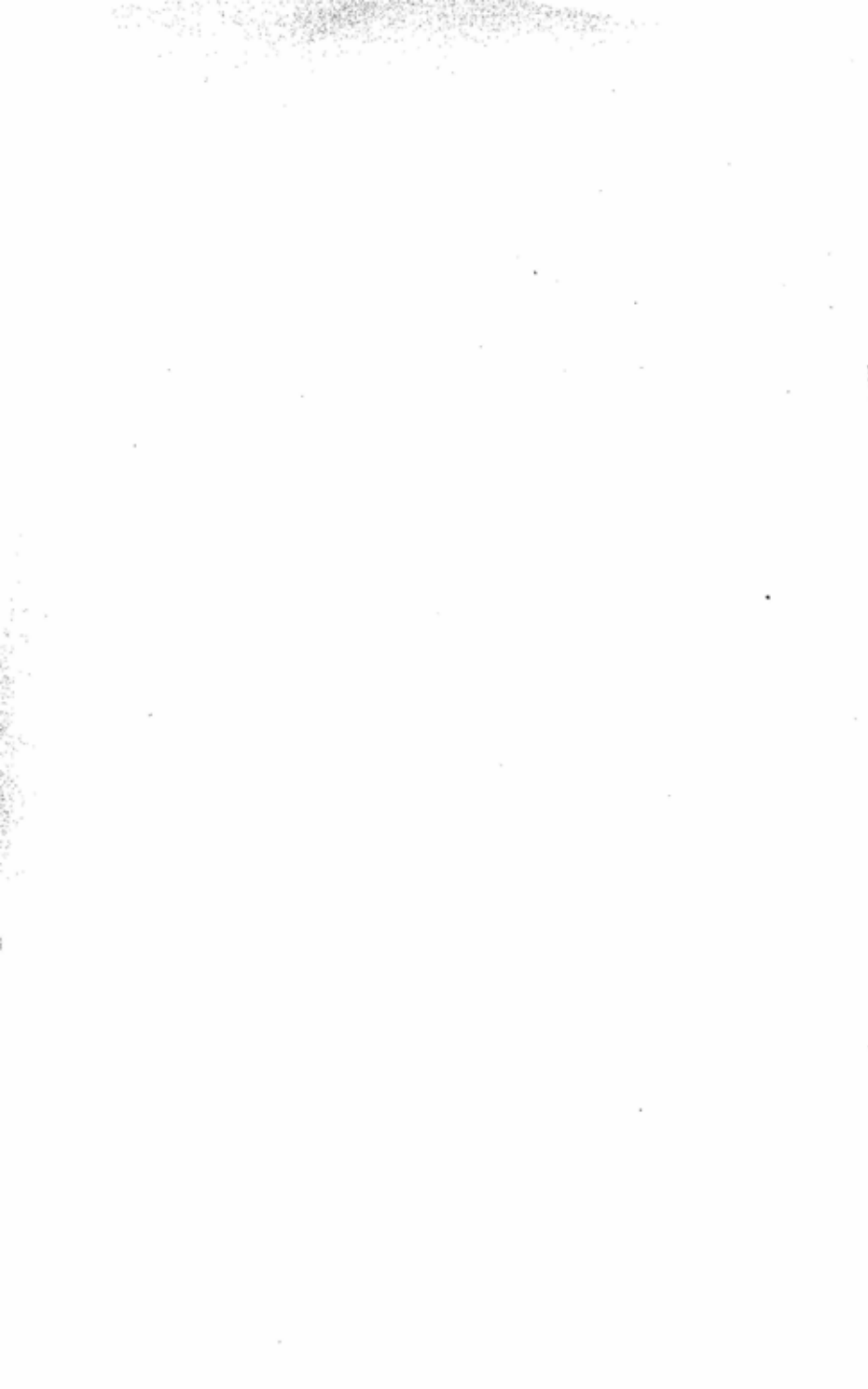
¹ *Syn. Orient.*, p. 516.

² Curiously enough in Turkish official papers the town is called since the seventeenth century *Kara Kūsh*, "blackbird, eagle."

lay north of Nippur, and suggested the modern Tell Zibltjeh on the Shatt-en-Nil, about 15 miles above Nippur. The text cited by Meissner is a hymn to Ninsianna, Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, No. 16. The obverse line 33 (Sumerian, with Semitic translation line 34) says that this goddess descended the Euphrates to Nippur. The importance of the passage consists in the technical use of the verb *mu-un-na-dirig* = *ikkilippi*, which is said to be used only of vessels descending a stream in contrast to *maḥāru*, used of boats ascending a stream. But there is nothing in this hymn to suggest that Ni(n)-in-si-an-na, which is here only a title of Ninkarrak, has any connexion at all with Isin. Ninsianna, or as the colophon of the duplicate, No. 15, has it, *Ni(n)-in-si-na*, is an astral title of the mother goddess Innini, see *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 175; moreover the colophon states that the original text came from Nippur. The voyage of this goddess on the Euphrates clearly refers to a ceremony of the mother goddess Gula-Ninkarrak of Nippur and not of Isin.

Colonel Stevenson of the Mesopotamian army has brought to Oxford a clay cone of Libit-Ishtar, duplicate of B.M. 114683, published by Mr. Gadd, *Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad*, pl. iii. The Arab who brought it to Colonel Stevenson claimed to have dug it up at Bahriyat, 17 miles south of Nippur. This officer identified the cone himself and suggested to me that Bahriyat is Isin. Bahriyat seems to be one of the mounds of a large *tell* called Bahri, which is not described as a *tell* on the Ordnance Map. He says that the *tell* consists of a series of mounds of considerable size and is very accessible to Diwāniyeh, about equally distant north-west on the Euphrates. One infers, therefore, that these mounds lie somewhat north of Fara or Šuruppak, excavated by a German expedition. Undoubtedly more evidence of this kind will continue to accumulate until the problem is solved.

S. LANGDON.



NOTICES OF BOOKS

BRUNO LIEBICH. Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft. Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Heidelberg : Carl Winter, 1919-20.

Prof. Liebich, well known as an authority on the grammatical systems of Pāṇini and Candragomin, has herewith contributed four treatises to the *Transactions of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences* for the purpose of facilitating in the west the study of native Indian works on Sanskrit grammar. One of them is an introduction tracing the rise and development of grammatical speculation from the earliest Vedic period down to the culmination of grammatical science in the work of Pāṇini, while the other three are concerned with the elucidation of the three grammatical texts best adapted to the object he has in view. Recognizing that the Sūtras of Pāṇini, the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, and the commentary of the *Kāśikā Vṛtti* are too intricate in their arrangement and subject-matter for beginners, he commences with a representative of the later systems which may be called elementary or school grammars, as it is composed from the point of view of the learner rather than the scholar, and is adapted even for us as a first introduction to indigenous Sanskrit grammar. He takes the earliest of these later grammars, the *Kātantra* (edited by Eggeling in 1874-8), which dates probably from the third century of our era and which is practically an abridgment of Pāṇini's system. The Sūtras of this work, printed in transliteration, he renders (Part I, pp. 14-94) into German, with the addition of explanatory notes. The four chapters of this grammar deal first with Sandhi, then with the noun, together with its declensions and the use of the cases, and finally with the verb, including its various stem formations, its conjugation, and the phonetic changes involved. It

is interesting to note here that the modern term *visarga* is not only unknown to the *Kātantra*, but even to the *Kāśikā Vṛtti* (7-8 cent. A.C.), where the old name *visarjanīya*, used in the *Prāśākhya*s and in Pāṇini, still continues to be employed.

Part IV (pp. 38) is an analysis of the *Candravṛtti*, the commentary on the *Sūtras* of Chandragomin's grammar (fifth century A.C.), which were edited by Prof. Liebich in 1902. This work belongs to the easy (*laghu*) type of commentaries. The learner is accordingly advised to work through it after the *Kātantra* as a preparation for the study of the more difficult *Kāśikā Vṛtti*.

Part III (pp. 86) deals with the *Dhātupāṭha*, the pre-Pāṇinian list of about 2,000 Sanskrit roots. This list has been twice printed in Europe, first by Westergaard as *Radices Linguae Sanskritae* (1841) and later by Böhtlingk in the second edition of his *Pāṇini* (1887). It has also been published in India: at Bombay in two editions of the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* (1886 and 1899), and at Benares in the edition of Sāyaṇa's *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti* (1897). Prof. Liebich's text represents an advance on all these, though it does not profess to be a critical edition, as its object is simply to restore the *Dhātupāṭha* as far as possible to the form in which it was known to Sāyaṇa in the fourteenth century. That form will still have to be collated with the root-lists of Chandragomin, of Hemacandra (which were both unknown to Westergaard), and of the *Kātantra*. Prof. Liebich shows that the *Dhātupāṭha* goes back to before the time of Pāṇini, who, however, added the accents and indicator letters (*anubandhas*) which distinguish the roots in his form of the list. He also indicates that the meaning or meanings which appear after every verb in the list and serve to separate the roots from each other, were not added till after Pāṇini's time, and that this innovation was in fact not introduced till shortly before or after the beginning of our era. Prof. Liebich first prints this completed text with accents, indicator letters, and meanings (pp. 5-26). Next come comments (pp. 26-38), for example, on the interesting roots.

bhraj and *maj*, which Pāṇini, by a kind of divination, gives as *bhrasj* and *masj*, proved by comparative philology to be historically justified, though not a single form of these roots occurs in Sanskrit with a sibilant. Then follow (pp. 38-56) explanations of the various indicatory letters attached to the roots, and (pp. 57-61) observations on the arrangement of the whole list of roughly 2,000 verbs, which appear to have come down to Pāṇini from his predecessors already divided into groups containing the well-known ten conjugational classes. It is to be noted that of the latter the first class claims 1,059 roots, the tenth nearly 400, the sixth 143, and the fourth 136; the *a*-conjugation thus embraces more than 1,700 roots, leaving hardly 300 for all the remaining six. Prof. Liebich adds a few remarks (pp. 61-2), comparing the *Dhātupāṭha* of Chandragomin with that of Pāṇini. It is characteristic of the former that only one meaning is assigned to each root. Part III concludes (pp. 63-86) with a list of Pāṇini's roots in Sanskrit alphabetical order without indicatory letters or accents, but with the meanings in Sanskrit appended. This treatise, dealing with by far the most ancient list of roots in the world, abounds with interest to the student of Sanskrit grammar. It suggests several questions, beyond even what the author himself tells us, regarding the growth and arrangement of the *Dhātupāṭha*, the denominative verbs and the supposed invented roots which it contains, and the roots which are found in nominal derivatives only. It is to be hoped that Prof. Liebich will examine these matters still more fully in subsequent publications, as he is the scholar best qualified by his previous researches to do so.

Part II (pp. 52) entitled *historische Einführung* (historical introduction) is the most interesting to the student of the development of the Sanskrit language. It starts from the beginnings of linguistic speculation in India and comes down to the final form reached by Sanskrit grammar in the elaborate system of Pāṇini. The phenomena of prosody, as the doctrine of the forms of poetical expression, appear to have first drawn

attention to questions of language in India. Thus the names of the metres *gāyatrī* and *triṣṭubh*, sacred respectively to the two gods Agni and Indra, are mentioned in the oldest part of the *R̥g-veda*. New names were then added till a system of seven chief metres, based on the number of syllables in the verse, was established by the end of the earliest Vedic period, for they are mentioned in the latest book of the *R̥g-veda* (x, 130). This system can then be followed through the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* to the phonetic treatise of the *R̥g-veda Prātisākhya*, where it is systematically dealt with, and later to the metrical work of Piṅgala, by whom it is further elaborated. Then come the rise and growth of technical terms of metre, which begin to appear in the *Brāhmaṇas*. The most interesting is perhaps *pada* "step", which in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* is the technical name for the verse or metrical line. This in the later *Brāhmaṇas* changes its meaning to "word", as the unit of the prose sentence. A new term now becoming necessary for the metrical unit, *pāda* "foot" (= "quarter"), was introduced, as based on the analogy between a four-footed animal and a four-quarter stanza.

Speculation on metre led to that on the meaning of words and etymology. Though Prof. Liebhich does not mention this, the *R̥g-veda* itself contains a few examples of such; thus *jāta-vedas*, an epithet of Agni, is explained as he who knows (*veda*) created beings (*janimāni*). But etymology does not begin to appear as a department of knowledge till the oldest *Brāhmaṇas*, where it occupies attention more than other grammatical matters. Thus Prof. Liebhich gives a list of no fewer than 48 derivations from the first six books of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. I agree with him in thinking that Roth does not regard these earliest etymological attempts in the right historical spirit when he dismisses them as mere playing with words and not taken seriously even by their own inventors. For it must be remembered that the latter stood as yet only at the threshold of etymological speculation, and lacked even the phonetic knowledge acquired by their Indian successors.

In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* the germs of phonetics begin to appear. Thus we find the word *om* analysed as *a + u + m*, *varṇa* in the sense of (linguistic) "sound", and *a-kāra* meaning "the letter a". The later *Brāhmaṇas* add more. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* have already developed phonetics up to the level of the *Sūtras*; thus *mātrā* is employed to express the time occupied in pronouncing a short vowel (Lat. *mora*), and technical terms for "alphabet", "vowel", "mute", "semi-vowel", and "spirant" come into use.

Very interesting is the manner in which, as Prof. Liebich shows, many of the technical terms of the later grammar developed from words of a more general meaning. Thus the word *vibhakti* "distribution" is applied, in the *Kauṣṭhiki Brāhmaṇa*, to the name of Agni quoted in different cases as the initial word of six verses used in a certain fire ceremonial. Yāska quotes seven stanzas with Indra as the initial name inflected in the exact order of the seven cases, using *vibhakti* in the sense of the case termination of the noun, while the later grammarians include the verbal as well as the nominal inflexions in this term. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* the word *dhātu* is found in the sense of "element of the human body", but in Pāṇini it has attained the grammatical meaning of "verbal element", "root". In the same *Upaniṣad* occurs the word *niṣṭhā*, expressing the completion of an action; this in the form of *niṣṭhā* has in Pāṇini become the technical name of the past participles in *-ta* and *-tavat*.

There is as yet no trace of the distinction between verb and noun in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*; the distinction is made in the *nigraṇṭus* or lists of words commented on by Yāska, but is not quite definite, as in the lists of verbs several participles and primary nouns are here included. The separation of the two categories is absolute with Pāṇini's *tiṇ* and *sup*. Again, the distinction between finite verb (*ākhyāta*) and root (*dhātu*) is strictly drawn by Pāṇini, while Yāska still treats them as virtual synonyms.

Professor Liebich seems to have solved the very interesting problem of the origin of the active perfect participle in *-tavat*, which, though unknown in the *Rg-veda* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, became so frequent in use from Yāska onwards that by Pāṇini's time it had ousted the reduplicated perfect participle with the exception of some half-dozen forms only. With a view to grouping together and applying to the sacrifice Vedic stanzas containing various derivatives from the same root, the authors of the *Brāhmaṇas* predominantly use a past passive participle with the possessive suffix *-vat*, e.g. *yukta-vat*, "having 'joined,'" that is "containing a form of (the root) *yuj*" (such as *yūñjate* and *yunajmi*). The proportion of formations thus made from the past participle with the suffix *-vat* is in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* about 50 per cent. of all methods of expressing this sense, rising to over 90 per cent. in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*. Prof. Liebich's view that this formation is the prototype from which the new active participle arose is very probable, especially when we consider that in the nom. sing. masc. both this and the reduplicated perfect participle have the appearance of ending in the same suffix, e.g. *kṛtavān* and *cakṛvān*.

There is some reason to believe that the Nighaṇṭu lists (pp. 17-19) are older than the *Pada-pāṭha* (pp. 20-2) of the *Rg-veda*. The importance of the latter form of the text is great in the history of Indian grammar, for here all final vowels not liable to euphonic combination are indicated, compounds are analysed, and certain case-endings and nominal suffixes are separated from their stems. Prof. Liebich naturally devotes a good deal of attention to the *Nirukta* (pp. 22-30). He considers that the *Dhātupāṭha* did not exist in Yāska's time, though it had come into being before that of Pāṇini. He further shows that Śaunaka (pp. 30-1), the author of the fifth chapter of the *Āitareya Āraṇyaka* and of the *Rg-veda Prātiśākhya*, must be placed between Yāska and Pāṇini. One indication of this is that Śaunaka betrays no knowledge of *anubandhas*, while these permeate Pāṇini's grammatical

system. On the other hand, Kātyāyana, the author of the *Sarvānukramanī* (p. 35) and of the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* (pp. 35-45), was familiar with the use of *anubandhas*, and should be placed close to Pāṇini, but before him. As to the *Bṛhaddevatā* (pp. 31-4), Prof. Liebich convincingly shows that a reading adopted by the present writer, its editor, should be corrected (p. 33). There seems to be no doubt that the Prātiśākhyas of the three other Vedic Saṃhitās should be regarded as decidedly post-Pāṇinian (pp. 47-9).

I have here only been able to touch on some of the more important points dealt with by Prof. Liebich in his four treatises. There has been a certain stagnation during the present century as regards classical Sanskrit grammatical studies. Prof. Liebich's contributions now mark a decided advance, and will, it is to be hoped, further stimulate historical research in this department of Sanskrit scholarship.

A. A. MACDONELL.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA : ERANIAN LANGUAGES. By
Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., D.Litt., Ph.D. 14 ×
10½, xii, 549 pp. Calcutta: Government Press, 1921.

This volume brings within sight of completion the task which has occupied Sir George Grierson for so many years. There remain now but two volumes to be published, one by Dr. Sten Konow, already in proof, dealing with the so-called Gipsy languages of India, and the most important of all by Sir George himself surveying the whole work and forming an introduction to the series. This is probably ready or nearly ready for the Press, and we may look forward to having before us ere many months are over the completed work, the widest linguistic survey ever undertaken in any part of the world.

Vol. X discusses the Iranian languages spoken in or near India. I use the form "Iranian" partly for the reason given in a former review that when a name may be written in two or more ways it is the duty of scholars to use the spelling which

after mature consideration recommends itself to them, thus contributing to the final settlement by consent when one form will survive. I do it also because Iranian has the weight of illustrious names behind it, but chiefly because it represents the pronunciation now heard in both India and Persia. For me in matters of language *what* is always counts for more than *what was*.

Once more the story begins in the uplands of Khokhand and Badakhshān, where the great separation took place. Some tribes went east and west, the ancestors of the Iranians, others came south over the Hindu Kush and went on ultimately into India. Their descendants are the Indo-Aryans of to-day. We are here concerned with the former. Sir George Grierson has exercised a wise discretion in describing the various languages. Thus Pashto, which is well known, is summarized in four pages. But it is well to lay stress upon the value of the four pages. One of the most notable features of the Linguistic Survey is the series of skeleton grammars scattered here and there through its volumes. These are models of conciseness and clearness. Often have I wished that there had been added to them similar outlines of ancient Indian dialects, so that one might have seen at a glance the whole scheme of any bygone form of speech upon which one wished to refresh one's memory. Perhaps in the near future, when the author is tempted to weep for more worlds to conquer, he may supply this want.

The grammar of the less well-known language Balōcī, not so familiar to scholars as Pashto, takes up nearly 30 pages. The most important part of the book is that devoted to Ormurī, a language hitherto almost unknown, spoken by only 1,500 to 2,000 people. The description is founded upon a work by Ghulām Muḥammad Khān, which contains grammar, texts, and vocabulary. Sir George Grierson *more suo* makes the subject a living thing—the grammar of 100 pages, and the vocabulary running to between 1,600 and 1,700 words throb with vitality. The extraordinarily painstaking way in which

he deals with a vocabulary is hardly realized. It may be seen in *Lallā Vākyānī*, in the *Kashmiri Manual*, and here. It would have been so easy to give merely the meanings of words, and no one would have complained. Instead we have full references to pages or sections or even sentences. It is a concordance as well as a vocabulary.

The *Ghalcah* languages are perforce briefly dealt with, for little is known about them (see, however, the *Prize Publication Volume* by the same author), and only one is spoken in India. But our knowledge of them is greatly increased.

To me no part of the book was more interesting than the three pages given to *Badakhshī*, a dialect of Persian. We are told that it closely resembles the Persian spoken in *Afghānistān*. I should put it more strongly than that. It is the Persian spoken in that country. When the Amir and his courtiers are not talking *Pashto* they speak *Badakhshī* unaltered and unadulterated. It is very like Persian, and a native of Iran will readily understand it, yet it follows rules of its own. The two specimens tell a tale. I have no doubt that they are printed as the original narrator dictated them, yet there are a number of mistakes. Thus in the first five lines of *Badakhshī*, on p. 529, there are no less than seven mistakes, due in every case but one to the dialect's being assimilated to Persian. It helps us to understand one of the difficulties with which the Survey has had to contend. Here we see a native speaker of a dialect struggling against the tendency to approximate his language to some well-known literary norm and sometimes failing in his endeavours.

Different systems of transliteration are followed in different parts of the volume. The systems used for *Pashto*, *Ormuri*, and *Baloci* differ from each other, and that used for the *Ghalcah* languages is not quite the same as any of these. In each case, however, a key is given to the pronunciation, and a scholar desirous of making a study of any dialect may find out for himself the approximate sounds represented by the letters.

The debt of obligation under which the author has laid us mounts ever higher, and the only way to liquidate it is to follow his example, and having tasted the joy of the study of modern vernaculars, prosecute it *con amore*, not as mere imitators, but thinking for ourselves and raising our structure on well-laid foundations.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH. By Sir CHARLES ELIOT, H.M. Ambassador at Tokyo. Three Vols. 9 x 6, v + 345 pp., ii + 322 pp., iv + 513 pp. London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1921.

Sir Charles Eliot more than modestly calls this mighty work of the deepest research and thought—nearly 1,300 (1,181 + civ) pp. large quarto—an historical sketch, thereby showing his appreciation of the vastness and importance of his subject. Incidentally the mere fact of his producing such a work shows how fortunate the British Empire has been in securing the services of so accomplished an Orientalist, and one so willing to get behind the surface of the minds of the people among whom he has been sent to represent it.

It is quite impossible to attempt a review of so great a work in the space at my disposal, and I shall do no more than merely draw attention to certain features. It so happens that during the past year I have myself been engaged in a minor way on this very subject, in order to bring before the English reading public, which is interested in such matters and yet inexpert, the religious views and feeling contained in the *Sayings* of the mediaeval Kashmiri poetess, Lal Ded, who was a Śaiva Yoginī, conveying the ideas and beliefs of her class in language so captivating to her fellow-countrymen that many of her Sayings (*Lallā Vākyaṇī*) are proverbs to this day. The Society has had the good fortune to have an invaluable critical edition in the work it recently published for Sir George Grierson and Dr. L. D. Barnett, and in the introduction I had written for my version I ran briefly over the history and

development of Hinduism up to the fifteenth century A.D. This work has made me perhaps more appreciative of Sir Charles Eliot's formidable endeavour than might have otherwise been the case, and with his permission I shall scrap what has been written and rewrite it with the help of the bright light he has thrown upon the whole question of Hindu religious thought and the cause of the turn it has taken.

Let me begin by saying that to my mind he is quite right in treating Buddhism as part of Hinduism, and taking the two "religions" together. In very truth, if one attempts to treat them as subjects apart, one is bound to fail, so much have they through the ages continuously reacted on each other. To take Sir Charles Eliot very rapidly through his volumes, the views expressed in his introduction as to the reciprocal influence of Indian thought, both westwards, northwards, and eastwards, coincide with my own, and I agree that one cannot lay too much stress on the debt that it owes to outside influence, and that the lands outside the natural Indian boundaries owe to it. In very fact, the development of Indian religious, ethical, and philosophic thought and practice is, like every other development one can observe in the world, on the one universal plan; that is, it has developed on one general line peculiar to itself, which has been modified by every other line with which it has or is or will be in the future in active contact. It has always gone its own way, and always given a ready welcome to any foreign idea it can weld into its own chosen system. It has continuously, therefore, changed from time to time, in so far as modification can be called change. The whole method of development is admirably described in Kabīr's immortal words:—

Sab sē hīṭiyē, sab sē milīyē;

Sab kā lījīyē nām;

"Hān jī, hān jī," sab se kahīyē;

Basīyē apnē gām.

This I venture to render in his own rough method, which borrowed a word from anywhere, so long as it was expressive :

Everyone greeting, everyone meeting,
 Giving everyone his name,
 "Yes, sir; yes, sir," saying to everyone;—
 Dwell in yer ain hame.

Change, ceaseless change, is the keynote of religion, ethics, and philosophy in India—as, indeed, everywhere else—and if Sir Charles Eliot's volumes succeed in doing nothing further than in disabusing European minds of the now old and well-engrained but shallow observation and talk of the "changeless East", they will have achieved a distinctly beneficial end.

In discussing the origin of Hinduism, Sir Charles makes an observation after my own heart: "It would be more correct to describe Indian religion as Dravidian religion stimulated and modified by the ideas of the Aryan invaders." On reading this I can only heartily exclaim: "Hear, hear." The actual position could not in my judgment have been better put. I am also glad to observe the prominence given to the statement that faith or devotion to a particular deity as the one deity *par excellence* arose in Hinduism before the Christian era.

Sir Charles is much impressed by the almost unlimited spaciousness of the Brahman fold, which he happily styles "a menagerie" (p. xvii), but here I may throw out a suggestion. May it not be possible that the enormous variation in belief observable in Hinduism be partly due to its philosophy having one history and its practice another? It is usual to collect together religious philosophy and religious practices—creed and rituals—into the one term "religion", to general confusion of mind. It has always seemed to me that this is the reason why it is so difficult to write clearly on any form of religion of which one may be trying to give an exposition. On the same page xvii Sir Charles has had the boldness to write "aboriginee". I congratulate him on possessing more courage than myself. Such a word is wanted, although

it creates a difficulty as to "aborigines". But, then, what would the new education make of "aborigine"?

I do not quite follow Sir Charles in his dates for the spread of Buddhism into the countries now known generally as Further India or Indo-China, but the whole question is still so obscure and so complicated that one cannot deal with it in a brief review. On the whole, he appears to give later dates than such as appeal to me. But Sir Charles does well to point out Greek, Persian, and Turanian (Kushan) influence on Buddhism from about the commencement of the Christian era, and the use of the conventional Apollo of Græco-Roman art for the original iconography of the Buddha himself—carried *longo intervallo* to Burma and everywhere else in the Far East, just as the palace and court, etiquette and all, at Mandalay, when captured by us in 1885, were distant echoes or, perhaps better, distant lineal descendants, of Babylonian and Assyrian art and custom.

Passing on to the revival of Hinduism in the early Christian centuries, I agree that the Hindu Triad is not exactly the Christian Trinity, but to some Indian minds, at any rate, even from the first, it did not differ so much as Sir Charles seems to suggest; and in some respects the personalities of the Triad bore a curiously close analogy to the earliest conceptions of the Trinity, as they have come down to us historically. But here we are again on a point that can be discussed indefinitely. I am glad, however, to note that Sir Charles insists on a great fusion of ideas—Indian, Persian, Greek—at the famous university of Taxila in the early days. Recognition of this fact will go a long way towards explaining many things otherwise obscure.

What I may venture to call a reversion to aboriginal Dravidian religion, or perhaps to Indian non-Aryan or indigenous religion, by the introduction of Śāktism, is well brought out by Sir Charles, though apparently he has not fully appreciated how greatly it has permeated every form of Indian religious belief, in ritual at any rate. And when

further on he comes to deal with the later forms of Hinduism introduced by such reformers as Śankara and Rāmānuja from the south, leading to those enthusiasts who are usually referred to as the Medieval Reformers, Rāmānanda, Kabir, Nānak, Chaitanya, and the like, Sir Charles does well to point out how great was the effect of Southern Dravidian emotionalism on the whole trend of subsequent Hindu thought. But I am not sure of the "small effect" of European speculation on Hinduism that seems to strike Sir Charles so strongly. Reflection and research gives me to think otherwise, especially when one contemplates the part played by the Sūfis. Here, once more, one is on ground liable to endless controversy.

I have dealt only with general principles in the above remarks, and have made them personal because, after all, study of philosophy, ethics, and religion must be personal—one man's impressions in relation to another's—and if I have ventured to differ in any degree from Sir Charles Eliot, this does not in any way detract from a hearty appreciation of the accuracy, earnestness, and skill which he has applied to every detail of this vast subject. Every page of his three volumes is worth reading and pondering, and especially would I draw attention to his Book VII at the end of his third volume, where he speaks of the influence of Christianity in India, Indian influence in the Western World, Persian and Muhammadan influence in India. Some years ago it fell to me to be responsible for "Western Influence on India" in dealing with the actual present time, and it has since been a matter of absorbing interest to watch current events, to see how far my lucubrations are turning out to be correct or otherwise. May Sir Charles live long enough to see, in his turn, how far his observations are being justified by the lapse of time.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE NIGHAṆṬU AND THE NIRUKTA, the oldest Indian treatise on etymology, philology, and semantics. Critically edited . . . and translated for the first time into English, with introduction, . . . notes, three indices, and eight appendices, by LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A. (Panj.), D.Phil. (Oxon.). Introduction. 8vo. 80 pp. Oxford : University Press. 1920.

The high importance of the Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta in Vedic and Sanskrit studies was perceived from the first, and Roth's edition in 1852 attested this recognition. But Roth had at his disposal only a few MSS., mostly of inferior quality, and no complete text of the R̥gvēda had as yet been printed. Considering the difficulties besetting him, his performance was highly creditable, and its shortcomings were to a large extent due to the inadequate nature of his materials. Satyavrata Sāmaśramī's edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1882-91) is somewhat slovenly and inaccurate, though it has the further advantage of giving the commentaries of Dēvarāja on the Nighaṇṭu and of Durga on the Nirukta. That of Śivadatta (Bombay, 1912), which also presents Durga's commentary, is much better. Such editions as that contained in the *Shāṅgā* (Bombay, 1892), that of Ajmer (1893), and that of the Nighaṇṭu with notes and Bhāskara-rāya's *Vaidikakōśa* (Meerut, 1898) are of slight critical importance. Hitherto, therefore, with the possible exception of the edition by Messrs. H. M. and R. G. Bhadkamkar (Bombay, 1918, etc.), which we have not yet had an opportunity of examining, there has appeared no critical edition taking due account of the fact that the work exists in two distinct recensions, a longer and a shorter; and hence Mr. Lakshman Sarup has done well to set himself to filling this gap. His text is still in the press, and only the introduction lies before us; but the latter sufficiently shows the nature of his task and the manner in which he has accomplished it. More fortunate than Roth, he has had at his command ample manuscript materials in the Max Müller Memorial and the Chandra Shum Shere

Collection, as well as in the older stores of the Bodleian and other libraries, which have enabled him to trace accurately the lines of the double recension of the text. The Introduction deals not only with these critical matters, but also with the commentators upon Yāska and with Yāska's doctrines of etymology, philology, and semantics, which are appropriately compared with those of Plato and Aristotle; and it concludes with an interesting chapter on early anti-Vedic scepticism, a current of free-thought first visible in the Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa and in occasional utterances of the Upaniṣads, and reappearing in the doctrines of Kautsa controverted by Yāska and, in a more drastic form, in the preaching of Buddhism and Jainism. Altogether this Introduction gives us a high opinion of the writer's learning and critical judgment, and we await the publication of his text in the full belief that it will be thoroughly adequate.

L. D. B.

THE KĀDAMBARĪ OF BĀṆABHAṬṬA (Pūrvabhāga, pp. 1-124 of Peterson's edition). Edited with an introduction, notes, and appendices by P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M. 8vo. i, i, i, l, 83, 312, 38 pp. Bombay, 1920.

This edition of the first part of Bāṇa's beautiful romance is intended for the use of University students, and is well adapted for this purpose. Mr. Kane is a learned and competent cicerone who guides the young reader skilfully through the intricate mazes of Bāṇa's elegances. His notes, which analyse the structure of all the more difficult sentences and interpret the clauses and the words in them needing explanation, leave little to be desired in respect of fullness and clearness. The introduction, which treats of Bāṇa's personal history, his date, his works, the characteristics of *Kathā* and *Ākhyāyikā*, literary criticism of Bāṇa, the *Harṣa-carita*, *Harṣa*'s predecessors, his history and literary activities, etc., is erudite and judicious. From the standpoint of textual

criticism, however, the book hardly marks an advance. No new manuscript sources for the settlement of the text have been opened up, with the exception of two commentaries; and the text printed by Mr. Kane is frankly eclectic, readings apparently being chosen according to their supposed suitability rather than according to the authority of the sources from which they are drawn. However, as the object of the book is educational rather than critical, we need not lay too much stress on this side of it.

L. D. B.

A STUDY OR TRUE TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH OF THE ELEVENTH SKANDHA IN SRIMAT BHAGAVATAM. By R. RAMASUBBA SASTRI, B.A., B.L. 8vo. iv, i, 8, 315, 40. 4 pp. Trivandrum, 1919.

The confusion of thought which is apparent in the title of this book is visible also in its interior. What Mr. Ramasubba Sastri apparently intended—and the intention is most laudable—was to publish the Sanskrit text of Book XI of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa with an English translation and a study of the interesting and important *exposé* of Vaiṣṇava doctrine which is one of its leading features. What he has actually produced, however, is an edition of the text with an extremely loose English paraphrase, an introductory sermon in semi-Puranic style, and an appendix of no great profundity on “Hindu religion”. How free the “true translation” is may be judged from some examples. The short verse viii, 27, which merely says that “in her, who was greedy of substance, withered of face, depressed in mind, there arose extreme distaste, causing thought, bringing happiness”, is rendered by thirteen lines of English paraphrase. The verse viii, 37, literally means: “Surely the Lord Viṣṇu is pleased by some act of mine, inasmuch as there has arisen in me, who was sinfully desirous,¹ this distaste”; but this is not good enough for

¹ It is also possible to take *durāśāyāḥ* as a substantive depending on *nirvṛdaḥ*.

Mr. Ramasubba Sastri, who pads it out thus : " I must have done something in my prior births to propitiate Vishnu, for it is by His Grace alone that this Vairagya cutting at the root of all unholy desires has arisen in my mind to give it tranquility [*sic*] and bliss." Finally we may take his treatment of ix, 39. The Sanskrit says simply : " Not from one master will there be firm, ample knowledge ; verily this single Brahma is sung by sages in manifold wise " ; but Mr. Ramasubba Sastri renders this as follows : " Thus from a large number of preceptors, the knowledge that there is only Brahman without a second, got firmly fixed into my mind. Perhaps if I had only one Guru, the knowledge might not have been so full or permanent." It is obvious that from a " translation " of this kind no scientific results can be expected.

L. D. B.

RGVED-PAR VYĀKHYAN. By BHAGWADDATTA, M.A. Lectures on the Rigveda, containing a discussion on the questions of (1) the Rigveda's being a recension, and (2) about the attribution of its authorship. 8vo. Pt. i ; iv, 6, 96 pp. Lahore, 1920.

The learned author of this Hindi essay has the praiseworthy design of reconciling the doctrines of the Ārya Samāj with critical scholarship. It is perhaps fair to say that, so far as the present volume goes, he has achieved a *succès d'estime*. In it he contends that the R̥gveda is not a recension (*śākhā*) but a primitive text, which derived its name of *Śākala-saṃhitā* from the Pada-pāṭha established by Śākalya, not because it was the recension of the school of the Śākalas ; that it was not made up from various hymns composed at different times by different poets and later codified ; that *mantra-kṛt* in Vedic literature means not " composer of hymns " but " religious adviser " ; and that the R̥gveda is not the work of any human author. Some of the writer's subsidiary arguments deserve to be noted by the Western

scholars of whose prejudice he gently complains; but his general conclusions are not likely to commend themselves to them.

L. D. B.

PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

By RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Reader in Ethnology, Patna University. Patna University Readership Lectures, 1920. 10 × 6, 181 pp. Patna : Government Press, 1920.

The Patna University is one of the youngest in India, but judging from the variety of its courses of studies and its scheme of higher education, it is also one of the most progressive. Perhaps it was due to the province being under the charge of Sir Edward Gait, one of the most noted of Indian ethnologists, that anthropological study had a readership assigned to it in the University. Anthropology is a comparatively new subject of study in India, but the vast masses of ethnological material collected, mainly in connexion with the periodical censuses, afford ample material on which the science can be studied in theory and practice in its bearings on Indian conditions. The province of Bihar and Orissa affords specially interesting material for that study, as it includes races of every kind of culture, from the semi-savage forest tribes of Chhota Nagpur and Orissa to the most refined Brahman of the higher Aryan type.

The volume before us deals with physical anthropology and leaves the subject of cultural anthropology for a future volume. As the author himself frankly admits, it is based mainly on the results of the investigations of previous workers in the field. But wherever possible the author has tried to bring these results into touch with Indian conditions, and he has very properly used the material that lies buried in Indian official publications, such as the Geological Survey of India. He has stated very clearly the pros and cons of all controversial

questions, and has covered his subject comprehensively. He has also gone back to such glimpses as we get from ancient Hindu books for early Hindu ideas on evolution and other kindred subjects. Mr. Roy has not used Mohammedan material, but very little of it bearing on the subject is available in English, and that is a gap which perhaps the Osmania University of Hyderabad may well attempt to fill.

Starting with the general principles and methods of anthropology, the author discusses man's place among the mammals and his relationship to the apes. He gives a clear summary of the views held by conflicting authorities, and also brings into prominence the spiritual evolution of man as distinct from and outside the scope of physical anthropology. The antiquity of man is discussed with reference to the geological history of the earth and the different fossil remains that are found in various parts of the globe. The remains found in Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, and America are reviewed, and the classical examples, such as the Heidelberg Man and the Piltdown Skull, are fully discussed with reference to the original authorities.

The history of evolution is traced back to the early pre-Darwinian ideas, through Darwin and Wallace, to Weismann's germ-plasm theory and Mendel's experiments, right down to Galton, Bateson, and the modern Eugenists. The theory is then applied to man's physical evolution, and the evidence that we possess of the development and changes in the shape and use of the fore-limbs, the hind-limbs, the jaws, the cranium, the vertebral column, the pelvis and viscera, is carefully discussed, with a side glance at the evolution of morals, religion, and art. This leads to a study of the climatic conditions of the earth in the Tertiary and Quaternary periods, and the probabilities as to the location of man's first appearance as a distinct species. His probable migrations are then considered, and a clear account is given of the geographical changes and the variations in the relative positions of sea and land which conditioned those migrations.

The different human races and their classifications are then considered, and the different tests, such as colour of the skin, the shape of the head, the facial angle, etc., are discussed with reference to the latest literature on the subject. The characteristics of the Caucasian, the Mongolian, and the Negro type are set out.

The book is enriched with valuable appendices. Appendix I gives the palæontological record with special reference to the remains of the early human races and their cultures. Appendix II gives the different schemes of classification of the existing races of man, mainly based on their physical characteristics, but a general classification is also attempted on the old conventional lines, with some reference to cultural and linguistic characteristics and geographical distribution. The book is also furnished with a short bibliography and a good index.

A. YUSUF ALI.

ARABIAN MEDECINE. By Professor E. G. BROWNE. Fitzpatrick Lectures, 1919 to 1920. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, 7 + 138 pp., 1 plate. Cambridge: University Press, 1921.

Professor Browne has published yet another valuable work. His early studies were medical, and, consequently, he is peculiarly fitted to deal with the important and fascinating subject of "Arabian Medicine". He prefaces his theme by explaining that the "medicine" referred to was only Arabian in language, and that it was founded on the science of the Greeks, with additions made by Syrians, Jews, and Persians. To put the matter in another way, Arab translators saved the flickering torch of civilization from extinction, and preserved for mankind priceless gifts of learning that would otherwise have been lost.

The first impulse given to the desire of the Arabs for Greek science came from the Umayyad prince Khalil, who was a grandson of Muavia. He had a passion for alchemy, and, through his influence, the first translations of Greek and

Egyptian books into Arabic were made. One of the great medical schools was at Gundi Shapur, now a ruin near Kazerun, and there the teaching was Greek with an underlying Persian element. In A.D. 765 the Caliph Mansur summoned the chief physician, called Bukht-Yishu or "Jesus hath delivered", to Baghdad. For two hundred and fifty years this family produced a succession of celebrated physicians, and we learn that the fees of the member of the family who attended Harun-al-Rashid and his court during a period of twenty-five years were estimated to exceed three million sterling.

Professor Browne deals briefly with some of the leading medical luminaries. More especially he refers to ar-Razi, whom he considers the greatest and most original of all Moslem physicians. He was the chief physician of the hospital at Ray, the Rhages of the book of Tobit, whence he was promoted to the great hospital that was then being founded at Baghdad. His writings were of the first importance, and include the earliest monograph on smallpox. Professor Browne points out the difficulties that attended the evolution of Arabic scientific terminology. He states that the Arabs were far more successful than the later translators from Arabic into Latin, who troubled extremely little as to reproducing the exact meaning of the author, and are therefore responsible for much delay in the progress of the West.

This short work will immediately take its place as an indispensable authority on Arabian medicine, and we may feel grateful to the author for his promise to publish more on the same subject, which he enlivens with many delightful stories.

P. M. SYKES.

A HANDBOOK OF INDIAN ART. E. B. HAVELL. Octavo, xvi, 222 pp., 79 plates. London: John Murray, 1920.

Havell's new work especially deals with architecture, as only a third part of the text is dedicated to sculpture and painting. Havell possesses an extraordinary faculty in

recognizing the essential features of Indian art. In his recent work the attempt is made to construct the history of the leading architectural types, based on an interpretation of their original significance. The two elements which determine the whole development from its beginning, are stupa and sikhara. The stupa, originally the massive hemisphere covering the relics of a chieftain, becomes the typical Buddhist sanctuary. The monument is not only erected in open air, but is also used as the sacred shrine inside the assembly-hall of the rock-cut monasteries, with the result that the surrounding room has to be adapted to the shape of the stupa by cutting a hollow hemisphere out of the rock above it. But the stupa-shape is not restricted to Buddhist architecture. Sivaism, the successor of Buddhism, adopts the stupa motif as a characteristic feature in the dome of its temples. The difference between a Buddhist and Sivaite dome merely consists in the ground-plane. The Buddhist shrine is circular or wheel-shaped, and the Siva shrine square or octagonal. The prototype of a Siva shrine can already be found at Sanchi. The stupa motif is connected from its beginning with the worship of death. The Arians brought it with them from the valley of the Euphrates to India, where it was developed into a monument for enclosing the relics of Buddha or a Buddhist saint, and later on was transformed by the Sivaites the worshippers of the Lord of Death. It survives also in Mussulman architecture, as for example the "Persian" bulbous dome and dome of tombs.

The other element which determines the development of architecture is the sikhara, the curvilinear spire. It is the most remarkable part of a Vishnu temple. It is derived from the sacrificial fire-chapel, where the king presided over the tribal sacrifices as the son of Surya, the Sun-god. This chapel, a bamboo construction, was crowned by a tall spire over the shrine and pierced by sun-windows, which served admirably the purpose of a chimney. The spire is crowned by the same insignia of royalty as Açoka's imperial standards,

namely, the Amalaka or the pericarp of the blue lotus, which is the flower of Vishnu Surya, the patron deity of a Kshatriya king. Though the peculiar form of the sikhara is derived from bambu construction, which is the universal material for temporary structures in India, it is derived as well as the stupa, ultimately from Mesopotamia and Persia, namely, from the conical mud-huts, as represented in the earliest reliefs. This fact is due to the rule of the Aryan tribes of the Kassites and Mitanni, who occupied the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates from the eighteenth century B.C. to the twelfth century B.C. During these centuries there was certainly a close communication between the Indian and Mesopotamian branches of the Aryan family. When Mahayana Buddhism again made the king the symbol of divine majesty the builders began to give a permanent form to the royal sikhara. The sikhara, therefore, is the leading feature of Kshatriya art.

The so-called Chalukyan style owes its peculiarity to a combination of both, the stupa and the sikhara motif.

Thus Havell constructs a genealogy of architectonic motives. His point of view is symbolic and iconographical. The analysis of architectural elements is based upon their symbolism and connexion with a corresponding worship. That is the great merit of this book. Entirely interested in the symbolism of forms, Havell however does not pay sufficient attention to the artistic peculiarity of the form itself and to the technical side. Thus, for instance, Mussulman and Hindu architecture are considered as closely connected, although in an artistic sense they differ remarkably, for instance, with regard to the distribution and proportion of walls or of space.

Havell deals with sculpture from the same mythological point of view, and distinguishes the two types of Buddhas' representation, namely, as Guru and as king. An artistic distinction however is made between the Moghul painting, which has a calligraphist's technique, and the indigenous Hindu painting, which produces real painters' pictures.

Like all other books by the author, this also excels by its facile treatment and by the refined taste with which the illustrations are chosen, which make it valuable for the art student and everyone interested in Indian culture.

STELLA KKAMRISCH.

ZIGEUNER-ARABISCH. By Dr. ENNO LITTMANN. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 147 pp. Bonn : Leipzig, K. Schroeder, 1920.

This book aims at showing the vocabulary and grammar of the Arabic element in the Eastern dialects of the gipsies. It also contains a section on jargon or cant, and another relating to the names applied to gipsies in the East. It does not bring forward new material, but examines what has been supplied by previous publications. All the words of Arabic origin in the dialects treated of, as far as they have been revealed in this way, are collected under the Arabic roots, and their precise derivations are discussed and shown. The dialects belong to Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia, and appear to include nearly all, but not quite all, the Eastern dialects that are known. The language of the Nawar of Palestine, which is called Nûrî, is the only one of them that has been described with any degree of completeness, and the observations as to grammar are necessarily limited to it.

The work has been carried out with much elaboration and care, and will doubtless be useful to anyone who may want to see how the dialects are made up. In the case of Nûrî, it shows that Arabic has been freely drawn on for vocabulary, and Arabic grammar has exercised a certain amount of influence. Gipsies generally borrow largely from the languages of the peoples among whom they live. If more was known about the Ghagar of Egypt, the Dûmânî of Mesopotamia, and the Kurbâtî of Syria, it is probable that these dialects, also, would not be found to constitute exceptions to the rule. The author expects that his investigations may lead to some

more precise philological and historical results. The prospect of their doing so seems to be remote.

The jargon dealt with is called *Halebî*. It has been mistaken for a gipsy dialect, but is shown to have Arabic for its basis and to contain only a small proportion of gipsy words.

R. GUEST.

MORGENLÄNDISCHE TEXTE UND FORSCHUNGEN. Edited by
A. FISCHER. 9 × 6. Leipzig: Teubner, 1918.

I. 1. DAS LIEDERBUCH EINES MARROKKANISCHEN SÄNGERS.
By A. FISCHER. 159 + xxii pp.

When the author was in Tangier in 1898 he purchased a small and rather tattered book of poems which apparently formed the stock-in-trade of an itinerant singer. Some of these were in the vulgar dialect, some in a mixed style, and some in more or less Classical Arabic (some of the latter attributed, in most cases wrongly, to such well-known writers as Mutanabbi and Abu Nuwas). The author had the whole work copied in a clear legible Maghrabi hand by a local calligraphist. The present volume contains a photolithographic reproduction of the part of this copy containing the dialect poems, which are, of course, the most interesting. Further volumes are promised containing a selection of the poems in the classical and mixed styles, a phonetic transcription of the dialect poems and a translation and commentary on the whole work. The latter have either not yet appeared or not yet reached the Society.

I. 2. DIE VOKALHARMONIE DER ENDUNGEN AN DEN
FREMDWÖRTERN DES TÜRKISCHEN. By A. FISCHER.
pp. 26. 1920.

A study, based on the pronunciation of two Turkish scholars resident in Germany, of the rules which decide whether the grammatical inflexions of Arabic and other foreign words used in Turkish shall be hard or soft. It has long been agreed by Turkish grammarians that the general

rule is that when the last syllable of the word in question is hard the inflexions are hard and vice versa, but it has always been recognized that puzzling exceptions existed. The author's conclusions briefly summarized are as follows :—

In the case of foreign words other than Arabic and Persian the rule is always :—

If the vowel of the final syllable of the word is :—	The inflexions are :—
<i>a, y, o, u.</i>	hard.
<i>e, i, ö, ü.</i>	soft.

In the case of Arabic and Persian words :—

If the vowel of the final syllable of the word is :—	The inflexions are :—
<i>y, ö, ö.</i>	hard.
<i>e, i, ö, ü.</i>	soft.

î followed by ق, ظ, ط, ض, ص. } hard.

î followed by other consonants, }
final -*î*. } soft.

ā followed by ذ, ذ, the word ذَات. } soft.

ā followed by other consonants, }
final *ā*. } hard.

ā followed by ذ, ذ, ذ, ذ, ذ, }
soft.

Arabic feminine ending ت, ـة. }

ā followed by other single or }
double consonants, final -*ā*. } hard.

ū followed by ذ, ذ, and sometimes }
soft.

د, ت, ش. }

ū followed by other consonants, }
final -*ū*. } hard.

If the vowel of the final syllable of the word is :—	The inflexions are :—
<i>ül.</i>	soft.
<i>ü</i> followed by other single and double consonants.	hard.

Words of the shape **فعل** and **فعل** are soft except :—

(a) If the medial or final consonant is **ظ, ط, ض, ص**.

(b) If the final consonant is **ق**.

(c) If the initial or medial consonant is a **ق**, which is not "prevelar".

(d) **فحش, بُرج, رُبُع, نَحْت, نَحْت, بَحْت, عَرَش**

This little book, which is plentifully supplied with examples, is a valuable contribution to the study of Turkish pronunciation.

I. 3. ÜBERSETZUNGEN UND TEXTE AUS DER NEUOSMANISCHEN LITERATUR. By A. FISCHER. I. DICHTUNGEN MEHMED EMINS. pp. 68. 1921.

Two texts and a number of translations of poems of this writer, together with notes on other poems, published in Germany and elsewhere. One is tempted to wonder that it is considered worth while to study or translate anything as dreary as these poems : there must, however, presumably be some sort of a public in Germany for them.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

LE TEXTE ARMÉNIEN DE L'EVANGILE D'APRÈS MATTHIEU ET MARC. Par FRÉDÉRIC MACLER, Professeur à l'École Nationale des langues orientales. 10 × 6½, lxxii + 647 pp. Paris : Imprimerie Nationale, 1919.

This beautifully printed and well-arranged large 8vo forms the twenty-eighth tome of the *Bibliothèques d'Études*, or study books of the "Annales du Musée Guimet".

Professor Macler's aim was to determine whether the Armenian version of the Gospels was made out of a Syriac or a Greek text. This is a question which has been much debated and discussed among theologians and scholars during many years. This problem has also interested our painstaking Professor, and this is how he describes the problem in the preamble to his monumental work :—

"The Armenian text of the Bible, and particularly of the Gospel, is regarded as the basis and the starting point of all the subsequent literary progress of the Armenian nation.

"In spite of this fact the history of this translation is still almost unknown.

"This version is generally held to have been made out of a Syriac original, and this on account of the relations which the primitive Armenian Church of the South (Taron) had with the Northern provinces of Mesopotamia, and especially with the Syrian schools of Edessa and of Nisibis.

"But from the very first Greek influences have subsisted side by side with Syrian influences. The Christian words used by the Armenian language are some from the Syriac as *gahanah* priest, and others from the Greek as *episcopos*. [The author might have added the words which are always used at the reading of the Gospel lessons for the day, namely, *orthi* stand up, and *proschume* let us attend.]

"History here, as elsewhere, could not dispense with the help of philology. Every verse, so to speak, of the evangelical text would deserve to be taken separately, because the reasons which gave rise to the alterations of each passage are infinitely different.

"The present study is the first work of the kind in which the Armenian text of the Gospel narrative is treated as a whole, that is to say, considered by itself, and in its relation with kindred Greek and Syriac texts, which means that it will exhibit the lacuna and the imperfections inherent in a work of unravelment (defrichement).

"I have read all the Armenian manuscripts whose variants are shown in the course of the present work. I have confined myself to the examination of the oldest manuscripts which are accurately dated. Of set purpose, I have put aside those which bore no date, although people, by means of palaeography, profess to be able to give the date of a manuscript with tolerable precision."

Professor Macler did his preparatory work at Etchmiadzin. It consisted in looking up the variants of the manuscripts A, B, C, D, E, F. He compared each of these with the text of E 229, which he took up as his standard copy. From another part of his book we learn that this text was copied in A.D. 989, and belongs to the group Z, printed in the Holy Bible which Father John Zohrabian of the Mekhitarist confraternity brought out in 1805, reprinted in 1860, and its New Testament part alone in 1864.

M. Macler's researches were confined to the Gospel according to St. Matthew and the Gospel according to St. Mark. On finishing his work at Etchmiadzin he proceeded to the convent of the Mekhitarist fathers at the island of St. Lazaro, near Venice, and there he collated with E 229 the various MSS. of the Gospels confided to the care of Father Sargissian. We learn from a report which the author published at Paris in 1911, under the title of "A Scientific Mission in Russian Armenia and Turkish Armenia", that his visit to Etchmiadzin took place between July and October, 1909. We may therefore assume that it took him quite ten years to compile this unique work of reference which marks the beginning of a new epoch for the study of Armenian Biblical philology.

In his preface the author gives a full list of abbreviations

for identifying Armenian texts, the oldest of which, marked M 9, is dated A.D. 887, and the latest, marked Z, was copied in A.D. 989, is represented by E 229, which he considers to be the better text of the two and takes it for his model. Then follows a list of sixty-eight abbreviations of the best Greek texts, and lastly a list of twenty named and eleven unnamed principal codices which contain the Gospels. The first of the named ones is the celebrated Codex Sinaiticus, followed by the Alexandrinus, the Vaticanus, etc. The principal works he has consulted are given under the heading of his Bibliography, and they are one hundred in number.

But while the author mentions under No. 4, 1805, the issue of the Old and New Testaments in Armenian by Father John Zohrabian of the Mekhitarists, he omits to mention the issue of the Armenian Bible printed under the care of Woscan (Oscan or Uskan), who had a special fount of type made for his printing, which, I am assured, was used by the Mekhitarist fathers at Venice. Woscan Vartabed, born at Erivan, was of the confraternity of Etchmiadzin. He began the printing of his Bible in classical Armenian on the 11th March, 1666, at Amsterdam, and completed it on the 13th October, 1668. It is profusely illustrated with fine wood and steel engravings by Dutch artists. A second edition of it was printed at Constantinople in 1705, and a third at Venice.

Armenians believe that it was due to Woscan's labours, however imperfect, in producing this printed Bible, and the interest he raised among European scholars that they began to study Armenian and to compare the Armenian version with other versions. One of these scholars, M. de la Croze, who, it is related, had perfectly mastered the Armenian language, was so struck with the accuracy of rendering, clearness of expression, and beauty of diction of the Armenian version of the Gospel that he called it "The Queen of Versions".

But Woscan appears to have adopted the account given by

Moses of Khorene of the source of the Armenian version, and taught his European friends accordingly. Professor Macler, as a consequence of his own minute investigations into the accuracy of that account, affirms that the account shows that the version was based on the Syriac, and afterwards corrected with the help of the Greek; while Great Koriun, who assisted Mesrop (of Mashtots), the inventor of the Armenian alphabet, states that it was based entirely on the Greek text.

The importance of the point at issue is this, that since the Syriac versions, old, or new, called Peshito, meaning "simple" or "plain", were made out of a Greek original and underwent revisions, if the Armenian version of the Gospels was made out of a Syriac original, it would amount to a translation of a translation, and hence be of comparatively little value for the purposes of criticism and verification. But if it was made out of the Greek text, its value to theologians and scholars as a witness would be inestimable.

The oldest sources of the history of the Armenian version of the Bible, and more especially of the translation of the Gospel, are found to be three, namely Koriun, Lazarus of Pharpi or Pharbi, and Moses of Khorene. The first-mentioned was a contemporary and pupil of Mesrop, the inventor of the Armenian alphabet, and worked with the latter's assistants in rendering the Holy Scriptures into Armenian. It is not known when Koriun was born or when he died. But Armenian writers have copied each other in repeating that he studied in Byzantium, that he returned to his own country in A.D. 434, and that he was the bishop of Georgia.

Lazarus of Pharpi, who is described as having lived towards the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth, gives precise details showing that the translation of the Holy Scriptures into Armenian was due to a regular national movement in Armenia. Since he relates that "Mesrop (of Mashtots), the priests of Armenia, the satraps and the great

men of the country waited on Vramshabouh, their king, and on the Patriarch, and asked them to have the Bible translated from the Greek into Armenian". Sahag, who, counting from St. Gregory the Illuminator, was the tenth Patriarch of Armenia, was like him of Parthian origin, and had, like him, been educated at Cæsarea and knew Greek well, and according to the same Lazarus of Pharpi, "worked day and night and translated the Holy Books written by the Prophets, and the New Testament."

According to Professor Macler, this statement would imply that these learned men translated the Bible in its entirety, and consequently, there was no translation made out of the Syriac in the first instance.

However, on the other hand, Moses of Khorene, the reputed Armenian national historian, and according to tradition, himself one of the band of "holy" translators, reports that there were two versions made: a first one out of the Syriac, and afterwards a second version from the Greek text.

In order to give his readers what ancient and modern Armenian authors have written, and what European scholars have said, the Professor quotes them all, one after the other, and gives his opinion of their views and statements, which appears to be both judicious and convincing.

The author gives on page lxi the opinion of the Armenian literati at Etchmiadzin, as he gathered it during his stay there in 1909, that there were two translations of the Armenian Bible. The one in the fifth century by Sahag, by Mesrop and their pupils, and another in the sixth and seventh centuries by a second band of translators, who revised and Hellenized the work of their predecessors, and so on, and that Moses of Khorene belonged to this school. Next he gives the written opinion of Mgr. Maghgia Ormanian, who for some years filled the office of Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, and is the author of a work named *Azgapatum*, the national bond or the annals of the Orthodox Armenian Church from the earliest times till recent days. This opinion, briefly stated,

is that "the Armenian Bible as it now exists is not the translation of a given text, but presents an eclectic work made out of several translations based on various texts".

The author stops here his quotations from scholars, and informs us that he proposes to determine by the medium of philology, that is by comparison and analysis, whether the Armenian version was made out of a Syriac or Greek original, and says that "the proper method to use was to compare the different readings with each other".

With this object in view he chose the Armenian text of E 229 (copied in A.D. 989) for collation with the *editio octava critica maior* of Tischendorf (1872). It was, he says, only from 1913 that he could consult the edition of the New Testament of von Soden. This Tischendorf text is no other than the celebrated Codex Sinaiticus, which, he informs us, for critical study is only second to the Vatican Bible. Then the Peshito, the Codex Bezae, the Koridethi, p. xxii, 97 (1913), the old Syriac Cureton, and Mrs. Lewis.

After a varied and long series of comparison of phrases, words, and particles in the different Armenian dated manuscripts of the Gospels according to St. Matthew and St. Mark, the distinguished and learned author is step by step brought to the conclusion that "The Armenian version has not been based on the Old Syriac (Cureton, and Sinaiticus of Mrs. Lewis), that phrases abound where there is a complete identity between specific Armenian and Syriac phrases in the Peshito; still it should not be forgotten that the latter text itself has been translated out of a Greek original, and revised with the help of various Greek originals, and that there is nothing which indicates any particular agreement between the Armenian version and the Peshito".

On the other hand, he finds that (1) the order of words in the Armenian reproduces the order of the Greek words, where the rules of the Armenian language allow, and that (2) the Armenian borrows from the Greek its ways of expression. Next, he notices a truly significant closeness between the

Armenian text of the Gospel and the Greek of Codex Bezae at Cambridge (= D). He says that the circumstance might be surprising at first sight, especially if we admit with Scrivener, Scholz, and Rendal Harris that D is of Gallic origin and that it was probably copied at Lyons or at Clermont (Auvergne). That intercourse between Armenia and the Gaulic lands could not have been frequent in the sixth century of our era. "It is true," he says, "it might be objected that a portion of the works of Irenæus, lost in Greek, has been recently discovered in Armenian at Erivan by Karapet Ter-Mkrtichian, and published by Erwand Ter-Minasiantz." Then he brings forward E. Jacquier's testimony that "there are established relations between the Greek text of the Codex Bezae and that of the old Syriac . . . concluding from this circumstance that the Codex Bezae came from Antioch, and that it is the Western Text, and should in preference be called the Syro-Latin Text".

The author places next to the Codex Bezae another Greek text, which, he says, has striking resemblances with the Armenian, namely, the four Gospels in Greek called *Koridethi*, after a locality where it was discovered, the locality being on the bend of an affluent of the River Tchorokh, not far from its fall into the Black Sea. This text is believed to have already been in existence in the year A.D. 629, hence very little posterior to Codex Bezae, which dated from the middle of the sixth century.

After a comparison of the various readings between these two texts and the Armenian, the author concludes with the following final statement :—

"Two main points are established : the Armenian translation was made upon a Greek text, and this text was of the type represented by the Codex Bezae and the Gospel(s) of *Koridethi*."

I hope a qualified translator may be found to put Professor Macler's profoundly learned and fascinating work into English. I also hope that he may be able to carry his work on to the remaining two Gospels.

The revisers of the authorized version at Jerusalem Chamber say in their preface to the New Testament, speaking of the translators of 1611, that "Their chief guides appear to have been the later editions of Stephanus and of Beza, and also, to a certain extent, the Complutensian Polyglott". This statement, taken with the close relationship between the Codex Bezae and the Armenian text now proved to exist by Professor Macler in his erudite work, suggests a long-standing kinship between the historic people of Armenia and the English-speaking world which should be remembered and never lost sight of.

G. HAGOPIAN.

HIPPOLYTUS, PHILOSOPHUMENA, OR THE REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES. Translated from the text of Cruice by F. LEGGE, F.S.A. Translations of Christian Literature, Series I, Greek Texts. 2 vols., small 8vo, 180 and 189 pp. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921.

The *Philosophumena*, formerly attributed to Origen but now to Hippolytus, schismatic bishop of the early third century, affords remarkable glimpses into the life of the Roman community under Bishop Callistus. The work as now restored in the text of Cruice originally contained ten books, of which II and III remain to be accounted for. Mr. Legge says that the pagination of the MS. shows that these two missing books never formed part of it, and if they ever existed they must have dealt with the mysteries and secret rites of the Egyptians, and with the theologies and cosmogonies of the Persians and Chaldaeans. For an Assyriologist the loss of this portion of Hippolytus' refutation of heresies is deplorable; it is possible that from these sections much concerning Babylonian mythology and mysticism might have been learned. It is becoming increasingly evident that the Babylonian mystic rites of the New Year Festival and especially the great cult

of Tammuz and the Virgin Mother Ishtar, influenced the rise of Christianity on its formal side, which makes the lacunæ even more deplorable. Hippolytus was a disciple of Irenæus, and Mr. Legge apparently makes out a clear case for the thesis that the *Philosophumena* are really based upon lectures delivered by Irenæus. As a pupil of one who had himself known Oriental mysticism and mythology at first hand in Asia Minor before he migrated to Rome, Hippolytus should have been fully acquainted with Babylonian theology, and should have written much more about it than can be gathered from his careful discussion of the Ophite doctrines in chapter v. The fundamental doctrines of Babylonian cosmology, theology, and philosophy have been set forth in my article "The Babylonian Conception of the Logos",¹ and especially in "Tammuz and Ishtar", and transformations of these doctrines are obvious in the systems of the more philosophical gnostics.

Now it must be said at once that the author of *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* is our best English authority upon gnosticism, and his edition of Hippolytus is a contribution to the subject of the first order. The notes are learned and constitute in themselves a real handbook to the student of gnosticism. What Hippolytus has to say about Greek and Roman philosophy which he pretends to summarize is justly estimated by Mr. Legge as of "no great importance", but the information which is here preserved concerning Oriental mysticism is of great value to the Assyriologist and Egyptologist. Mr. Legge justly says in his note (i, 28 ff.) on "The value of the Work": "It preserves for us many precious relics of a literature which before its discovery seemed lost for ever."

Book I purports to explain the tenets of the natural philosophers, and Hippolytus gives a summary of the teachings of Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Anaximander, Anaximanes, Anaxagoras, Archelaus, Parmenides, Leucippus,

¹ *JRAS.* 1918.

Democritus, Xenophanes, Eaphantus, Hippo, Socrates (in seven lines!), Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, the Academics, Epicurus, the Druids, and Hesiod. Book IV, on the Diviners and Magicians, occupies fifty pages in the translation and forms one of our principal sources for the history of ancient divination. The section on Chaldaean astrology is copied mostly from Sextus Empiricus, and so inaccurately copied as to be unintelligible in many places. The Babylonians divided each sign of the Zodiac into three parts corresponding to important stars in the eastern, middle, and western portions of the sign, and these Hippolytus tells us were called "terms". This discussion of Babylonian astrology is brief, inadequate, and hardly to be controlled at all by our extensive knowledge of Babylonian astronomy and astrology. Boll, Bezold, Weidner, and Kugler have shown that Greek astronomical texts and terms are copied from cuneiform books of the great Babylonian book *enuma Anu Enlil Enki*. Hippolytus claims that the practice of casting the horoscope by the positions of the stars was in vogue in his time, and says that it was borrowed from the Chaldaeans. Now, astrology of this kind is not mentioned at all in cuneiform texts, although astrology was, of course, widely employed in Babylonian divination. It was, however, the common belief among the Greeks and Romans that the Babylonians did invent the horoscope, but there is nothing in Babylonian astrology to confirm it. Our controversialist is quoting here from Sextus Empiricus, but the almost universal attribution of this form of astrology as of Chaldaean, that is Babylonian, origin appears to be an abuse of terms. *Chaldaean* seems to mean almost anything Oriental in these late Greek writers, and the system probably arose among the Asiatic Greeks themselves, who were familiar with the intricate system of Babylonian astrology.

Hippolytus also ridicules the practice of divination by numbers (arithmomancy), by metoposcopy or physiognomy, which is intimately connected with astrology. These two

forms of divination are also unknown in Babylonia, and they are correctly charged to the Greeks. The tricks of the magicians are also described at length. It is certain that this profligate traffic of the charlatans, described by Hippolytus, much of which survives to our own day, originated in the Greek Orient. The well-known Babylonian methods of divination, such as hepatoscopy, teratoscopy, leconomancy, oniromancy, which were widely adopted by the Greeks and Romans, are strangely enough not charged against the heretics.

Chapter v is a long refutation of the theories and practices of the Ophite heresies, worshippers of the Mother Goddess Cybele of Phrygia, who seem to have ignorantly combined Babylonian ideas of the creative principle of water or the "Depth" and the creative logos with the ophidian cult of Cybele and Attis. Mr. Legge in his chapter on the Ophites, in *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, justly characterizes the founders of this heresy as an ignorant group of fanatics. The repulsive aspect of serpent worship revealed in this cult could not have been borrowed from Babylonia. Although the great cult of Ishtar and the dying god Tammuz originally contained ophidian aspects, these were outgrown and abandoned already in the early stages of Sumerian religion. The Peratae, a Mesopotamian branch of the Ophites, are described in great detail by Hippolytus, and Mr. Legge's notes on this section are unusually good. It is certainly tempting to connect this name with the Babylonian word *barûtu*, the art of divination, or perhaps with the plural *bārâti*, "the diviners."

The sixth book is peculiarly valuable as the only extant source for the teaching of Simon Magus, convert of Philip the Evangelist, and mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. This charlatan of Samaria is characterized in the Acts of the Apostles, chapter viii, as a sorcerer and magician who was refuted and converted by Philip. But from the account of him in Hippolytus it is evident that he had some

considerable knowledge of gnostic doctrines and taught that salvation is achieved by striving to resemble God, and he proclaimed himself as divine. There is, however, no reference to his conversion, baptism, and confession of the true faith. If the Simon of Hippolytus really be Simon Magus of the Acts, as Mr. Legge believes, it is difficult to reconcile the two accounts. The heresy of Simon is associated with the first of the really philosophical gnostics Valentinus of Egypt, whose teaching is next described and refuted by Hippolytus. Books VII, VIII, and IX discuss the doctrines of the more philosophical sects of Basilides, the Docetae, Noetus, and other followers of their schools, who attempted to combine Greek philosophy with Christology in various ways. The *Philosophumena* are concluded by Book X or the summaries and word of truth, an epitome of all the philosophies and heresies and a statement of the apologist's own position. Mr. Legge attributes this book to Hippolytus and identifies it with a work called the *Labyrinth* by Photius. Discrepancies between this so-called summary and the contents of Books I-IX have induced some critics to assign Book X to another hand. The problem is discussed by Mr. Legge in vol. i, pp. 18-20, where he sets forth his theory of the *Philosophumena* as a series of lectures received from Irenaeus, and concludes that Book X is from the hand of Hippolytus himself.

S. LANGDON.

OBITUARY NOTICES

E. H. Whinfield, M.A.B.C.S.

Whinfield, probably the most correct and judicious translator and appreciator of Omar Khayyam, died at Norwood on 14th April, 1922. His father was an English clergyman, and he was born at Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire, on 28th August, 1835. He was educated at Rugby under Tait and Goulburn, and Benson was his tutor. He was a demy of Magdalen, Oxford, and became a Bengal civilian in 1859, and retired in 1878 or 1879. He was a good Persian scholar and was much interested in religion, especially in Sufism, but he never lost his faith in Christianity. Of his district work at Burdwan and Noakhali I know nothing except that he wrote a useful revenue handbook. He was an admirer of Omar Khayyam's quatrains, and the merits of his translation were recognized by Fitzgerald, but he was of a retiring disposition, and never became a devotee of the "large infidel", and took no public part in the Omar Khayyam cult. He also translated Jalalu-d-din Rumi's *Masnavi*, Shabistari's *Gulshan-i-rāz*, and the *Lawa'ih* of Jami. He left his Oriental MSS. to the Indian Institute. He was twice married, but never had any children. His last illness was a painful one, but was mitigated by the affectionate cares of his niece and her mother. He was a good man and a dear friend, and something in his character and aspirations reminds me of the poet Gray, whose self-written epithet says :—

Too poor for a bribe and too proud to importune,
He had not the method of making a fortune :
Could love and could hate, so was thought somewhat odd ;
No very great wit, he believed in a God.

H. B.

Dr. James Nies

The Society has lost a distinguished member in the person of Dr. James Nies, the American Assyriologist, who died at Jerusalem in June. He was visiting the East for the purpose of building an American School of Archæology in Jerusalem and of inaugurating a similar institution in Baghdad.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society was held on 9th May, 1922, with Dr. F. W. Thomas, acting-Director, in the chair.

The report of the Council was read by the Secretary.

Three Honorary Members have been elected during the past session, namely :—

Mahamahopadhyaya Ganapati Sastri, of Trivandrum.

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, of Dacca University.

Professor Dalgado, of Lisbon.

The Society has lost by death its late President, Lord Reay, and three Honorary Members—His Holiness Prince Vajirañāna, of Siam ; Professor Goldziher, of Budapest ; and Professor Dalgado, of Lisbon.

Mr. Longworth Dames, a member of Council, who has served at different periods as Vice-President, Honorary Treasurer, and Honorary Secretary, has passed away, together with the following distinguished members : Sir Arthur Wollaston, Mr. R. W. Frazer, Mrs. Haynes Bode, and Mr. E. H. Whinfield.

The following ten ordinary members have died during the past year :—

Mr. L. S. Berry.

Rev. W. Campbell.

Mr. S. Churchill.

Dr. C. Gayer.

Mr. J. Gillespie.

Mr. W. Morrison.

Mr. C. Pittar.

Rev. A. Renjo.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Sandhurst.

Mr. J. T. Wills.

The following twenty-six members have resigned :—

Miss F. S. Adam.

Mr. D. Ainslie.

Mr. E. L. Bevir.

Mr. M. Biswas.

Prof. J. F. Blumhardt.

The Dow. Lady Boyle.

Mr. B. E. C. Davis.

Mr. Sri L. N. K. Deb.

Mr. H. G. Edwards.	Mr. P. King.
Mr. W. M. Feldman.	Mr. T. W. Morris.
Col. Knox Niven.	Mr. C. Proctor.
H.H. the Thakur Sahib of Gondal.	Mr. K. R. V. Raja.
Rev. P. Gough.	Mr. N. Singh.
Sir W. H. D. Haggard.	Sir H. L. Stephen.
Miss J. C. Herbert.	Mr. H. G. Stokes.
Mr. A. Hill.	Miss E. Trotter.
Mr. C. Jinarajadasa.	Mr. A. Waley.

Seven libraries have ceased to subscribe, but their places have been filled by eight new ones.

The following forty-two members have been removed under rule 25 (c) owing to non-payment of their subscriptions :

Mr. Abul Fazl.	Babu C. B. Lal.
Mr. C. Acharyya.	Mr. C. S. Lal.
Mr. C. F. Argyll-Saxby.	Mr. S. A. Majid.
Prof. S. W. R. Ayengar.	Mr. D. Mazumdar.
Mr. J. P. Banerjea.	Mr. W. McGovern.
Babu R. D. Banerji.	Mr. K. C. Mehra.
Rao Bahadur S. Bavanandam-Pillai.	Mr. P. N. Mitter.
Mr. H. K. L. Bishnagratna.	Babu M. Mukerji.
Mr. R. H. Blanchard.	Mr. S. Narain.
Mr. A. R. Bountra.	Mr. K. M. Panikar.
Mr. J. C. Bruce.	Mr. S. C. Patranavis.
Mr. H. N. Chatterjee.	Mr. A. P. Peters.
Mr. K. K. Chattopadhyaya.	Mr. I. Prasad.
Babu M. C. Das.	Mr. W. F. Prins.
Mr. D. Dutt.	Bahadur B. K. K. Ray.
Prof. V. S. Ghate.	Mr. K. B. N. Ray.
Mr. R. R. S. Gupta.	Mr. S. N. Roy.
Mr. S. H. Imam.	Rai Sahib D. R. Sahni.
Mr. M. Ishaque.	Mr. M. S. Sandhu.
Mr. B. C. S. Iyer.	Mr. M. P. Thin.
Capt. C. King.	H.H. the Maharaja of Udaipur.

During the past year seventeen resident members have been elected :—

Major W. C. Bridge.
 Mr. R. Bruce-Low.
 The Rt. Hon. Lord Chalmers.
 The Rt. Hon. Viscount
 Chelmsford.
 Mrs. A. de Z. Elliot.
 Major G. W. Gilbertson.
 Capt. W. H. Ingrams.
 Mr. G. R. S. Mead.

Mr. W. Miller.
 Miss F. Parbury.
 Dame Una Pope-Hennessy.
 Miss H. A. E. Roberts.
 Mr. B. Rubenstein.
 Miss M. Samuel.
 Mr. G. P. Stavrides.
 Mr. G. M. Wallace.
 Mr. L. Zutshi.

The following 153 non-resident members have joined the Society :—

Capt. R. C. Abraham.
 Mr. A. Afzal.
 Mr. K. L. Ahmad.
 Mr. S. A. Ahmed.
 Mr. T. Ahmed.
 Mr. B. V. K. Aiyar.
 Mr. M. A. Ali.
 Qazi M. Z. Ali.
 Mr. Z. Anwar-ul-Haqq.
 Mr. R. S. Ayyar.
 Mrs. F. Ayscough.
 Prof. S. Azar.
 Babu A. C. Banerjee.
 Dr. B. K. Banerjee.
 Mr. R. Basak.
 Babu U. M. Basu.
 Mr. H. Basu.
 Haji A. M. Belsha.
 Mr. R. D. Bhatnagar.
 Count A. Bobinskoy.
 Pandit G. L. Bonnerjee.
 Prof. A. Bonucci.
 Mr. S. M. Brown.
 Mr. J. S. F. Campbell.
 Mons. P. Cardeillac.
 Mr. S. C. Chakravarty.
 Mr. T. Chand.

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee.
 Babu N. M. Chatterjee.
 Mr. D. N. R. Chaudhury.
 Mr. M. S. Cheema.
 Mr. O. A. O. K. C. Chettiar.
 Mr. K. K. Chowdhury.
 Rev. H. Danby.
 Mr. J. D. Darnvalla.
 Mr. A. N. Das.
 Dr. S. N. Das-Gupta.
 Mr. B. E. C. Davis.
 Mr. S. Kumar De.
 Sri G. N. Deb.
 Mr. P. L. Dickson.
 Pandit B. Dutta.
 Mr. H. N. Dutt.
 Mr. I. H. N. Evans.
 Mr. W. C. Fairweather.
 Rev. T. Fish.
 Mr. A. Frisby.
 Babu C. B. Gehlot.
 Mr. A. B. Gajendragadkar.
 Thakur L. S. Gautam.
 Mr. J. C. Ghatak.
 Mr. O. T. Ghee.
 Mr. F. N. Gilder.
 The Most Rev. A. Goodier.

Mr. H. T. Gourlay.	Mr. S. Nath.
Rev. Prof. A. Guillaume.	Mr. Y. Nath.
Mr. B. L. S. Gupta.	Mr. T. K. Panalar.
Babu S. C. Haldæ.	Mr. K. S. S. Parihar.
Rev. T. M. Harden.	Mr. D. D. Parmar.
Rev. E. N. Harris.	Mr. P. M. Parkat.
Shah Syed E. Huq.	Mr. M. R. R. Pillai.
Maulvi S. S. E. Huque.	Capt. A. Platts.
Mr. J. H. Hutton.	Mr. W. R. Plowes.
Mr. A. Hyman.	Mr. B. A. Quraishi.
Mr. C. Ikeda.	Mr. K. M. Radnakrishnan.
Mrs. H. Irwell.	Mr. M. N. Rahimuddin.
Mr. C. St. J. Ives.	Mrs. M. J. Rajagopalan.
Mr. S. P. Jain.	Mr. M. K. Rajagopalachariar.
Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.	Mr. J. T. Rankin.
Miss C. M. John.	Mr. L. P. N. Ray.
Mr. K. C. Jones.	Mr. M. J. Rehman.
Pandit R. D. Joshi.	Mr. M. N. Rehman.
H.H. the Maharaja Krishnagar.	Kumar Sahib S. Roy.
Mr. K. Krishnaswami.	Lieut. B. P. S. Roy.
The Mir of Khairpur.	Rai Bahadur M. L. S. Roy.
Mr. C. B. Kishore.	Raja M. L. S. Roy.
The Imam Khan.	Raja M. N. Roy.
Mr. D. L. Khan.	Mr. E. Samuel.
Mr. L. Levi.	Mr. S. Sandapan.
Mr. J. V. Lewis.	Mr. K. Sarif.
Mr. J. T. Macdonald.	Mr. M. Sathasivam.
Babu Chunni Mal.	Mr. G. Shankar.
Mr. M. S. Mangalik.	Mr. L. M. Sherman.
Dr. A. Marmorstein.	Mr. A. G. Shelley-Thompson.
Capt. P. F. Masterton-Smith.	Mr. H. K. Sherwani.
Mr. J. P. Mills.	Mr. L. F. Shroff.
Prof. A. Mingana.	Mr. Hargian Singh.
Mr. M. A. A. Minhas.	Mr. K. R. Sitaraman.
Mr. B. P. Misra.	Sri V. Suri Sayid A. A. Gitani.
Mr. S. T. Mohammad.	Mr. J. E. Smart.
Mr. C. S. Mohideen.	Mr. F. T. Smith.
Mr. C. J. Morris.	Capt. H. M. Spink.
Mr. A. P. K. S. A. Nadar.	Mr. E. de la M. Stowell.

Mr. M. Subramanyam.	Kunwar G. S. Varma.
Mr. R. F. G. Swinson.	Mr. L. A. Ravi Varma.
Mr. K. C. Tagore.	Mr. S. S. G. Viran.
Mr. A. P. Tampi.	Mr. S. Vivekananda.
Mr. R. H. Tangri.	Lieut. J. F. Ward.
Hon. Mrs. Tennant.	Mr. R. N. Welinkar.
Mr. S. Tolkowsky.	Mr. J. W. K. Wernham.
Mr. A. C. Trott.	Capt. B. T. Williams.
Mr. V. V. Vadnerkar.	Miss D. D. Williams.
Mr. M. A. Varesi Sahib.	Mr. E. T. Williams.
Mr. B. B. M. L. Varma.	

The total number of new members now stands at 170. When the 83 members lost to the Society by death, resignation, and removal have been deducted, there remains a total of 87 new resident and non-resident members.

Letting of Rooms

During the session all the offices on the second floor have been let.

Lectures

The following lectures were delivered during the session, most of them illustrated by excellent slides :—

“The sources for the History of Georgian Ecclesiastical Literature,” by Dr. R. Blake, of Harvard University.

“The Red Sea at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century,” by Sir E. Denison Ross.

“New Light from the East,” by Professor A. H. Sayce.

“Notes on a recent Tour in India,” by Dr. F. W. Thomas.

“Modern Babylonia,” by Mr. R. Campbell Thompson.

“Head Hunters at Home,” by Colonel T. E. Hodson.

“Some Peoples and Religions of the Punjab Himalayas,” by Mr. Lee Shuttleworth.

“A Buddhist Pilgrim Shrine in China,” by Mr. W. Perceval Yetts.

James Forlong Fund

The Council approved that the two following courses of lectures should be given under this bequest at the School of Oriental Studies :—

(a) "The Primitive Culture of India," by Colonel T. C. Hodson.

(b) "The Hindu Culture of India," by Dr. L. D. Barnett.

Books Published

Bakhtiari, Badakhshani, and Madaglashti Phonology, by Major D. L. R. Lorimer. (Prize Publication Fund.)

The Nishwār-al-Muḥāḍarah (Arabic Text), edited and presented by Professor D. S. Margoliouth. (Oriental Translation Fund.)

The following books are in preparation :—

El-Asatir, by Dr. M. Gaster. (Oriental Translation Fund.)

The Hesht Bihisht, by Professor D. S. Margoliouth. (O.T. Fund.)

A translation of *The Nishwār al-Muḥāḍarah*, by Professor D. S. Margoliouth. (O.T. Fund.)

Gifts Presented

The executors of the late Dr. O. Codrington presented the copyright of his book *Musulman Numismatics*.

A framed photograph of Thomas Manning was presented by the Rev. C. U. Manning, and an engraving of Dr. Gilchrist's portrait by the Trustees.

A gift of publications issued by the late Prince Vajirañāna was sent to the Society by H.R.H. the Prince of Chandaburi, and Professor Margoliouth has presented 275 copies of the *Nishwār-al-Muḥāḍarah* in the Arabic Text.

Sir Wallis Budge has given a cast of the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II, and an unknown donor a Pali-Burmese MS., while Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Pilcher have presented books to the library.

Other members have given various numbers of the *Journal* and the *S.B.A. Transactions and Proceedings*.

Invitations

Four delegates attended the meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston last October :—

Dr. Cowley, Professor Langdon, Mr. Lee Shuttleworth, and Mr. Weld-Blundell.

The University of Padua requests delegates on the occasion of its seventh Centenary on 14th May, and Sir Richard Temple has been asked to represent the Society; Mr. Grant Brown is also attending as a delegate.

The Society regretted being unable to send a representative to the Jubilee of the Hungarian Geographical Society this month, but six delegates will attend the double Centenary of the Société Asiatique de Paris, 10th-13th July. They are as follows:—Dr. Cowley, Dr. Hall, Professor Langdon, Professor Rapson, Sir E. Denison Ross, and Dr. F. W. Thomas. The Société Asiatique celebrates both its own Centenary and that of Champollion, the decipherer of Egyptian hieroglyphics.

Presentation of the Public Schools Medal

This was presented by Viscount Chelmsford to Mr. G. F. Hudson, of Shrewsbury School, and a book prize to Mr. H. C. B. Mynors, of Marlborough College, the subject of the essay competition having been "The part taken by India in the late War". Lord Chelmsford's speech treated of the subject of the essay. Sir Francis Younghusband, Sir George Grierson, and Dr. M. Gaster spoke on the occasion, Dr. F. W. Thomas being in the chair. The subject for this year's competition is "Tipu Sahib".

The Journal

Owing to the cost of printing the *Journal* is confined to 160 pages. During the session twenty articles have been published, and a large number of books have been reviewed. All contributors to the *Journal* are voluntary.

Amendment of Rules

At a special General Meeting on 17th January, amendments of Rules 3 (1), 17, 19, 29, and 92 were passed, and it was noted that there were small alterations to be made in Rules 20 and 21 (b) consequent upon those made in Rules 3, 17, and 19. It was agreed that the amendment to Rules 29 and 92 should

come into force at once, and the other Rules should take effect on 1st January, 1923.

Centenary

The year 1923 will be the Centenary of the Society and a Committee, of which Professor D. S. Margoliouth is Chairman, has decided with the approval of Council, to produce a volume of about 200 pages, giving a succinct history of the Society, a list of all the articles and miscellaneous notes published in the *Transactions* and *Journals*, and an alphabetical list of the authors. Subscriptions are invited for the purchase of this volume, which for members subscribing before publication will be nine shillings.

The celebration of the Centenary will be combined with the meeting of the Entente, which is due to take place here next year.

The thanks of the Society is due to the Honorary Solicitor, Mr. Alexander Wilson, the Honorary Auditors, Mrs. Frazer and Mr. L. C. Hopkins, and the Official Auditors, Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co., for their kind services.

Recommendations of the Council

The Council has nominated the Right Hon. Lord Chalmers to be President in place of the late Lord Reay.

Sir Richard Temple, the late Acting-President, has been nominated an Hon. Vice-President, on the occasion of resigning his seat on the Council owing to reasons of health.

On the death of Lord Reay, Sir Richard Temple was invited by the Council of October, 1921, to undertake the duties of President for the remainder of the Society's year, according to Rule 28, Dr. F. W. Thomas (Hon. Secretary) being asked to undertake the duties of Director for the same period. Both accepted these posts.

The Council has decided not to nominate a Director in place of Sir Richard Temple, but a fifth Vice-President in the person of Professor E. G. Browne.

Under Rule 31 Dr. F. W. Thomas, Mr. R. Grant Brown,

Mr. Robert Mond, and Mr. A. G. Ellis retire from the offices of Hon. Secretary, Joint Hon. Treasurers, and Hon. Librarian respectively. The Council recommend their re-election except in the case of the joint Hon. Treasurers, whose post Dr. H. B. Morse has consented to fill.

Last February Dr. H. R. Hall was co-opted on the Council in place of the late Mr. Longworth Dames.

Under Rule 32 Mr. Legge retires from the Council, which nominates Dr. L. D. Barnett, Mr. R. Grant Brown, and Dr. A. E. Cowley as Ordinary Members of Council, as well as Dr. H. R. Hall and Mrs. Frazer as Hon. Auditors.

Dr. H. B. MORSE, Hon. Treasurer, presented the accounts for 1921. He said that the increase of the India Office grant had greatly assisted in rehabilitating the finances of the Society after the severe drain upon them of the removal to new premises. During 1921 of the sum of £500 borrowed from the Oriental Translation Fund, £400 had been repaid, and the remaining £100 was paid in January. They had been able to make a grant of £25 to the Library, which was something, though it was to be wished that they could make it at least ten times that amount. The great changes in economic conditions since the war were reflected in a comparison he had drawn up between the financial position last year and in 1913, the last pre-war year. The percentage of subscriptions to total receipts had fallen from 48·3 to 40·8, and dividends and interest from 6·4 to 1 per cent, owing to the realizations necessary to cover the cost of removal. On the other hand the percentage of rent receipts had advanced from 13·7 to 21·0, the *Journal* account from 20·0 to 21·1, and Government grants from 11·5 to 16·0. On the expenditure side rent and taxes in 1913 absorbed 25·3 of the expenditure, as compared with 15·1 last year. Salaries and wages had, however, risen from 16·6 to 23·6, and the *Journal* account, owing to the heavy increase in the cost of printing and notwithstanding the reduction in size of each issue, from 28·0 to 34·4, while miscellaneous expenditure had risen from

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Class "A"	277	4	0			
Class "B"	890	1	5			
Students		10	6			
5 Non-Resident Compounders at £22 2s. 6d.	110	12	6			
				1,278	8	5
RENTS RECEIVED				660	5	0
GRANTS FROM INDIA AND COLONIAL OFFICES, ETC.				503	6	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	409	5	8			
Additional Copies sold	231	19	6			
Sale of Index		3	18			
„ Pamphlets		16	7			
				661	11	5
DIVIDENDS	12	5	0			
„ PER POST OFFICE SAVINGS	19	17	8			
				32	2	8
INCOME TAX RETURNED				17	3	1
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT—						
Post Office Savings Bank				3	16	3
SUNDRY RECEIPTS—				3	3	9
LIBRARY ACCOUNTS—						
Grant	25	0	0			
Other Receipts	13	14	3			
				38	14	3
BALANCE IN HAND JANUARY 1, 1921				287	15	3

£3,486 6 1

FUNDS.

£454 16s. 9d. 3 per cent Local Loans Stock.

£350 5 per cent War Loan, 1929-47.

£125 National War Bonds (4th series), 1929.

Note.—There is a liability in respect of a balance of loan from the Oriental Translation Fund of £100.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1921

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent and Income Tax	443	15	0			
Rates and Taxes	36	17	2			
Gas and Electric Light	51	0	7			
Coals and Coke	34	16	9			
Insurance	34	2	3			
Decorations and Repairs	24	13	9			
Telephone	6	16	9			
Window Cleaning	4	4	0			
Other Expenditure	36	3	10			
					672	10 1
SALARIES AND WAGES					751	8 2
PRINTING AND STATIONERY					72	5 5
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	1,045	16	2			
Postage	53	10	2			
					1,099	6 4
GRANT TO LIBRARY ACCOUNT					25	0 0
LIBRARY ACCOUNT, EXPENDITURE					33	4 0
LOAN REPAID TO SPECIAL FUNDS ON ACCOUNT					400	0 0
AUDITORS' FEE					10	10 0
BANK CHARGES					1	11 5
POSTAGE					67	16 0
SUNDY PAYMENTS—						
Tears	15	2	6			
Index for Centenary Vol.	17	16	9			
Household	10	1	9			
Cleaning and Mounting Coat of Mail	7	15	0			
Lantern Operator	4	10	0			
Sundries	30	19	0			
					86	5 0
BALANCES IN HAND DECEMBER 31, 1921—						
Lloyds Bank (less £200 reserved for repayment of loan)	£	s.	d.			
Lloyds Bank (belonging to Library Account)	27	16	9			
	5	10	3			
					33	7 0
Post Office Savings Bank	228	8	0			
Petty Cash	4	14	8			
					266	9 8
					<u>£3,486</u>	<u>6 1</u>

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and we hereby certify the said abstract to be true and correct.

L. C. HOPKINS, for the Council.
C. FRAZER, for the Society.
N. E. WATERHOUSE,
Professional Auditor.

R. GRANT BROWN, *Hon Treasurer.*

SPECIAL FUNDS

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

RECEIPTS

1921.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1				325	17	1
BALANCE	.	.	.			
SALES	.	.	.	118	0	0
PART REFUND OF LOAN FROM GENERAL FUND	.	.	.	400	0	0
				<u>518</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

PAYMENTS

PRINTING AND BINDING VOL. XXV	.	.	.	139	4	9
BINDING VOL. XXII	.	.	.	13	0	0
LOAN TO A MONOGRAPH FUND	.	.	.	75	13	5
INSURANCE OF QUIRE STOCK (1920 AND 1921)	.	.	.	3	5	0
STORING OF QUIRE STOCK	.	.	.	10	0	
1921.				<u>231</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>
Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY				<u>612</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>
				<u>£843</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>1</u>

MONOGRAPH FUND

Jan. 1.				39	13	10
BALANCE	.	.	.			
SALES	.	.	.	61	9	0
LOAN FROM ORIENTAL TRANS- LATION FUND	.	.	.	75	13	5
				<u>137</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>
				<u>£176</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>3</u>

PRINTING VOL. XVIII	.	.	.	121	1	0
BINDING DO.	.	.	.	7	17	6
Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY				<u>128</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>6</u>
				<u>47</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>9</u>
				<u>£176</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>3</u>

TRUST FUNDS

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

Jan. 1.				289	6	1
BALANCE	.	.	.			
SALES	.	.	.	20	0	10
DIVIDENDS	.	.	.	18	0	0
				<u>38</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>
				<u>£327</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>

PRINTING AND BINDING VOL. V	103	1	3
BANK CHARGES	.	.	5
Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	<u>103</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
	<u>254</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>8</u>
	<u>£327</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>

GOLD MEDAL FUND

Jan. 1.				62	3	1
BALANCE	.	.	.			
DIVIDENDS	.	.	.	9	15	0
				<u>£71</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>1</u>

Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	<u>71</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>1</u>
	<u>£71</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>1</u>

PUBLIC SCHOOLS GOLD MEDAL

Jan. 1. BALANCE	.	.	.	.	26 12 5	45 19 9
DIVIDENDS	.	.	.	.	19 7 4	
					<u>£45 19 9</u>	<u>£45 19 9</u>

Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	.	.	.	612 3 11	660 1 8
MONOGRAPH FUND	.	.	.	47 17 9	
				<u>£660 1 8</u>	<u>£660 1 8</u>

CASH AT BANKERS—On Current Account

Note.—There is a loan outstanding from the Oriental Translation Fund to the General Fund of £100, and a loan outstanding from the Oriental Translation Fund to the Monograph Fund of £75 13s. 5d.

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUNDS

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	.	.	.	224 0 8	341 18 6
MEDAL FUND	.	.	.	71 18 1	
PUBLIC SCHOOLS GOLD MEDAL FUND	.	.	.	45 19 9	
				<u>£341 18 6</u>	<u>£341 18 6</u>

CASH AT BANKERS—On Current Account

TRUST FUNDS

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
 £325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Medal Fund).
 £645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools Gold Medal).

R. GRANT BROWN, *Hon. Treasurer.*

We have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby } L. C. HOPKINS, for the Council.

certify the same to be correct. We have also had produced to us certificates for } C. FRAZER, for the Society.

Stock Investments and Bank Balances. } N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

March 8, 1922.

FORLONG BEQUEST

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1921

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
1921.		Jan: 31.	
Jan. 1.		GRANT TO ORIENTAL SCHOOL FOR LECTURES	52 10 0
BALANCE AT JANUARY 1, 1921—		ADVERTISEMENT OF LECTURES	5 0 0
Cash at Bank on Current Account . . .	195 8 8	CASH AT BANKERS DECEMBER 31, 1921—	
Deposit Account . . .	352 17 0	On Current Account . . .	269 15 8
		On Deposit Account . . .	452 17 0
NEW SOUTH WALES 4 per cent SOUTH AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT 4 per cent	28 3 2		
BENGAL NAGPUR RAILWAY . . .	28 8 10		
3½ per cent INDIA on £1,143 6s. 3d.	28 0 0		
EAST INDIA RAILWAY CO. . .	31 14 11		
5 per cent WAR LOAN 1920-47 . . .	12 13 10		
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT	157 6 3		
RETURN OF INCOME TAX . . .	15 18 5		
	58 12 4		
	<u>£780 2 8</u>		<u>£780 2 8</u>

£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
 £1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940-60.
 £45 East Indian Railway Company Annuity, Class "B".
 £1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942-62.
 £1,143 6s. 3d. India 3½ per cent Stock.
 £253 18s. 4d. War Loan, 5 per cent, 1929-47.

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and we certify the said abstract to be true and correct.

L. C. HOPKINS, for the Council.

C. FRAZER, for the Society.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

4.9 to 7.5. They had been compelled to liquidate nearly all their accumulated reserves, but to restore their position they had established as from 1st January last a redemption fund on the lease of their new premises, which was for 60 years and which would in due course give them back what they had lost from the sale of investments.

LORD CHALMERS, in moving the adoption of the report, said that it was marked alike by brevity and clarity. It was twenty-five years since he was a member of the Council and a contributor to the *Journal*. This long interval had at least the advantage of enabling him to form a comparison between the present position and that of the end of the Victoria era. He was happy to feel that the Society was on the whole in an improved position. The facts they had listened to gave them every hope and every reason for confidence in the closing year of their first century. The accounts presented by the Honorary Treasurer looked to him on the whole very promising, and it was especially satisfactory that in these difficult times they were able to report a net total increase of eighty-seven in the membership, and also that the debt of £500 in relation to removal to the new premises had been repaid. They were out of debt, and that was a position which many institutions, not excluding the Government of this country, would be happy to find themselves in. The Council had thus achieved a result which would do credit to the financial acumen and ability of any body of men, even if they were professionals. He found that the total rent and taxes of the house were met almost to the penny by rents which were received from tenants. It was true that money was far from being everything in connexion with a learned Society; but it was also true that without a flow of membership and without solvency any Society, however learned, was bound to collapse.

The Society had suffered a grievous loss in the death of the President, Lord Reay. All he would say in this connexion was that he believed they would agree with him that a more

catholic outlook on the things of the mind was never given to any man. He would like to say a word or two about four other losses they had sustained, three of Orientals and one of an Englishwoman, all of them friends of his own. Their Honorary Member Prince Vajirañāṇa of Siam was the head of the confraternity of Buddhists of that country. A more simple-minded scholar it would be difficult to find. He (the speaker) frequently had occasion in past years to communicate with him, and never did he fail to help him in the problems of interpretation that arose. His name would be imperishably associated with the publication of the Buddhist Canon. Just before his death he was engaged in bringing out an edition of the great commentaries, and he (Lord Chalmers) was the more interested in this because when he was in Ceylon he conceived the idea of an edition of these commentaries in Sinhalese by the learned hand of Dhammārāma, a great scholar and a great gentleman. He would also mention the name of one who was a very old man when he was in Ceylon who had been the friend, the teacher, and the counsellor of at least three generations of Europeans, Subhūti. He visited that venerable scholar during his last week in Ceylon at his Vihara. The fourth friend to whom he wished to refer was an Englishwoman, Mrs. Mabel Haynes Bode. He associated himself most cordially with Miss Ridding's tribute to her work in the current number of the *Journal*, describing it as a perfect appreciation, adding that a very valiant soul dwelt in that fragile form.

After referring to the forthcoming Centenary celebrations in Paris, Lord Chalmers said that it was a great satisfaction to him to learn that their own Centenary volume was well in hand. He was sure that it would worthily mirror the great history of the Society, and would tend to its advancement. They could each share in the success of the volume by taking immediate steps to subscribe in advance for a copy. As they entered upon a new century they must make a special effort to broaden the basis and increase the prosperity of

the Society. There was no surer direction in which they could do this than by each bringing in if they could an extra member. What they had to do was to increase and multiply, and he indulged in the pious hope that their days and centuries might be long in the land. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. R. E. ENTHOVEN, in seconding the adoption of the report, expressed regret that when they had to sell their investments two years ago for the removal they did not adopt his suggestion and borrow on the investments instead of disposing of them, having regard to the substantial advance recently shown in the price of high-class securities.

THE CHAIRMAN (Dr. F. W. Thomas) expressed the thanks of the Society to Lord Chalmers for his attendance and encouraging speech. He thought that as ex-Governor of Ceylon Lord Chalmers had special opportunities as an Orientalist in realizing one aspect of the importance of the work of such societies, namely, that the study of Oriental languages and antiquities depends in the present day not a little on the support which is supplied by the independent interest shown in the ancient history and literatures of the East by the scholars of Europe. During the past year the Society had sustained some shrewd blows at the hands of Fate. First and foremost it had been deprived of one who had been its President for nearly thirty years and whose presence had lent so much dignity and grace to the meetings of the Council and to their public gatherings. Lord Reay's long tenure of the office of President would leave with them an endearing memory of affection and esteem. In the emergency they decided that their Director, Sir Richard Temple, should discharge the duties of President in the interim. But ill-health had compelled his spending the winter in Switzerland, and though he manifested from there constant interest in the affairs of the Society, it would be idle to pretend that they had been able to obtain that advantage which his presence would have conferred in the management of their affairs. Dr. Thomas further referred to the losses of the year by

death, noted the energy and efficiency with which the administration of the Society and the editorship of the *Journal* is carried on by Miss Sykes, and said that the *Journal* was fully maintaining the standard set in previous years. He gave details of the classification of articles to show that the balance of interest was well maintained, and that there had been an accession of scholarly strength from the amalgamation with the Society of Biblical Archæology.

The report having been adopted Lord Chalmers withdrew.

SIR HENRY HOWORTH proposed the election of Lord Chalmers as president. He said that in his long life he had not known a career in the Civil Service of this country of more brilliance. It was that Service which really controlled the fortunes of this country, for while politicians came and went it was there permanently to instruct, advise, and guide. Lord Chalmers told him years ago that he felt that every man ought to drive two horses abreast. One of them was that of his career in business, professional, or official life, and the other some scholarly hobby which would give him recreation and might fill the latter part of his days with congenial effort. Therefore he took up the study of Pali and he learned it so well that he was able to bring out valuable critical editions of the Pali texts. He would fill the chair mentally, morally, and physically most adequately, and would be a worthy successor to the wonderful galaxy of names associated with that post for the last hundred years.

Professor MACDONELL, in seconding, said that Lord Chalmers had three essential qualifications. He was a scholar, which was very important; he was a man of affairs, as shown by his distinguished services to this country for many years; and he had practical experience in the East behind him as Governor of Ceylon.

The motion was carried with acclamation, and the other recommendations of the Council were adopted.

The following seven were elected as members during June :—

Mr. A. F. Abdul Ali.	Pandit Revati P. Sharma.
Mr. Abdul Aziz, Mir Munshi.	Mr. E. Templer Tickell.
Mr. B. K. Datta, B.Sc.	Mr. Hugo Valvanne.
Mr. E. Ahmad Shah.	

The Lecture Session closed on 13th June with a paper on "The Achæmenian Dynasty" by Sir Percy Sykes.

On 4th July at 3.30 there was a Special General Meeting, with the President in the chair, to pass alterations in Rules 102-5.

The following six were then elected as members :—

Babu Kishan C. Aurora, M.A.,	Mr. Khondkar A. Taher. '
LL.B.	Babu Bakhta Bahadur Verma.
Babu Biswa Nath Prasad, B.A.	Mr. M. L. Varshanai.
Mr. S. C. Ray.	

Lord Chalmers held a reception after the Special General Meeting, and at 4.30 the Triennial Gold Medal of the Society was presented by him to Professor Herbert Giles. An account of the proceedings is postponed to the October *Journal*.

The following members of the Society are attending the double centenary of the Société Asiatique at Paris :—

Dr. Cowley.	Sir E. Denison Ross.
Dr. H. R. Hall.	Mr. Lee Shuttleworth.
Professor Langdon.	Dr. F. W. Thomas.
Mr. E. S. M. Perowne.	Mr. Weld-Blundell.
Professor Rapson.	

Miss R. Whinfield has presented the Society with a number of unbound copies and blocks of *The Lawā'ih of Jāmī*, translated by her uncle, the late Mr. E. H. Whinfield.

Dr. Andreas Nell has kindly helped to complete

the Society's defective copy of the Ceylon Branch *Journal*, and has also presented two books to the Library.

Can any member sell or present a copy of the following, which are out of print, and of which the Society has not a second copy for the publishers:—

The Dhamma Sangāṇi. By Mrs. Rhys Davids.

Yuan Chwang's Travels, Vol. I. By T. Watters.

The First Twenty-four Makāmāts of al-Harīrī. By T. Chenery.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

BOOKS

April

Presented by Mr. E. J. Pilcher

Burkitt, F. C., Jewish and Christian Apocalypses. Schweich Lectures, 1913. London, 1914.

Clay, A. T., Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection. Babylonian Texts, vol. i. New Haven, London, 1915.

Cuq, E., Les nouveaux fragments du Code de Hammourabi sur le prêt à intérêt et les sociétés. Extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, T. xli. Paris, 1918.

Johns, Rev. C. H. W., The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples. Schweich Lectures, 1912. 2nd edition. London, 1917.

Amedroz, H. F., and D. S. Margoliouth, The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, Original Chronicles of the Fourth Islamic Century. The Concluding Portion of the Experiences of the Nations by Miskawaihi, Abu Shuja' Rudhrawari, and Hilal B. Muhassin. Vols. i, ii, iii, Arabic Text; vols. iv, v, vi, English Text; vol. vii, Index. Oxford, 1920.

From the Editor.

Archæological Department, Southern Circle, Madras. Annual Report, 1920-1. Madras, 1921.

From the Secretary of State.

Arnold, T. W., and R. A. Nicholson, A volume of Oriental Studies, presented to Edward G. Browne on his 60th birthday, edited by, Cambridge, 1922. *From the Publishers.*

Ayscough, F., Fir Flower Tablets, poems translated from the Chinese. English versions by A. Lowell. Boston, New York, 1921. *From the Translator.*

Bengal Government Records. Proceedings Controlling Council of Revenue, Murshidabad. Vol. iv, February-March, 1771. Calcutta, 1921. *From the Government of India.*

Bergsträsser, G., Glossar des nenaramäischen Dialekts von Ma'lūla. Abh. Kunde des Morgenlandes. Leipzig, 1921.

From the Publishers.

Bertram, Sir A., and H. C. Luke, Report of the Commission appointed by the Government of Palestine to inquire into the affairs of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. London, 1921. *From the Publishers.*

- Bhattacharya, B. C., *Indian Images*. Vol. i, pt. i, *The Bhahmanic Iconography*. Calcutta, 1921. *From the Publishers.*
- Buddhaghosa's Commentary on Four Nikāyas of the Suttantapitaka: (1) *Sumangalavilāsini Dighanikāyatthakathā*; (2) *Papañcasūdanī Majjhimunikāyatthakathā*; (3) *Saraththapakāsini Samyuttanikāyatthakathā*; (4) *Manorathapūranī Aṅguttaranikāyatthakathā*. Twelve volumes. Issued by Prince Vajiriyana. 1921. *Presented by H.R.H. the Prince of Chandaburi.*
- Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis, *The Queen of Sheba and her only son Menyelek, being the history of the departure of God and His Ark of the Covenant from Jerusalem to Ethiopia, and the establishment of the religion of the Hebrews and the Solomonic line of kings in that country. A complete translation of the Kebra Nagast with introduction*. London, Boston, 1922. *From the Publishers.*
- Bûhâr Library, *Catalogue of Persian MSS.* begun by Qâsim Haṣir Raḍavî, revised and completed by 'Abd-ul-Muqtadir. Vol. i. Calcutta, 1921. *From the Government of India.*
- Calcutta University, *Journal Department of Letters*, vol. vi; *The Bhela Samhita, Sanskrit Text*, vol. vii. Calcutta, 1921. *From the Registrar.*
- Chassinat, E., *Le Temple d'Edfou*. T. ii, fasc. 2, 3. *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, T. xi. Le Caire, 1918, 1920. *From the Ministère des Beaux Arts.*
- District Gazetteers of the U.P. of Agra and Oudh. Aligarh. *Supplementary notes, etc., to vol. vi*. Allahabad, 1914. *From the Government of India.*
- Eisler, R., *Orpheus—The Fisher, Comparative Studies in Orphic and Early Christian Cult Symbolism*. London, 1921. *From the Publishers.*
- Gamble, S. D., and J. S. Burgess, *Peking, a social survey*. Foreword by G. S. Eddy and R. A. Woods. London, 1921. *From the Publishers.*
- Geiger, W., *Maldivian Linguistic Studies* translated by Mrs. J. C. Willis, edited by H. C. P. Bell. Colombo, 1919.
- Hill, G. F., *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*, British Museum. London, 1922. *From the Trustees.*
- Hogarth, D. G., *Arabia*. Oxford, 1922. *From the Publishers.*
- Hosten, Rev. H., *Inscriptions on Christian Graves, Purnea District*. Patna, 1920. *From the Government of India.*
- Howard, C. G., *Shuwa Arabic Stories*. Oxford, 1921. *From the Crown Agents for the Colonies.*
- Hutton, J. H., *The Sema Nagas*. Foreword and illustrations by H. Balfour. London, 1921. *From the Publishers.*

Iibert, Sir C., The Government of India, a brief historical survey of Parliamentary legislation relating to India. Oxford, 1922.

From the Publishers.

Imperial Record Department. List of the Heads of Administrations in India, corrected to 1st April, 1921. Calcutta, 1921.

From the Secretary of State.

— Press-list of Mutiny Papers, 1857. Calcutta, 1921.

From the Government of India.

Indian Historical Records Commission. Proceedings, vol. iii.

Third Meeting held at Bombay, January, 1921. Calcutta, 1921.

From the India Office.

Ja'far Sharif, Islam in India or the Qānūn-i-Islam, translated by G. A. Herklots; new edition, revised with additions by W. Crooke. London, 1921.

From the Editor.

Kindersley, A. F., Handbook of Bombay Government Records. Bombay, 1921.

From the Secretary of State.

Kyuprülü-zâde Mehmed Fu'ad, History of Turkish Literature. Books 1, 2. Constantinople, 1921.

From the Author.

Lyall, Sir C., The Mufaddaliyât, an anthology of ancient Arabian odes compiled by Al-Mufaddal, son of Muḥammad, according to the recension and with the commentary of Abū Muḥammad Al-Quāsim ibn Muḥammad Al-Anbārī, edited for the first time. Vol. i, Arabic text; Vol. ii, translation and notes. Oxford, 1918-21.

From Mr. A. A. Bevan.

Marshall, Sir J., Annual Report, Archæology in India, 1918-19. Calcutta, 1921.

From the Government of India.

Melamed, R. H., The Targum to Canticles according to six Yemen MSS., compared with the 'Textus Receptus' as contained in de Lagarde's 'Hagiographa Chaldaice'. Philadelphia, 1921.

From the Author.

Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Sulaymān Ar-rāwandi, The Raḥat-uṣ-Ṣudūr wa Āyat-us-Surūr, being a history of the Saljūqs, edited with notes, glossary, and indices by Muḥammad Iqbāl. Gibb Memorial Fund. N.S., vol. ii, Persian Text. London, 1921.

From the Trustees.

Navendra Nath Law, Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, foreword by A. B. Keith. Oxford, 1921.

From the Publishers.

Pistis Sophia, a Gnostic Miscellany. Englished (with an introduction and bibliography) by G. R. S. Mead. New and revised edition. London, 1921.

From the Publishers.

Plessis, J., Étude sur les textes concernant Ištar-Astarté. Paris, 1921.

From the Author and Monsieur L. Gry.

Ross, Sylvia Leith-, Fulani Grammar.

From the Crown Agents for the Colonies.

Śāntideva, Śikshā-Samuccaya, a compendium of Buddhist Doctrine chiefly from earlier Mahāyāna Sūtras. Translated

from the Sanskrit by C. Bendall and W. H. D. Rouse.
Indian Texts Series. London, 1922.

From the Secretary of State.
Sottas, H., Papyrus Démotiques de Lille. T. i, 18 Planches,
Paris, 1921.

From the Publishers.
Tagore, R., Creative Unity. London, 1922. *From the Publishers.*
Tripitaka Commentaries, Visuddhi Magga, Nettippakarana,
Mahá Niddésa. Vols. viii, ix, x. Simon Hewavitarne
Bequest. Colombo, 1920-21.

Presented by Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne.
Valentine, W. H., Sassanian Coins. London, 1921.

From the Publishers.
Vaux, Baron Carra de, Les penseurs de l'Islam. Vol. i, Les
souverains, l'histoire et la philosophie politique. Vol. ii,
Les géographes, les sciences mathématiques et naturelles.
Paris, 1921. *From the Publishers.*

July

Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres de Crakovie,
Mémoires.

Gawronski, A., Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist literature.
No. 2.

— Notes sur les sources de quelques drames indiens. No. 4.
Kowalski, T., Enigmes populaires turques, texte, traduction
et résumé français. No. 1.

— Études sur la forme de la poésie des peuples Turcs. 1.
No. 5.

Szczepański, W., Les habitants de la Palestine primitive
jusqu'à 1400 avant J. Chr. No. 3.

Kraków, 1919-20-21-22. *From the Publishers.*
Amsterdam, Koloniaal Instituut, Mededeling No. 4. Pandecten
van het Adatrecht. 6. Het recht om te huwen en het recht
in zake verlovings. Amsterdam, 1921. *From the Publishers.*

Archæological Department, Mysore. Annual Report, 1921.
Bangalore, 1922. *From the Government of India.*

Archæological Survey, India. Memoirs.

No. 6. Yazdani, G., The Temples at Palampet.

No. 11. Shastri, Hirananda, Some recently added sculptures
in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. Calcutta, 1922.

From the Government of India.
Baumstark, A., Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluss
der christlich-palästinensischen Texte. Bonn, 1922.

From the Publishers.
British Museum. Edwards, E., Catalogue of the Persian printed
books.

— Waley, A., An index of Chinese artists.

London, 1922. *From the Trustees.*

- Brown, A. R., *The Andaman Islanders, a study in social anthropology.* Cambridge, 1922. *From the Publishers.*
- Brown, C. C., *Perak Malay. Papers on Malay subjects, ser. II.* Calcutta, 1921. *From the Author.*
- Burlingame, E. W., *Buddhist Legends, translated from the original Pali text of the Dhammapada Commentary.* 3 vols. Harvard Oriental Series, vols. xxviii, xxix, xxx. Cambridge, Mass., London, 1921. *From the Publishers.*
- Cambridge History of India. Edited by E. J. Rapson. Vol. I. *Ancient India.* Cambridge, 1922. *From the Publishers.*
- Charpentier, J., *Die Suparnasage, Untersuchungen zur alt-indischen Literatur- u. Sägengeschichte. Arbeiten utgifna med Understöd af Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond.* Uppsala, 1920. *From the Publishers.*
- Dandin, *Die zehn Prinzen, ein indischer Roman vollständig verdeutscht von J. Hertel.* 3 vols. Leipzig, 1922. *From the Publishers.*
- Fort St. George Records. *Diary and Consultation Book of 1697, 1698.* Madras, 1921, 1922.
- *Letters for 1699-1700.* Vol. vii. Madras, 1921. *From the Secretary of State.*
- Frazer, Sir J. G., *Adonis, étude de religions orientales comparées, trad. française par Lady Frazer. Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'études.* T. 29. Paris, 1921. *From the Publishers.*
- Genouillac, H. de, *Textes économiques d'Oumma de l'époque d'Our, textes cunéiformes.* T. 5. Musée du Louvre. Paris, 1922. *From the Publishers.*
- Gidvani, M. M., *Shah Abdul Latif, introduction by Sir T. Arnold.* The India Society. London, 1922.
- Giles, H. A., *Record of the Buddhist kingdoms. Translated from the Chinese.* London, Shanghai, 1877. *Given by Lord Chalmers.*
- Granet, M., *La religion des Chinois.* Paris, 1922. *From the Publishers.*
- Guesdon, J., *Dictionnaire Cambodgien-Français. Fasc. 4. Commission archéologique de l'Indochine.* Paris, 1921. *From the Publishers.*
- Handbook of Arabia. Vol. I. *General.*
- *Lybia.*
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Wahm in Arabic and its Cognates

By D. B. MACDONALD

IT may safely be said that every one who has had to do with technical Arabic has had difficulty with *wahm* and its cognates. Some recent investigations have led me to examine the meanings of these in detail and I endeavour in this paper to give my results. It will be understood that this is not a complete lexicographical handling of the whole root, but only an attempt to discover the more technical uses of some of its phases. In the arrangement of the material I fear that I have not always avoided logical cross-division; but the subject is complicated and will call for reading backward as well as forward. Also I make no attempt to trace the origin of these Arabic psychological conceptions, whether in Greek, Syriac, or elsewhere, or to compare them with any parallel conceptions in modern psychology. Such few references as I may make, of the one kind or the other, are simply to illumine *wahm* itself.

I. The classical uses, which must be taken as a basis, can be learned best from the *Siḥāḥ* and the *Lisān* (xvi, pp. 130 f.), Lane's notes on this root in the supplement to his lexicon (p. 3061) are illuminating, but have been slightly affected by medieval and modern usage. In classical usage Stems I, II, IV (both *awhama* and *at-hama*) and VIII occur, and there is

the following range of meanings: to err; to occur to one's mind while meaning to think of something else; to imagine to be, to guess at, to conjecture; to suspect (some one of...); to drop (something) completely out (by error); to be unmindful of, disregard. The *Lisān* equates *tawahhama* with *takhayyala* and *tamaththala*, evidently in the sense "to imagine to be, to guess at"; also with *tafarrasa*, *tawassama*, and *tabayyana*, evidently in the sense "to scrutinize, investigate". Zuhair's *Mu'allaga*, l. 4 (cf. 'Antara's *Mu'allaga*, l. 1) is quoted, and Nöldeke (*Fünf Mo'allagāt*, ii, p. 15; iii, p. 14) renders these passages with "vermuthen". The *Lisān* says of the noun *wahm* that it is one of the movements (*khatarāt*) of the mind; that the mind has a *wahm* which imagines a thing to be such and such, whether the thing exists or not. Also *la wahma min kadha* = *la budda*, meaning, apparently, "there is no conceivable way out, real or unreal." It is plain, then, that the root indicates sub-conscious or semi-conscious movements of the mind, not under the control of conscious reason, and so liable to error and to sudden lapses of attention. On another side, such *awhām* may give rise to suspicions, founded or unfounded. In all cases the actuality or possibility of error is strongly marked. It is unnecessary to enter upon the uses of *wahm* as an epithet for a road (clear, plain), a camel (big, powerful, well-broken), and a man (powerful); whatever their origin, they have no connexion with the present subject. Finally, with a view to future developments, the equation *tawahhama* = *takhayyala* is of importance. In the *Qāmūs* (see, too, Lane, *Supplement*, p. 3061c), a common and medieval meaning is reached; *wahm*, of two extremes between which one wavers, is that which is outweighed in probability; *ẓann*, on the other hand, is a preponderant opinion, although not absolutely certain (Lane, p. 1925a).

II. The broad medieval and modern usage may now be sketched. It is to be learned from Lane, *Supplement*; Dozy, *Supplément*; and the lexicons of Hava and Salmoné; opinion

or idea outweighed in probability; imagination; fancy; conjecture tending to chimera; fear and disquietude; feint in wrestling; the fifth stem is very frequent in the sense "to imagine, fancy" of empty, unreal imagination. Dozy adds the seventh stem from Boethor, with the meaning "to be preoccupied, prepossessed, prejudiced". Hava adds the seventh and tenth, with the meanings "to be scared, perplexed, afraid (of a child). Hava and Salmoné both equate *wahm* and "instinct". Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena*, ed. Quatr. iii, 74, l. 3 from below, ii, 77, l. 2 from below; 79, l. 5, uses the fourth stem "to arouse suspicion of something". Horten (*Theologie des Islam*, p. 273) gives a series of usages from theological writers all suggesting error and improbability. Carlos Quirós Rodríguez, in his ed. of Averroes' *Metaphysics* (Madrid, 1919, p. 307) gives *wahmī* as "hipotetico, supuesto, mental". He adds no references, and I have not gone through his text to find them.

III. I now turn to more detailed examination of some uses of *wahm* in philosophy and logic. Al-Ghazzālī, in his *Iljām* (ed. Cairo, 1303, p. 56, ll. 13 ff.) says that *wahmī* proofs are "scholastic (*kalāmīya*), based upon conceded (*musallama*) positions believed because of their notoriety (*ishṭihār*) among the great 'Ulamā, and because of the obloquy of denying them and because of natural shrinking from entering upon controversy as to them." "Scholastic," here, refers to the arguments of the mutakallims, the scholastic theologians who upheld the atomic scheme and were opposed by al-Ghazzālī as a Neoplatonic Aristotelian (see article *Kalām* in the Leyden *Encyclopedia of Islam*). This is made clear by al-Ghazzālī himself in his *Mihakk an-naẓar fi-l-mantiq* (Cairo, Adabīya, pp. 47 ff. n.d.). In it he divides propositions and judgments in the logical sense (*muqaddimāt, qaḍāyā*) the materials out, of which syllogisms are constructed, according to their origin and certainty, into seven classes. (i) *Awwalīyāt*, "axioms," in exactly our sense; (ii) *Mushāhadāt bāṭina*, "internal observations," e.g. hunger, thirst, fear, joy; (iii) *Maḥsūsāt*

zāhira, "external sense-perceptions," e.g. milk is white, the moon is round; (iv) *Tajarrubīyāt*, "experiments," also called *Ittirād al-'ādāt*, "regularity of occurrence," our "reign of law"; e.g. fire burns, a stone falls in the direction of the earth; (v) *Ma'lūmāt bit-tawātur*, "things known by unanimous tradition," e.g. the acknowledged facts of history and geography; (vi) *Wahmīyāt*, judgments on the part of the *wahm*, see below; (vii) *Mashhūrāt*, "widely spread and known," i.e. conventional principles of conduct (cf. *ishtihār* above).

This analysis, although in a treatise on logic, is evidently psychological and not logical; it deals with the substance (*mādda*) of propositions and not with their form (*ṣūra*). In consequence nothing corresponding with it will be found in such formal treatises on logic as that of Abū-ṣ-Ṣalt of Denia (A.H. 460-529), edited with a Spanish translation by Palencia (Madrid, 1915), or that of Ibn Ṭumlūs of Alcira (d. A.H. 620), edited with a Spanish translation by Asín (Madrid, 1916). But there does occur an even more detailed analysis of a similar kind, giving six classes of certain (*yaqīnī*) propositions and six of uncertain (*ghair yaqīnī*), as an appendix to the *Risāla Shamsīya* on logic of al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī (d. A.H. 675). This was published by Sprenger with an English translation as an appendix to his invaluable *Dictionary of Technical Terms*; see in it pp. 1 v f. and 34 f. There is also an excellent Cairo edition of A.H. 1311, with the commentary of ar-Rāzī (d. A.H. 766) and the *ḥāshīya* on the latter, of al-Jurjānī (d. A.H. 816); see in it pp. 127 ff. Almost the same analysis into six and six is given in a short form in the *Īshāghūjī* of al-Abharī; it was probably his source; it goes back to the *Εισαγωγή* of Porphyry. See the collection of *Mutūn* published by the Ḥamīdiya Press, Cairo, 1323, pp. 377 f.

I give these details in order to guard against any idea that the doctrine of *wahmī* propositions was in any way peculiar to Ghazzālī. Al-Abharī, al-Kātibī and ar-Rāzī are in essential

accord with him. There is no *ḥāshiya* by al-Jurjānī on the passage, but Jurjānī's definitions in his *Ta'rifāt* (ed. Cairo, 1321, pp. 175 f.) show that his doctrine was the same. To return to al-Ghazzālī—three of the above classes, he says, the *Awwalīyāt*, the *Wahmīyāt*, and the *Mashhūrāt* are alike in being immediate and intuitive; they are reached by no process of consideration or reflection. But the *Awwalīyāt* (axioms) are intuitions of reason (*'aql*), and are therefore certainly true; they are absolute *yaqīnīyāt*. And they depend upon reason only; if a man were to think away from himself everything but reason, the *Awwalīyāt* would remain. The *Mashhūrāt*, on the other hand, would drop away from him; they are a product of environment, teaching, and training, and submission to them is often from a desire of peace and the need of adjusting one's self to one's world. They may thus be true or false; but the firmness with which they are planted in the mind is no proof of their truth. For Muslim writers the standard example of a false *Mashhūra* is the prohibition of the slaughter of domestic animals (*bahā'im*) and of the eating of their flesh. Further, the *Mashhūrāt* differ from the *Wahmīyāt* in that they do not spring from the primary constitution of mankind (*al-fiṭra*; see this in the Leyden *Encyclopedia of Islam*) but from accidental causes. As the *Wahmīyāt* have such an origin it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish between them and the *Awwalīyāt*, and the truth or falsity of each *wahmī* proposition can be discovered only by testing it by means of reason. Sometimes the two classes coincide; it is both a *wahmī* and an *awwalī* proposition that an individual cannot be in two places at the same time. But it is a *wahmī* proposition and false that an entity (*marjūd*) is always in space and in a direction so that we can point at it. So long as the *wahm* deals with objects of sense (*maḥsūsāt*), as in the mechanical and arithmetical sciences, its judgments are true, for the *wahm* is a corporeal power belonging to man in his animal psyche (*nafs*) and perceives the particulars which are derived from objects of sense. But the *wahm* tries to go

farther, and deal with things that are not objects of sense as though they were objects of sense, and then its results are false. The *nafs* of man, that is his animal *nafs*, is very directly under the influence of sense and *wahm* and to such an extent that his *nafs* often does not distinguish between the *Wahmīyāt* and the *Awwalīyāt*. So the reason must enter and judge.

It will now be plain, I think, that this *wahm*, thus acting in the animal *nafs* of man, is really the instinctive perception of the lower animals which continues in him, but which he must control by reason and must especially prevent from meddling with super-sensible things and the world of abstract universals generally. Thus it belongs to man's primary constitution; but it can be trusted only within those limits. And just because it belongs to this primary constitution of man al-Ghazzālī is very explicit as to the difficulty in distinguishing between its results and the *Awwalīyāt*. It has led to the position of the sceptics that we can never reach certainty, and that there must always remain a balance or equality (*takāfu'*) of proofs, one against another. But al-Ghazzālī suggests that we might apply doubt as to this very "equality".¹ As for *wahm* he gives two methods of dealing with it. One, a general method, is to apply *wahm* to itself, when it would have to deny itself, as it takes account only of concrete qualities like thickness, amount, colour; or to confront it with such thought-qualities as power, knowledge, will, when it would picture each of them in concrete terms, and if it were obliged to combine these qualities could do it only in terms of space. Thus the general weakness of *wahm* would be exposed. To test the particular cases that may arise, the only way is to use reason and turn one result of *wahm* against another. This method can be put most shortly and simply in an illustration which ar-Rāzī gives. *Wahm* teaches

¹ It will be remembered that the basis of Ghazzālī's pragmatic position was the application of the methods of scepticism to pure metaphysics.

fear of a dead body ; but it also teaches, in agreement with, reason, that a dead body is only a *jamād*, a piece of lifeless matter, and a *jamād* is not to be feared. Thus instinctive attitudes can neutralize one another. Finally, it is clear that al-Ghazzālī considered that the mutakallims made use of untested *wahmī* propositions just as the canon lawyers in their dialectic made use of the *Mashhūrāt*. Thus the mutakallims had a natural shrinking (*nafarat at-ṭab'*) from the saying of the Aristotelians that beyond the world there was neither void nor plenum (*laisa warā' al-'ālam lā khalā' wa-lā malā'*), and taught an infinity of space. This was, of course, because they were atomists (cf. Lucretious, i, 958 ff., and Munro's commentary), but al-Ghazzālī considered it a *wahm* fallacy on their part and brings dialectic against it.

It may be well to add here, with a view to the sequel, that the *Risāla Shamsīya* and ar-Rāzī's commentary thereon, with the *Isāghūjī* and the *Ta'rīfāt* of Jurjānī give a class of non-certain propositions which are called *Mukhayyalāt*. They are a product of the imagination (*al-khayāl*) ; by attractive or repulsive metaphors and comparisons they produce in the *nafs* pleasure or disgust, and thus play upon it to stimulate its desires and dislikes ; combined in a syllogism they make poetry (*shī'r*), which is aided in its effect on the *nafs* by metre and melody. It will be remembered that the *Lisān* gives *takhayyala* in the classical language as a synonym of *tawakkhama*. In logic and psychology they are quite different, but in rhetoric, as we shall see, they again come close to one another. These *Mukhayyalāt* come in oddly in a logical treatise ; but their presence there is evidently due to the schematic tendency of scholasticism. "Wine is liquid rubies" is, in form at least, a proposition or judgment ; it must, therefore, be possible to use it in a syllogism ; poetry, therefore, can be called a syllogism. Al-Ghazzālī, who used scholastic methods, but was not ridden by them, recognized the pathetic fallacy of argument by metaphor ; but did not therefore classify poetry under syllogism.

Also, it may be well to add that there is much more on this analysis of propositions in al-Ghazzālī's *Mi'yār al-'ilm* (ed. Cairo, 1329), which is an introduction to logical analysis and intended to explain his *Tahāfut*. The subject runs through the whole book; but he deals especially on pp. 112 ff. with premises which are not certain and which cannot be used for absolute proof (*burhān*); on pp. 115 ff., pp. 129 ff. with *wahmīyāt*; and on pp. 131 ff., 136 and 142 f. with *wahm*. The book is thus a very remarkable study in practical logic. It gives (pp. 112 ff.) a classification of six kinds of propositions uncertain because of content, which seems to lie behind that of the *Risāla Shamsīya*; but it is not scholastic at all, and is of great value for the clarifying of thought. The six of the *Shamsīya* are (i) *Mashhūrāt* (see above), (ii) *Musallamāt* (admissions for dialectic purposes), (iii) *Maqbūlāt* (beliefs on faith or authority), (iv) *Maznūnāt* (fallible opinions and presumptions), (v) *Mukhayyalāt* (see above), (vi) *Wahmīyāt*. Al-Ghazzālī divides his six into two main groups, three which may be used in practical applications of canon law (*fiqh*), but not for absolute demonstration and three which lead only to confusion and error. The first three are (i), (iii), (iv), of the *Shamsīya*; the second three are (vi) of the *Shamsīya* with the weak and erroneous side of (i), (ii), (iv), (v) of the *Shamsīya*, and a class of absolute confusions and mistakes. It will be noticed that he completely rejects the pure *wahm*, i.e. when it is not backed by the reason, as a basis for even the practical questions of canon law.

IV. But to make all this entirely plain it will be necessary to go into further psychological detail, and I have thrown into the form of a comparative table, in chronological order, analyses of the inner senses or powers (*hawāss bāṭina*, *quwā bāṭina*) of the animal soul (*nafs hayawānīya*) as given by five authorities. These are (i) Ibn Sīnā (d. A.H. 428), *Hadīyat ar-ra'īs*, ed. by S. Landauer in ZDMG., xxix, pp. 335-418, see especially pp. 358 ff., and by Edward van Dyck, Cairo, A.H. 1325, pp. 51 ff.; (ii) al-Ghazzālī (d. A.H. 505), *Maqāṣid*

(i)

Ibn Sīnā (d. A.H. 428)

(1) *al-ḥiss al-muḥtarak* or *al-mutaṣawwir*, the "common sense" of Aristotle, *al-bayṣ kawn*.

(2) *al-mutaḥayyilā* combines and separates not only images gained from external senses but also others, unreal and false. Does not necessarily believe in them.

(3) *al-mutarakkhima* or *az-zānna* instinctively derives ideas and judgments from sense perceptions and believes in them. So a sheep gains instinctive fear of a wolf.

(4) *al-ḥāfiẓa* or *al-mutaḥakkira* preserves these ideas.

When 3 alone uses 2, as in the lower animals, 2 is called *al-mutaḥayyilā*; but when reason (*al-'aql*, *al-quwa al-nāfiqa*) uses 2, as in man, 2 is called *al-quwa al-mutaḥakkira*. This is in the case of *nafs insānī*.

(ii)

al-Ghazzālī (d. A.H. 505)

(1) *al-ḥiss al-muḥtarak*.
(2) *al-mutaṣawwir* is a memory to the "common sense".

(3) *al-waḥmiya* perceives in the sense percept something that is not a sense percept, as the enmity of the wolf in the wolf. This in the lower animals plays the part of reason in man. The perception is not by the eye, but by another power.

(4) *al-dhākira* preserves the ideas which 3 gains, just as 2 preserves the pictures got by 1.

(5) *al-mutaḥayyilā* searches out the pictures and ideas in 2 and 4, combines and separates these and does not invent anything without a previous model (*nizāl*); in man it is called *al-mutaḥakkira*, a term which really means reason (*'aql*), while this *mutaḥayyilā* is not reason, but only an instrument of reason in its thinking. This process goes on in sleep and is the instrument of remembering by association of ideas.

(iii)

al-Qazwī (d. A.H. 682) considers these as powers of the human *nafs*.

(1) *al-ḥiss al-muḥtarak*. Perceives all the products of the *mutaḥayyilā* (5) of the sick or those in fear, i.e. hallucinations.

(2) *al-khayāl* or memory of these.

(3) *al-waḥmiya* perceives the "particular" (as opposed to "universal") ideas as connected with sense percepts. You see Zaid, but you perceive by *waḥmiya* his truthfulness. De Sacy transl. "l'opinion ou l'instinct".

(4) *al-ḥāfiẓa* preserves these ideas.

(5) *al-mutaḥakkira* deals with the pictures in 2 and the ideas in 4 by separating and combining. If it obeys reason in so doing, it is called *mutaḥakkira*; but if it does not it is called *mutaḥayyilā*.

(iv)

al-Jūrī (d. A.H. 756) and al-Jurjānī (d. A.H. 816)

(1) *al-ḥiss al-muḥtarak*.

(2) *al-khayāl*.

(3) *al-waḥmiya* gives such particular ideas connected with sense percepts as the instincts of animals. al-Jūrī says that it is this power which judges that one particular object of sense is a particular thing"; but al-Jurjānī urges that "this smaller thing is this sweet thing"; the two terms of this proposition are perceived by the "common sense" and the relationship (*uḍwa*) by the *Waḥmiya*, and that, therefore, the power of forming this judgment (*kuṭm*) must be something else which includes all these. He means the reasonable *nafs* itself, which, he maintains, perceives all particulars for itself and not simply universals, as the philosophers held. Evidently the philosophers thought that perceiving a relationship was the same as forming a judgment. This seems to be a form of our eighteenth century problem of empiricism which has reappeared in the radical empiricism of William James.

(4) *al-ḥāfiẓa*.

(5) *al-mutaḥayyilā*.

(v)

Ibn Khaldūn (d. A.H. 808) (He looks upon these as an ascent by which man rises from the physical (*ḥimānī*) to the spiritual (*rūḥānī*).

(1) *al-ḥiss al-muḥtarak* transmits its impressions to 2.

(2) *al-khayāl* presents in the *nafs* the sense percept as it is, only stripped of external matter. Then it mounts to 3 and 4.

(3) *al-waḥmiya* perceives ideas connected with individualities (*shakhṣiyāt*). Ibn Khaldūn's examples are partly animal instincts and partly human perceptions of qualities.

(4) *al-ḥāfiẓa*, a storehouse for all percepts, whether *mutaḥayyilā* or otherwise. All these faculties mount up to

(5) *al-'aql*, thinking, meditating. See further, on this "ladder", *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, pp. 56 ff.

al-falāsifa, ed. Cairo, 1331, pp. 284 ff.; (iii) al-Qazwīnī (d. A.H. 682). *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 358 f., cf. De Sacy in *Chrest. ar.*, iii, p. 488; (iv) al-Ījī (d. A.H. 756), *Mawāqif*, ed. Būlāq, 1266, with comm. of al-Jurjānī (d. A.H. 816), pp. 433 ff.; (v) Ibn Khaldūn (d. A.H. 808), *Prolegomena*, ed. Quatremère, i, pp. 175 ff., transl. De Slane, i, pp. 199 ff., cf. the present writer's *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, pp. 56 ff.

Elsewhere Ibn Sīnā divides between the "common sense" and its memory. His *quwā*, then, are five: (i) the *hiss mushtarak*; (ii) the *muṣawwira*, called also *al-khayāl*; (iii) the *mutakhayyila* or *mufakkira*; (iv) the *wahmīya*; (v) the *ḥāfiẓa dhākira*. He calls, also, (i) *banṭāsiyā*, i.e. *φαντασία*. See Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, pp. 416 f., ed. on margin of Ibn Hazm, Cairo, 1320, iii, pp. 196 f., transl. Haarbrücker, pp. 314 f. and Landauer's note on p. 403 in his article cited above.

V. It may now, perhaps, be simplest to take the application of *wahm* in Magic. Dozy quotes from Humbert, *Guide de la conversation arabe*, p. 33, *wahm* = ombre, spectre. This is modern Algerian Arabic, but Dozy quotes also from the "Vocabulista", medieval Arabic of the east of Spain, the first and fifth stems, constructed with *min* and *fī*, in the meaning "mirari in prestigiis". Combining this, as Dozy suggested, with Ducange's article "miratores", I have no doubt that the reference is to some form of crystal-gazing or the ink mirror as described by Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xii, and so I conjecture that *tawahhama min . . . fī . . .* meant "to conjure up an appearance to one's self from a certain ritual in regard to a question submitted". But in the *locus classicus*, for Arabic, on this art, in Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena* (ed. Quatr. i, pp. 191 ff., transl. De Slane, i, pp. 218 ff., my *Religious Attitude*, pp. 93 ff.), this term is not used except Quatr. p. 196, l. 9, where it may mean simply "imagine falsely".

There is also a use of *wahm* and *tawahhum*, in the sense of

instinctive, automatic panic which evidently connects closely with this. Ibn Khaldūn, in his *Prolegomena* (Quatr. iii, 132; De Slane, iii, 182; *Religious Attitude*, p. 116), develops his theory of magic as a psychical force producing physical effects; an influence, that is, of the *nafs insānīya*. He shows by the direct influence which the psyche exerts on its own body, that it can exercise such a power apart from natural and physical causes. Thus joy produces physical warmth. But, still more, the forming a picture to one's self in the *nafs* of something (*taṣawwura nafsānīya*) may cause an instinctive, automatic panic (*wahm* and *tawahhum*), as in the case of one who walks on the top of a wall. His feet do not need more room than when he walks on the ground, but on the wall he is sure to fall, unless this tendency to panic is overcome by practice. This shows that it is an affection of the *nafs* which can, and should, always be disciplined. The theory and position of Shahrastānī (d. A.H. 548), two centuries and a half earlier, had been the same (*Milāl wan-nihāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 448, ed. on margin of Ibn Ḥazm, iii, p. 243); this overpowering, instinctive fear he, too, calls *wahm*. Further, he, too, is dealing with magic, in this case the magic of Indian ascetics, and he calls them "people of *wahm* and meditation (*fikr*)."¹

Ibn Khaldun does not seem, as I have said, to use *wahm* of the magical power; but he does use *fikr* of the "meditation" by an augur on birds or animals before giving his decision (Quatr. i, p. 195; De Slane, i, p. 222). Al-Bērūnī (d. 440), in his *India* (chap. vii) discusses the same phenomena and methods at greater length and in a more abstract and philosophical manner; his word for the essential "meditation" is *fikr*, and I do not think he uses *wahm*. But Mas'ūdī (d. 345), in his *Murūj* (Paris ed. ii, pp. 266 f.), in dealing with Alexander in India and a magical cup which he found there, speaks of a science of *tawahhum* which the Indian sages asserted that they possessed. Still earlier Ibn

¹ Professor M. H. Ananikian drew my attention to this passage.

Khurdādhbih (wrote betw. 230 and 234) gave, in his *Masālik wal-mamālik* (Bibl. Geogr. Arab. vi, pp. vi f.) a statement that the people of India asserted that they possessed *al-wahm wal-fikr* and so could loose and bind, hurt and help, produce puzzling "appearances" (*takhāyīl*), which we now call "visual hallucinations", keep off rain and hail and make poison innocuous; generally do by spells whatever they wished. In the *Fihrist* (completed by 400) the second *Fann* of the fourth *Maqāla* is devoted to magic in the broadest sense. In it we are told (p. 309, l. 12) "the Indians especially possess the science of *tawāhhum*; they have books on it, some of which have been translated into Arabic." On p. 312, ll. 24 f., a certain Indian is mentioned whose name in the MSS. is illegible, and it is said: "He was of the ancients and his method in enchantments (*nīranjāt*, a very broad word) was that of the Indians; there is a book by him in which he follows the course of the people of *tawāhhum*." Finally, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 779) gives details of wonders he had seen in India and China. He is a good witness as to facts just because of his Pepys-like quality of detailed truthfulness, however the story might bear upon himself; but it is also to be remembered that he had a great liking for miracles of saints (*karāmāt*), even of the most insignificant character. He was prepared to meet the supernatural at any time. So he had several adventures with Yogis, whom he calls *Jūkiya* and whom, because of their wonders, he feels compelled to regard as crypto-Muslims (Paris ed., vol. iv, pp. 72 and 277 ff.). On the second of these two occasions he is told a story about the yogi in question, for him a Muslim Shaykh, which is a straight case of hypnotic suggestion like that told by Lane at the end of note 15 to chapter i of his *Arabian Nights*. A phrase used by the narrator is worth notice in this context: *fa-khuyyila lī 'annī*, "then there was made to appear to me that I . . ."; compare *takhāyīl* above. But Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had no theory about all this; it was only part of the constant supernatural with which life, for him, was surrounded. So

when he uses the word *wahm*, as he does at least twice, it is of instinctive, automatic panic. On one occasion (iv, pp. 38 f.) it is when a yogi raises himself into the air, squatting there cross-legged (*mutarabbi'*). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa falls fainting with *wahm* and palpitation of the heart (*khafaqān al-qalb*). The same palpitation of the heart is produced by a juggler (*musha-widh*) in China (iv, pp. 290 ff.), who performs the rope trick, but on that occasion he does not speak of *wahm*, perhaps by accident. His other use of *wahm* is for the fear at looking down a deep cliff in climbing Adam's Peak in Ceylon (iv, 180); this is like the illustration given by Ibn Khaldūn.

In all this the interesting point is the association of *wahm*, on the one hand, with automatic instinct and, on the other, with intentional meditation (*fikr*); the animal connecting with the rational. It will be remembered, from the psychological tables given above, that the *quwwa mutakhayyila* searches out and works with the memory pictures contributed by the "common sense" and the ideas drawn by the *quwwa wahmīya*. But when this goes on in the mind of a man and not of an animal—that is, is under the rule of reason ('*aql*, *quwwa nāṭiqā*)—this power is called the *quwwa mufakkira* or *mutafakkira*, "the meditative power," not the *quwwa mutakhayyila*, "the power that produces for itself appearances." So, as man is both an animal (*ḥayawān*) and rational (*nāṭiq*), both *wahm*, simply reproductive and non-creative imagination, and *fikr*, intentional meditation, are at work in him. Thus "imagination" may often be used as a rendering of *wahm*, if we are careful to exclude the Coleridgean use of that word.

VI. This leads naturally to *wahm* in Rhetoric. I draw upon Garcin de Tassy's *Rhétorique et Prosodie des Langues de l'Orient musulman*, ii ed., 1873; A. F. Mehren's *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, 1853; Friedrich Rückert's *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, 1874, which are all based on very careful use of the native manuals and render it unnecessary to go back to these. The first use is an ordinary development

of the meaning of *wahm* as a deceptive illusion. 'Īhām means literally "to produce a deceptive illusion," it may be of contrast (*taḍādd*) or of relation (*tanāsūb*). A word has two meanings, one common and the other rare; you are led up to the word in such a manner that you expect the common meaning; 'īhām is, then, to use it in the rare sense (De Tassy, pp. 81, 83, 85, 90, 112; Mehren gives four varieties and also *tawhīm*, pp. 99, 101, 105-7, 177; Rückert, pp. 279-85). Compare, also, in Dozy (*Suppl.*, ii, 846a), 'īhāmāt, "writings which are said to exist; but which do not exist in reality."

The second use is a division of Comparison (*taṣḥībīh*) into *khayālī* and *wahmī*. A *khayālī* comparison is the building up of a new compound out of memory-pictures of objects of the senses; the picture is thus strictly sensuous (*ḥissī*), although it as a whole may never have been a sense object. A *wahmī* comparison, on the other hand, is mental (*'aqlī*) for its elements, even, have never been perceived by the senses. The standard example of the first is to compare red anemones swaying in the wind to flags made of rubies on lances of chrysolite; and of the second, to compare sharp blue arrow points to the dog-teeth of ghūls (De Tassy, pp. 9, 10, 11, 13, 23; Mehren, pp. 20, 21, 58, 72). Rückert does not seem to have found anything corresponding to this in his Persian authorities. The origin of this distinction is plain in the psychological tables given above. The *khayāl* is the memory which treasures up pictures of sense percepts, while the memory connected with the *wahm* preserves particular ideas which have never been sense percepts, but which have been gained by an internal sense, the *quwwa wahmīya*, from sense percepts. So this is apparently an attempt at stating a kind of sensuous imagination which yet does not use sense pictures and is ultra-rational.

VII. In Mysticism there are at least two uses, one of which is quite clear, while the other is by no means clear. Ibn Khaldūn in his *Prolegomena* gives, as we have seen, for the ordinary meaning of *wahm*, that it is one of the perceptions

(*'idrākāt*) leading to knowledge of different kinds (*'ulūm*, *ma'ārif*), which perceptions are classified as "certain" (*yaqīn*), "fallible opinion" (*ẓann*), "doubt," (*shakk*) and *wahm*. See further, and especially, Quatremère's text, iii, p. 60, l. 4, from below, p. 68, l. 8, p. 72, l. 2. From the context *wahm* appears, in these cases, to mean "instinctive perception", as also *tawahhum*, p. 72, l. 8. But he explicitly distinguishes from this general use a usage peculiar to the absolutely pantheistic Sūfis (*ahl al-waḥda al-muṭlaqa*). These use the term *wahm* and its plural *awḥām* in the sense of "pure illusions" (ed. Quatr. iii, p. 68, l. 8; De Slane, iii, p. 97; ed. Quatr. iii, p. 72, l. 1), applying it to the objects of the senses and of reason, the real separate identities of which (*al-ghairiya*) they deny.

The other use in Mysticism is exceedingly obscure because it belongs, on one side, to those "fables and endless genealogies which", as St. Paul says, "minister questions"; and, on another, to the realities reached after by emotional religious experience. The origin, both in Christendom and in Islam, was the one and same Gnosticism. In Islam there had grown up a doctrine of the Person of Muḥammad, that he was the first created of all creatures, and that from him all other creatures were produced. This is given in greatest detail—it cannot be said, in greatest clarity—in the *Insān al-kāmil* of al-Jīlī, which has been so admirably analysed by Dr. R. A. Nicholson in his *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, chapter ii. I have not access to al-Jīlī's Arabic text, but the essential parts, for my present purpose, are given in the *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, pp. 1513 f. I put together what follows partly from Dr. Nicholson's statement and partly from the quotations given in the *Dictionary*. The doctrine is: while God produced all created things from the Spirit (*rūḥ*) and Light (*nūr*) of Muḥammad, He produced especially certain beings from certain faculties (*quwā*) of Muḥammad. The statement of these faculties is confused and contradictory and agrees only in part with the psychological scheme given above.

But the *wahm* stands out amongst them. It, in Muḥammad, was created from Allah's name *al-Kāmil*, "the Perfect One," and from Muḥammad's *wahm* was created in turn Azrael, the Angel of Death. These three things—the Perfection of Allah, the *wahm* of Muḥammad and Azrael are essentially related. The Light of the Perfection of Allah is manifested in existence in Muḥammad, in "the garment of subjugation" (*qahr*); the faculty *al-wahm* overcomes all the others, reason (*al-'aql*), meditation (*al-fikr*); the picturing power (*al-muṣawwira*), and the perceptive power (*al-mudrika*); and Azrael is the most powerful of the angels. That is shown in the fact that he was the only one of the angels who was able to wring from the unwilling earth that portion of her which was needed to be formed into Adam. Further, that portion, so taken, was the soul (*rūḥ*) of the earth, and from that "soul" God made the body (*jasad*) of Adam. Therefore, again, it falls to Azrael to draw forth from men their souls at death.

Again, Allah has made the *wahm* the mirror of Himself and the place where His holiness is manifested; there is nothing in the world swifter of perception than it; it controls all existing things; through it the world serves Allah; in the Light of it He looked upon Adam; through it he who walks on the water or flies in the air does those things; it is the sure light and the source of mastership and authority; if anyone dominates this Light and rules over it he can control all existence, upper and lower; but if the *wahm* dominates him it plays with him and he wanders in perplexed obscurity through its light.

A good deal more follows, in the *Dictionary*, quoted from al-Jili, but some points of contact with the psychological scheme given above will have become plain. *Wahm* in the sense of instinctive perception and understanding appears here again. The whole world looks back to God through this power which He has implanted in it. The lower animals worship in their degree, for they, too, possess this *wahm*. In man it rises to consciousness and becomes meditation;

man in this is "Nature's priest". Further, we have seen that if a man is walking on some narrow edge and *wahm* seizes him—that is, if he cannot control his *wahm*—it makes him fall. Here, conversely, through the strength of his *wahm*, when he controls it, he can do these miraculous things. This comes very close to our concept of "faith", the power which puts an idea before one in such a way that it becomes absolutely certain and real, a primitive fact, "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." By faith ye shall remove mountains; by faith Peter walked upon the water.

But, again, this *wahm* must be strictly controlled; it is a good servant but a bad master. In that it is like the *nafs*, the appetitive soul, which Allah has put into man and the rule and discipline of which Allah has imposed upon man. It is part of the symmetrical structure of man that in his created nature lie hidden both his vices and his godly fear; Allah has made man "gulp down" his *nafs* with all these things in it (Qur. xci, 7, 8; xcv, 5). On this see *Ilhām* in the Leyden *Encyclopedia of Islam* and my *Religious Attitude*, pp. 228 ff.

That there has been some obscure contamination of meanings between *wahm* and *'ilhām*, seems to me almost certain; *'ilhām* and *'ihām* especially, would suggest one another. But their origins were entirely different. The source of *wahm* I have traced above in I; the source of *'ilhām* is the ἄπαξ λεγόμενον in Qur. xci, 8, *fa'alhamaha*. Both come together in "created instinct".



Remarks on the Text of the Prose Refutations of S. Ephrem

BY A. MINGANA

THE publication in two volumes by the "Text and Translation Society" of *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutation of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisān* (1912-21) is an event in Syriac literature. Ephrem is the greatest Father of all the Syrian churches, and these two volumes contain, from the point of view of a modern scholar and theologian, the cream of his polemical writings. It was only two years ago that the Pope, as head of the Catholic Church, promoted the "Edessene Deacon" to the rank of a Doctor of the Universal Church, i.e. for all practical purposes, to the rank of a Thomas Aquinas.

I believe that these two volumes will give rise to some future studies, and for many reasons I do not want to be the last to show a keen interest in the precious remains they contain. As, however, most of the points pregnant with interest to the theologian and heresiographer have been analysed by Professor Burkitt in his interesting "Introductory Essay", nothing is left to us for the present but to deal exclusively with the text, which is, after all, the ultimate touchstone of every theory.

The vast majority of Ephrem's known Syriac works are written in metrical poetry, and his only prose works are stray commentaries upon some books of the Old Testament. Apart, therefore, from any other consideration, in view of the preponderating authority possessed by Ephrem in Syriac literature in general, the volumes under review are a welcome addition to our knowledge. A word or an expression used by Ephrem is more likely to be accepted by Syrians than one used by any other known writer, because he is to Syriac more than what Cicero is to Latin or Homer to Greek. In the following pages I have ventured to put together a few remarks

which, I think, will be found useful to Syriac students who wish to make a thorough study of the present works of Ephrem.

So far as orthography and phonetics are concerned, the MS. seems to have been written at a time when most of the elaborate rules dealing with the *puḥhāmés*—or rhetorical signs and intonation marks of the Syrian Masora—and with the diacritical points distinguishing the different meanings of words, were fixed by the schools of Edessa and Nisibin. We will only draw attention to the following points¹ :—

The otiose *alaph* prefixed to words beginning with a quiescent consonant is sometimes found, e.g. **ܩܬܠܐ** (ii, 204, 46), and this is the case even when a servile letter precedes the *alaph*, e.g. **ܕܩܬܠܐ** (i, 177, 21), **ܕܡܝܬܐ** (ii, 35, 37). In the beginning of the assimilated verbs a *yodh* is generally used, e.g. **ܕܡܝܬܐ** (ii, 141, 5), but sometimes an *alaph* precedes the *yodh*, e.g. **ܕܡܝܬܐ** (ii, 119, 25), and this even occurs when a letter precedes this otiose *alaph*, e.g. **ܕܡܝܬܐ** (ii, 140, 8). In the *hamzed* verbs the *alaph* is occasionally dropped when preceded by a servile letter, e.g. **ܕܡܝܬܐ** (ii, 138, 37). In the defective verbs the *alaph* appearing in the conjugation with the objective pronouns is sometimes changed into *yodh*, e.g. **ܕܡܝܬܐ** (ii, 35, 31). About this anomaly see my Syriac Grammar, No. 479, c/.

The 3rd pers. fem. plur. of the past tense has never an erroneous *yodh*, termed the "West Syrian copyist's *yodh*"; the same may be said of the 3rd pers. fem. sing. of the aorist. In this connexion I wish Nöldeke had not forgotten in his Syriac Grammar, which is the most used in this country, to warn students against the use of this *yodh*, because one occasionally meets with scholars who want to insert this *yodh* even when happily omitted by a shrewd scribe. See my Grammar, Nos. 194, 204, 483.

¹ In our nomenclature we generally follow the Eastern (Arabic) and not the Western (Greek) terminology. In the references the first number indicates the volume, the second the page, and the third the line.

At the end of a line, as the Syrians had no hyphen to divide a word into two, the enclitic pronouns and the paragogical *tau* and *alaph* are often omitted, and are to be supplied by the reader, e.g. [ܐܬܐ]ܡܡܡܐ (ii, 54, 2).

In the concave verbs the passive form is throughout written sometimes with one *tau* and sometimes with two, in a most confusing manner, e.g. ܕܡܝܬܐ (ii, 21, 16), but ܕܡܝܬܐܐ three lines below. I hope Mitchell was careful to reproduce in this case the exact spelling of the MS. The same irregularity occurs with some foreign words, e.g. ܡܠܟܐ ܐܕܡܝܢܐ (ii, 51, 29), but ܡܠܟܐ ܐܕܡܝܢܐ (ii, 52, 5). Apart from these remarks, the Syriac orthography used in the MS. is of a noteworthy uniformity.

In the domain of syntax I have noted some characteristic points worthy of consideration:—

Ephrem makes frequent use of expletive particles somewhat like Timothy, the Patriarch, e.g. ܡܢ ܐܡܪܐ (ii, 68, 5-6), ܡܢ ܕܡܝܬܐ (ii, 210, 43). The expletive use of the pronoun ܐܬܐ (with a silent ܐ) is also met with, e.g. ܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܡܪܐ (ii, 209, 10). See my Grammar, No. 517. This is considered to be one of the stylistic methods of the famous Philoxenus of Hierapolis. Further, the pronouns and the verb ܐܬܐ are used frequently in a sentence, mostly in a corroborative sense; see good examples in ii, 66, 30-45; we will quote here one example from p. 53, l. 11 of the same volume: ܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܡܪܐ (ii, 140, 35).

These pronouns are sometimes used even after the relative pronouns and the substantives to which they belong, and before the subject, e.g. ܡܢ ܐܡܪܐ ܐܬܐ (ii, 140, 35).

The aorist is used sometimes with the conjugated verb ܐܬܐ to denote the conditional pluperfect expressing past or future action, e.g. ܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܡܪܐ (ii, 132, 1), ܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܡܪܐ (ii, 205, 15-16).

¹ Too much stress should not be laid on the value of this particle as quotation mark, because it is very often used expletively only.

Ephrem, like many other Syrian writers (such as Narsai), is fond of continually repeating the same word and the same sentence in order to draw special attention to the meaning conveyed by them, but without antithesis,¹ e.g. see the repetition of the words ܬܝܪܝܢ and ܬܝܪܝܢ in ii, 80. There are, however, several passages in which the style is concisely cut short and almost elliptical, e.g. ܬܝܪܝܢ ܬܝܪܝܢ ܬܝܪܝܢ ܬܝܪܝܢ (ii, 201, 18-21).

The negative particle ܒ is used somewhat expletively in the following sentence: ܠܐ ܡܢ ܒܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ (ii, 31, 43-4). This peculiarity is noted in Nöldeke's Grammar (§ 267) and in Manna's *Vocabulaire* (p. 365), but I did not want to register it in my Grammar because I was not able to find a good example of its use in an authoritative Syrian writer; the above sentence justifies the legitimate expletive use of this particle. For the sake of emphasis the particle *wau* is also used redundantly before the first verb, but in a much lesser degree than in the Syriac translation of the *Psalms of Solomon*,² e.g. ܡܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ (ii, 209, 31-3).

The rule that I gave in my Grammar (No. 405, 4°) concerning the plurality of subjects placed after the verb is fully justified by Ephrem, e.g. **ܡܬܢܐ ܕܡܬܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܬܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܬܥܝܢܐ** (ii, 199, 45-7). On the other hand, if Mitchell's reading of **ܡܬܢܐ ܕܡܬܥܝܢܐ** (ii, 220, 22) instead of **ܡܬܢܐ ܕܡܬܥܝܢܐ** is correct (and I personally think it is not) the rule 336 of my Grammar is to be changed accordingly.

In the domain of lexicography the use of the following words and expressions should be noted :—

𐤎𐤍 (i, 29, 32) instead of 𐤎, in the sense of "to fight, to struggle".

¹ This point is sufficiently emphasized in my edition of the works of Narsai. See vol. i, cap. iv of the Latin Introduction.

² Attention has been drawn to this point in our new book *Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, vol. ii, p. 109.

ܐܡܪ ܕܝܢ (i, 35, 9 and 41) "to be incumbent upon".

ܕܝܢܐ (i, 45, 19-20) "however much, notwithstanding".

In i, 61, 24-5 the expression ܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ is also used in this sense and in that of "in spite of", somewhat like ܕܝܢܐ.

ܕܝܢܐ (i, 65, 23-4) "to suffer to, to allow".

ܕܝܢܐ (i, 78, 12) adverbially expresses the idea of "the contrary".

ܕܝܢܐ (always in plural) is frequently used (see the index) in the sense of "entity, constituent parts".

ܕܝܢܐ is used frequently (see the same index) in one of the following meanings: "not free; compact; not interchangeable; incompatible" (because already "bound" to some other thing).

ܕܝܢܐ (i, 99, 47) "to stand by something, to resort to it as an argument", like ܕܝܢܐ. The reading ܕܝܢܐ may, however, be a mistake for ܕܝܢܐ.

ܕܝܢܐ (i, 143, 35 and 41) is used of fruits which have deteriorated, decayed, or rotted (not dried); cf. vulg.

Arab. خربان.

ܕܝܢܐ (ii, 87, 7 and 34). I believed formerly that the occurrence of this particle in the Curet. Version of Matth. xi, 6 was a scribe's error for ܕܝܢܐ, but if Mitchell's reading is correct (and the palimpsest seems here to be legible) we must reluctantly admit that this might have been also the reading of the *Diatessaron*. See Epiphanius (*Haer.* 324) quoted in n. 1, p. xxxix.

ܕܝܢܐ (i, 178, 7) "to be pleased with", instead of ܕܝܢܐ or ܕܝܢܐ.

ܕܝܢܐ (ii, 2, 39) "to venture upon". But the *dalath* may here be a mistake for a *raish*.

ܕܝܢܐ (ii, 19, 22) "material substance" of animals.

ܕܝܢܐ (the orthography is correct, the name of unity being ܕܝܢܐ) "clefts" of mountains (ii, 36, 6).

ܐܬܐ ܐܠ ܐܬܐ (ii, 43, 27; ii, 46, 40) "not the same". It is useful also to remark that in a corroborative sentence ܐܬܐ ܐܬܐ have been used (curiously enough) in plural, in an impersonal sense, e.g. ܐܬܐ ܐܬܐ (ii, 50, 7).

ܡܠܬܐ (ii, 50 seq.) "heresies, heretics".

ܬܠܡܝܬ ܕܡܠܬܐ (ii, 76, 5) "It did not become him" (the reading is correct).

ܐܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ (ii, 96, 23) "to confute a question".

ܕܐܠ and ܕܠ. These two verbs have been used before the principal verb to express "continuity of action" just as if they were placed after it. See examples in ii, 113, 5-6, and ii, 209, 39-40.

ܕܡܠܬܐ (ii, 116, 13) "being aware of".

ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ (ii, 142, 11) "an occasion (lit. opening) for argument, plea, excuse", from the emphatic form ܡܠܬܐ. For the use of the first member of the compound see *Thesaurus*.

ܡܠܬܐ (ii, 36, 1) "goldsmith".

ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ (i, 94, 40) "quarry".

Mitchell's decipherment, in view of the magnitude of the task, is to be considered a great success, and Professor Burkitt, who has verified his readings in many places, bears witness to his conscientious work; but we would be somewhat minimizing this gigantic task of Mitchell's (whose premature death every Syriac scholar will deplore) were we to assume that not a single misreading occurs in the two volumes of text. In the course of my reading I came across some words which, if read with a slight change, would, in my opinion, improve the reading of these ancient Ephremic relics. *Sint in exemp.*

In vol ii.

p. 11, 29	read	ܡܠܬܐ	for	ܡܠܬܐ
p. 20, 28	"	ܡܠܬܐ	"	ܡܠܬܐ
p. 43, 12	"	ܡܠܬܐ	"	ܡܠܬܐ
p. 67, 17	"	ܡܠܬܐ	"	ܡܠܬܐ

p. 107, 1	read	ܕܢܒܐ	for	ܕܢܒܐ
p. 140, 37	„	ܕܢܒܐ	„	ܕܢܒܐ
p. 158, 38	„	ܕܢܒܐ	„	ܕܢܒܐ
p. 163, 16	„	ܕܢܒܐ	„	ܕܢܒܐ
p. 220, 19	„	ܕܢܒܐ	„	ܕܢܒܐ

There are also a few misprints which any intelligent reader can correct, such as ܐܢ for ܕܢ (202, 3), ܐܢܒܐ (p. clxvi, 22) for ܐܢܒܐ (82, 22), and some erroneous interchanges of the diacritical points of *dalath* and *raish*, and the suffix ܐ. A word of which the reader should beware is the un-Syriac ܕܢܒܐ repeated in the index (p. clxiv) from an apparently erroneous reading of ܕܢܒܐ as ܕܢܒܐ in p. 142, 10.

In vol. i.

p. 39, 33	read	ܕܢܒܐ	for	ܕܢܒܐ
p. 54, 44	„	ܕܢܒܐ	„	ܕܢܒܐ
p. 55, 1	„	ܕܢܒܐ	„	ܕܢܒܐ
p. 83, 27	„	ܕܢܒܐ	„	ܕܢܒܐ

p. 91, 40 and 34, read ܕܢܒܐ¹ (sepulchres, ܢܐܘܪܐ) and not ܕܢܒܐ (souls).

p. 105, 16	read	ܕܢܒܐ	for	ܕܢܒܐ
p. 132, 22	„	ܕܢܒܐ	„	ܕܢܒܐ

There are also some misprints, such as ܕܢܒܐ (48, 6) for ܕܢܒܐ, ܕܢܒܐ (49, 37) for ܕܢܒܐ, ܕܢܒܐ (50, 16) for ܕܢܒܐ, ܕܢܒܐ (85, 2) for ܕܢܒܐ, ܕܢܒܐ (151, 23) for ܕܢܒܐ, and a few others which a Syriac reader can easily correct. The same may be said of some slight grammatical mistakes that have surreptitiously crept into the text of the two volumes.

I wish I had been able to throw some light on the word ܕܢܒܐ (ii, 138, 38; 139, 2), which Professor Burkitt tells me is quite legible, especially with the reagent. The word is very obscure, and to the hypothesis of Professor Burkitt

¹ Some copyists have, however, written it with a *pé* in an East Syrian way.

I can only add another hypothesis, and compare it with Arab. رباط (adapted by means of a servile *alaph* at the beginning, as above).

Another doubtful word is ܦܝܫܬܐ, which Mitchell saw appearing in i, 161, 26; ii, 164, 36, and 204, 45. The word is very strange, and I cannot induce myself to recommend its insertion in any future Syriac dictionary. I should, therefore, propose a correction into ܦܝܫܬܐ or ܦܝܫܬܐ, which suit the context.

A word must be said about the proper name *am*, given to Jesus in the Marcionite Gospel. Mitchell and Burkitt rightly derive it from the Greek form Ἰησοῦ, but whether it was pronounced *Yésu* or *Isu* cannot be clearly established, and thus no light is thrown through it upon the controversy raging between the East and the West Syrians concerning the right pronunciation of the Syriac name of Jesus (see Manna's *Vocabulaire*, p. 13). The West Syrians resort in their pleading to the Greek form of the name and to the Hebrew pronunciation of Joshua (*Yeshua'*), and the East Syrians to the fact that the "Song of Light" (an acrostic and metrical¹ hymn of Ephrem, formed from the letters ܦܝܫܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ) implies an *alaph* after the *yodh*, and this *alaph* is used by them in a small form over all words beginning with a *yodh* having an homogeneous vowel, something similar to the "chair" of the *hamza* among the Arabs. See my Grammar, No. 43.

Finally, we must note in passing that Mitchell read in three places the word ܦܝܫܬܐ (i, 40, 27; 73, 6 and 12), which he translated by "sepulchral vault". The Syriac word has never had such a meaning and no lexicographer will ever dare register it with such a sense, because it is clearly a

¹ Syriac poetry is to be read according to the poetical licences, a good summary of which is found in Joseph David's Grammar and in my own.

mis-reading of ܐܪܥܐ "earth, soil", which is in perfect harmony with the context.

While sincerely thanking Mr. Mitchell and Professors Burkitt and Bevan for the real service they have rendered to Syriac literature, I am not disposed to modify the severity of Wright's verdict on "the miserable monk Aaron" until, through some future chemical or physical process, every Ephremic word on the palimpsest has been clearly read and translated.

Note on the Padmasana

By R. E. ENTHOVEN, C.I.E.

ON p. 174 of the late Dr. King's *History of Sumer and Akkad* there is reproduced the design of a cylinder seal of Lugalanda, the patesi of Lagash. In his chronological list in Appendix II to this volume, Dr. King gives the date of Lugalanda as *circa* 2850 B.C. In the centre of the seal design will be noted a curious geometrical pattern, to which the following reference is made on p. 176 :—

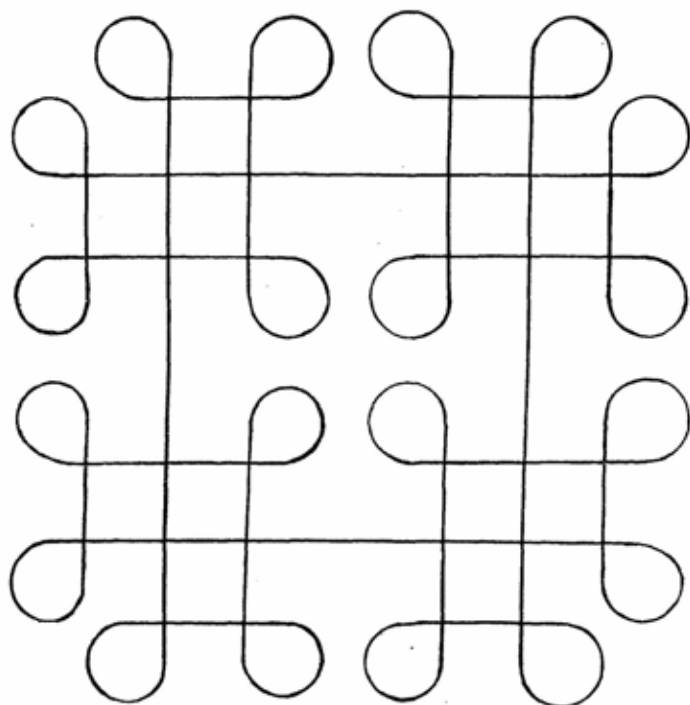
“Another peculiarity which may here be referred to is the employment on the larger seal, below the inscription, of a sort of arabesque pattern, an ingenious and symmetrical combination of straight lines and curves, the course of which may be followed without once passing along the same line a second time.”

Dr. King suggests that the design may be a religious symbol or merely decorative, to fill in the empty space. It is, however, a very well-known design in India, where it is called the Padmāsana, and is in common use at the present day.

Rao Bahádur P. B. Joshi, whose attention was drawn by me to the use of this design on an early Sumerian seal, gives the following description of the Padmāsana :—

The figure known as Padmāsana is considered very sacred by Hindus, and more especially by Hindu women. It is supposed to bring good luck and prosperity, and, therefore, on all auspicious occasions, such as a wedding, thread-girding, house-warming, *Mahāpujās*, etc., the figure is usually drawn in red and white powder by the ladies of the household. This is done before the host and the priest take their seats. On the Padmāsana the women place low wooden stools; and on these, again, woollen *ásanas* (i.e. coverings), upon which the host and priest sit while the auspicious ceremonies are performed.

During the *Diváli* holidays the Padmāsana and other sacred objects are drawn in front of most Hindu houses. On the first day of the Hindu new year, i.e. *Bali Pratipada*, the image of Bali Rāja is placed on a Padmāsana and there worshipped. In the month of *Ashādḥ* (June-July), on the *Diváli Amavāsya* or lamps' no-moon day, Hindu women draw



THE PADMASANA.

on walls, in sandalwood paste, eight, sixteen, or sixty-four figures of the *Mātrikās* or mothers. On this occasion a large Padmāsana is drawn, and in it the figures of the mother-goddesses, who are then worshipped. It will thus be seen that Hindu women hold the figure Padmāsana sacred, and value it highly. It is said to be the seal of Padma (Laxmi), the goddess of good fortune.

The following Sanskrit verse refers to the origin and use of the Padmāsana :—

Padmāsana Mahad-divyam Padmāya Asanam Smritam,
Padma-Nābha-Prasādāt cha Padmaya Prakati Kritam.
Yashoda-Māhave Proktam, Grihadvāre Vibhutidam,
Devānām Mānavānām cha Mangalam Shubha Karmasu.

This may be translated as follows : “ The Padmāsana is the great celestial Asana (seat) of Padma, the goddess of good luck and the consort of Vishnu. By the favour of the god Padmanabha (Vishnu) the guardian deity of the Hindus, the goddess Padma made its sanctity and importance known to the people.”

Rao Bahadur P. B. Joshi adds that warriors using the Padmāsana as their seat on horseback, or on an elephant, or in a chariot obtain victory, and that, if drawn on the front of a house, the figure brings luck to the inmates. He also describes the traditional origin of the belief in the Padmāsana's influence, i.e. that in a fight between gods and demons Vishnu blessed it, at his consort Laxmi's request, and declared that it should in future be more luck-giving and sacred than his own vehicle.

The interesting questions suggested by the discovery of so common an Indian symbol on an ancient Sumerian seal are : Did the symbol come originally from Lagash to India, and, if so, when ?

It seems unlikely that an intricate design such as this undoubtedly is could have been invented both in India and Mesopotamia. More probably it was brought from Mesopotamia at a very early date. According to the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, trade with Mesopotamia by the Persian Gulf sprang up not later than 750 B.C., and by this route Indian traders brought home the Brahmi alphabet, the art of brick-making, and possibly the knowledge of the lunar mansions (*nakshatras*), the Babylonian weights (*Manā*), and the legend of the Flood (*vide Imp. Gaz. of India, Bombay Presidency*, vol. i, p. 15).

Although it cannot be concluded on the evidence available that the Padmāsana came to India by the coasting route down the Persian Gulf as early as 2850 B.C., interesting speculation arises from the fact that a symbol commonly used both as the seat of an Aryan goddess and also of the primitive, i.e. pre-Aryan, mother-goddesses was used also in Lagash in the period referred to

The Decipherment of the Hittite Hieroglyphic Texts

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE

THERE are the same recognized rules for the decipherment of an unknown script as there are for that of an ordinary cipher, and if they can be followed the script can be deciphered with as much ease as the cipher. Sometimes they cannot be followed, sufficient materials being absent; in this case, all we can do is to wait patiently until the materials are forthcoming.



At one time this was the case with the so-called Hittite hieroglyphic texts. But it has long ceased to be so. The materials for a scientific decipherment of them have been gradually accumulating, and verification has gone hand in hand with the determination of the value and meaning of the characters. We are no longer dependent upon a few fragmentary inscriptions, too often in so imperfect a condition as to make the forms of the characters upon them more or less uncertain.

It is now nineteen years ago since I laid my first results before the Society of Biblical Archaeology (*Proceedings*, 1903). From that time forward I have contributed to the *Proceedings* of the Society a series of papers on the same subject, correcting, improving, and adding to my first results, as fresh texts were discovered and misreadings amended. But it was, I know, difficult for other scholars to follow what was little more than a record of the private work of the laboratory in which the main facts were necessarily obscured by a mass of details. And the restrictions upon the use of the Hittite type increased the difficulty.

With the publication by Messrs. Hogarth, Woolley, and Lawrence of the inscriptions discovered at Carchemish, the chief hindrances to successful progress in decipherment have

been removed. At last we have a number of inscriptions of the same locality and age which are complete, and in which, above all, the forms of the characters admit of no doubt. The volume containing them was published just before the war, and I had time only to make a preliminary examination of its contents and contribute a short paper on some of the results to the *PSBA.*, 1915. Owing to absence from England I had to put the subject aside during the war, and it is only recently that I have been able to take it up again. What I now propose to do is to sum up my previous laboratory work and add a second chapter to my first paper. For the less important details and references those who are interested in the subject must consult my earlier articles. Where no proof is given of the value or meaning assigned to a character, it is in them that the evidence will be found.

METHOD OF DECIPHERMENT

The starting-point of decipherment has necessarily been the bilingual seal of Tarkondêmos. This, however, was not a simple matter, as the progress of my decipherment has shown that the inscription is not in two languages as we should have expected, but merely in two different scripts, the cuneiform representing the same language as the hieroglyphic, like the Cappadocian inscription of Kuaruwan, king of the Eneti, now in the Louvre. The seal, however, settled the signification of the ideographs for "king", "country", and "city", as well as the phonetic values of the character *me* and the ideographs *tarku* and *dime* or *time*. The rock-reliefs of Yasili Kaia had already given me the ideograph for "deity", and the proper names preserved in the Egyptian and cuneiform inscriptions made it clear that the nominative of the noun ended in -s, which consequently was the value of the sign  (*TSBA.*, 1881). Subsequently I pointed out in the *Academy* that the Bowl inscription in the British Museum showed that  must represent the accusative suffix which the analogy of the surrounding languages would suggest had the value of

-n, while Dr. Peiser discovered that was used to divide words, though it was employed very irregularly. Then came the brilliant suggestion of M. Six that a certain group of characters occurring in the Carchemish inscriptions, where it is accompanied by the determinative of "country" or "city", the third character being *me*, must represent the name of Carchemish—a suggestion which has been abundantly verified by subsequent discovery. As in some cases the character following *me* is , which at Mer'ash takes the place of in the nominative of a noun, I adopted the suggestion of M. Six and made it the basis of my future work.

It soon became evident that and must be vowels, as they could be inserted or omitted freely in the same words. Since the second once follows *me* in the name of *Carchemish*, it was clear that it had the value of *i* or *e*, while other indications made it clear that the first character was *a*.

Then came the discovery of the name of Tyana in the Bor (Tyana) inscription, in which the values of *n* and *a* were already known. Since and frequently interchange with , which I subsequently found to represent the word *uana*, *uan*, *in*, as well as the simple letter *n*, it was plain that the title of king of *Tyana*, to which the determinative of "capital-city" was attached, and the last five letters of which could now be read, must be *Tu(a)-a-n-a-n-s*. This gave the value of the first character, which depicts the body of a chariot.

Meanwhile, the interchange of *me* with the pot (), and in certain cases with the foot, furnished a clue to the values of these characters, as well as of the character which denotes a city and its correlative (*mia*, *mi*, "a place"). I was now in a position to read the several forms of the name of Hamath, Assyrian and Egyptian *Amatu*, *Amitu*, occurring in the texts from Hamath, and thus fix the values of some more characters. I was also able to detect the name of

Mer'ash (Ass. Markhasi) in the inscriptions from that district, though unfortunately I went wrong in what I believed to be one form of it, and imagined what is really a patronymic in -si to be a variant of the name.

The variant forms of the name of Carchemish, to which the publication of the recently discovered texts has contributed, together with the interchange of characters in words and grammatical forms, more especially the nom. sing., largely increased my syllabary. At the same time ideographs and determinatives were co-ordinated and explained, and the objects represented by the characters more or less determined.

There was one name, however, of frequent occurrence which I could read only conjecturally. This was the name of the chief deity of Carchemish, after whom also the people of the district were named. The name consisted of two characters, the second of which was *mi* (or *wi*). The first character formed the first element in the name of a country with which the Carchemish rulers were in close connexion and which forms part of the titles of the kings of Tyana, the second element in this latter name being the character which I read *gha*, or, as I now know, *kuan*, *kan*. Other reasons which will be found in my original article combined to lead me to the conjecture that the unknown character had the value of *khal*, the country over which the kings of Tyana ruled being that of the *Khalkuan* or "Cilicians", while the name of the deity was *Khalmi-s*, which reappears in that of Aleppo, the Assyrian *Khalma-n*, the derivative *Khalmi-mi-s*, or, rather, *Khalbi-bis*, "he of Khalmis" or "Khalbis",¹

¹ *Khalbis*, I believe, was the older form of *Khêbê*, *Khubis*, "the queen of heaven" and goddess of Aleppo, whose name occurs so frequently at Boghaz Keui. *Khubis-na*, "the land of Khubis," the Greek *Kybis-tra*, took its name from her. She must be the original of the Lydo-Phrygian *Kybelê*, one of whose names, according to Hesychius, was *Κόμβη*, while another was *Κυβήβη*, corresponding with the *Khalbaba* of Ordek-burnu. *Κύβεβις* signified one of the eunuch-priests of the goddess, the *Κυβηκοί* being "Korybantes", whence came *Κυβήκη* as a title of the deity. *Κύβεβις* is the *Kombabos* of Lucian's "De Dea Syria", who was the eunuch-priest and chief architect of the goddess of Hierapolis or Membij, the later Carchemish. In the epic of Gilgames *Kombabos* appears as *Khumbaba*.

being probably represented by the Akhlamê of the Assyrian inscriptions who are placed by Tiglath-pileser I in the neighbourhood of Carchemish. Subsequently I found that Holwân is still the name of the village immediately to the west of Jerablus, and that in the Ordek-burnu inscription *Khal-bi-bi* is written חלבבה.¹ The legendary Babylonian king Lugal-marda is said to have conquered Khalma in Northern Syria (Poebel, *Historical Texts*, p. 117).

If the values I assigned to the characters were correct, further study and the addition of fresh materials would verify them. And this in the majority of instances has been the case. Characters to which I had been led independently to give the same phonetic values have time after time been found to interchange with one another as new materials came to hand, e.g. *ku-TE-an-na* (M. ii, 7) and *ku-TE-nâ* (M. xxxii, 5, corrected from the squeeze), *Nâ-gu(s)-is-is* (M. xvi, A) and *Na-a-gu(s)-KUAN-wi-si* (C. A11, a1), *Na-a-gu-KUAN-wi-si* (C. A11, b1).² The correct local names, moreover, have resulted from my decipherment, the names belonging to the localities in which

¹ The name of the goddess is Khalmassuttum in the Boghaz Keui tablets, in which she is identified with Ilbaba (K.A.B. iv, No. 9, Obv. 17). In a Liver-pool tablet (*Annals of Archaeology*, iii, 3, pl. xxviii, 7, 3) the name is spelt Khal-ma-su-tum. The form has been Semitized from Khalmas. The name of the goddess is ideographically written DUKH-SUM-SAR, "fertility—destroyed—renew," an appropriate title for the Earth-goddess. For the reading Ilbaba instead of ZA-MA-MA see Langdon, *JRAS.*, October, 1920, p. 515. Ilba-ba = Khalma-s, Khal-was. In some passages of the hieroglyphic texts we have to read Khubis instead of Khalmis. Thus an unpublished inscription seems to make it clear that in C. A11, a4, 6, the reading is KU-*khu* (rather than *khal*)-*mis-k-is*, i.e. *khumis-kus*, "chief mason" or "architect". (It may be noted that Khalmi or Khalbi would appear as Akhlam in Assyrian, and that just as Tiglath-pileser I states that the army of Carchemish consisted of "Hittites and Kaskians", so Shalmaneser I states (*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*, 16, p. 20) that the army of Khali-galbat consisted of "Hittites and Akhlamê".)

² We know from the way in which the name of Mer'ash is written in M. xxi, 2, that KUAN-*gu(s)-is* and KUAN-*isi* are intended to represent the Assyrian *khas, gas*; hence the name in the text must have been pronounced *Nâkhas*, or, rather, *Nâghuwis*. This must be the Nukhassi of the cuneiform texts, Anuqas probably in Egyptian, which lay between Melitene and Carchemish. The form of the word in cuneiform makes it probable that the first syllable should be transcribed *nua* rather than *nâ*.

the inscriptions have been found being met with in them. Thus we have Carchemish at Carchemish, Hamath at Hamath, Unqi at Kirsh-oghlu. Unqi was the capital of the kingdom of the Khatinâ according to the Assyrian texts, and in the Kirsh-oghlu inscription we have not only *Un-qi*, but also *Khat-ti-na*.¹ It is the same with the personal names; the king of the Emir Ghazi inscriptions, for example, is Mamias, a typical name of the district which appears in the Greek inscriptions as *Μαμίας* and *Μάμεις*. So, too, we have names which correspond with those found in the cuneiform texts, like Us-Khatti, Tuates, or Masnuan, Khalmuan from Masnis, the Sun-god, and Khalmis, exhibiting the same formation as *Τάρχων*, *Τάρκων*, or the cuneiform Kuaruwan from the god Kueras (in the Cappadocian inscription, now in the Louvre: *Kuaruwan SARRU Wantuwas* "Kuaruwan king of the Eneti").

Equally cogent is the fact that the grammatical forms yielded by my decipherment are always consistent and agree with those of the other Asianic languages which have been revealed by the cuneiform texts. The nom. sing. in *-s*, the acc. in *-n*, the plur. in *-s*, the poss. pron. *mis*, the part. in *-s*, the 1st pers. of the aorist in *-mi* and *wi(-bi)*, and the 3rd pers. in *-ti*, *-tu*, are all common to the neighbouring languages of Asia Minor. The sense, furthermore, of the inscriptions is that which we should expect. Take, for instance, the inscription discovered in 1906 on the base of a column at Nigda, which reads according to my system of decipherment: *yi-is-a agu-un es-tu a-na-s i-us-i-ti amiskus*,

¹ It was the hieroglyphic spelling in the Kirsh-oghlu inscription which originally led me to correct the false reading "Patinâ" for "Khatinâ" in the Assyrian texts, which up to that time had misled the Assyriologists. A re-examination of Mr. Anderson's squeeze of the Kara-burna inscription (M. xlvi) has cleared up completely the reading of the last line. It is D.P. *mi-MI-mi-a NUWI Tua-uan-a-na-i-yi UANA MISNA-si-[i] Khat-tu-na-is-mi atti-s KAN(?) wi a-na Mis-na-i | MISNA kuan-a-KUANA-na*, "for the people of the Tyanian king, son of the Sun-god of the land of the Hittites; I the prince have erected to the lord Sun-god his (or this) sanctuary."

"This stone the king has erected in the temple (being) chief swordsman" (M. liii); or the inscription on the base of the great statue of the god Agusimis at Carchemish, which begins: *yi-[a] uana-mi-a¹ A-gu(gu)s-mi uan-na-wi yimes Masni-s ku-wi*, "This divine place of Agusimis the god I the Sun-god have made" (C. A 4, d). It will be noticed that the word "god" follows the name of the deity as it does in the Ordek-burnu inscription, and that here, as elsewhere, the king is called "the Sun-god", as he is in the Hittite inscriptions of Boghaz Keui, the title being sometimes "my Sun-god" (*Masnis-mes*, C. A6, 1, 3), as also at Boghaz Keui.

The inscription of Ordek-burnu is a striking confirmation of my decipherment. Though written in the letters of the Aramaic alphabet, the language is not Semitic with the exception of the word "god" and the names of the deities Shemesh and Rekeb-el. Unfortunately, the greater part of the inscription is destroyed; of what remains, however, the line describing the erection of the monument is preserved in full. This reads:—


ייהני אשם כין מתחא נב שמש אלה

This (with the exception of the last two words) is an exact transcription of my reading of similar hieroglyphic texts, which would be: *yisi-ani(n) es-mi kvin(is) my-tua nawi(s) Masni(s) uana(s)*, "This stone I have erected, (being) high-priest of this country (and) king, the Sun-god." Even the order of words is the same as my decipherment makes it in the hieroglyphic texts. As I have observed above, the name of the country, to which the erector of the monument belonged, is written חלבבה, which occupies the same place as *Khalmimi(s)*, or rather *Khalwiwi(s)*,² does in the texts of

¹ The phonetic value of the ideograph for "god", which is usually followed by the complement *na* and *ni*, is settled by the Emir Ghazi inscriptions B 4 and C 2, where in the duplicate passage it is replaced by the character *uan*. On a coin of Tarsus the word appears as *Ana*.

² The interchange of *m* and *w* in Assyro-Babylonian was due to Asianic influence. The pot (𐎶) was more usually *wi* or *bi* than *mi*; when *mi* was intended, 𐎶 or some other character denoting *mi* was usually attached to it.






Carchemish. The god Rekeb-el, which also occurs in the inscription, corresponds with the *Tuana* of the hieroglyphs, *tua-uana* being "chariot-god", while נב-כין הכפחא in ll. 4, 5 is the hieroglyphic *nawi-kuani(s) akumia* (or *akuwia*), "royal high-priest of the sanctuary" (literally "hinder-place"). It may be noted that the mosque of El-Qiqân at Aleppo, into the wall of which a Hittite inscription has been built, stands on a hill which bears the non-Semitic name of Akibi.

In 1914 I pointed out that the character , the origin of which I did not recognize at the time, must, if my system of decipherment were correct, have the value of *gus*. Since then I have discovered that it represents the horn of an ox mounted on a pole. Since then, also, the cuneiform tablets of Boghaz Keui have been published, from which we learn that at the entrance to a Hittite temple or city a pole was erected with an ox-horn on the top of it, which was called GIS *gusias* (from the Sumerian GIS-GÛ(D)-ŠI "wood+ox+horn")¹; the erection of a similar *gusias* in front of a temple is repeatedly mentioned in the hieroglyphic texts (e.g. C. All, c5, *isy Tarku-wias-u-s Karka-mi-š-mi-i kimmia timia gusi-a-an ku-i*, "supreme over the land of Tarkus in the country of Karkamish a gate-way (and) consecrated place (i.e. altar) of the ox-horn-pole I have built").

It is more than a coincidence that in the Bulgar-Maden inscription (M. xxxii, 4) the object following the picture of the pouring out of a libation reads *wi-ni-n*, i.e. *olvor*. As is well known, *olvor*, the Heb. *yayin*, Ass. *inu* (*winis* in Boghaz-Keui Hittite), has no Indo-European or Semitic etymology, and was a word borrowed from Asia Minor. Similarly, the "vine-tree", which was planted by a king of

¹ *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, i, 11, Rev. 29-32, where "the AN-ZA-QAR and GIS-*gusias* in the city of Khatti" are mentioned. The AN-ZA-QAR ("god+stone+tie") was a pole or column of stone to which a sacred stone was attached, and the two cult-symbols are similarly associated together in the Carchemish texts (e.g. C. A6, 8; M. xi, 5). The first of them seems to have been a Sun-pillar (M. lii, 5).

Carchemish (M. x, 2, *is-is uan* D.P. *Aram-me*, "who has raised the vine of the Grape-god"), after the fashion of the Vannic kings, was called *uan* or *wina*, its phonetic value in the name of the Eneti (M. xxxiii, 3).¹

Equally conclusive, from a scientific point of view, is the translation (given above) which at once offers itself of the inscription on the base of a column from Nigda: *yi-is-a ani-in a-na-s i-us-i-ti A-mi-s-ku-s*, "This stone the king has erected, (being) chief prophet" (M. liii). The last word is written *A-mis-ku-is* in C. A3, a4, with a long tongue protruding from the mouth of the determinative A "man". It is, therefore, interesting that in the Boghaz Keui tablets the tongue of the inspired priest is said to be "protruded" before the deliverance of an oracle.² I will conclude with a verification which is especially cogent. Among the earliest results of my decipherment was the fact that , the numeral 3, had the value *kas*, and , the numeral 4, had the value *me*. Subsequently it resulted in showing that  is *ku* or *kê*,  is and , the bull's head, *mi*. Now comes an inscription from Carchemish of "Imuis³ priest of Khalmis, my Sun-god", in which the numeral 3 is glossed *kê-is* and the numeral 4 is glossed *mi* (C. A6, 6).





It is natural that I should have made many mistakes in my task of decipherment and assigned erroneous values to several characters. The nature of our materials made this inevitable. They were few in number, imperfect, mutilated, and often difficult to read. Characters in relief are especially liable to defacement. The inscriptions, moreover, belonged to different countries and ages, and might, therefore, be expected


¹ The name of the god Aramme, Aramis in the hieroglyphs, is represented by the picture of a bunch of grapes.






² An inscription from Assur translated by Ebeling shows that in Assyria also a similar belief prevailed. Offerings were placed before an image of "The Mouth and Tongue" of Istar, and the priest then implored it to intercede with the goddess (Ebeling, *Quellen zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, ii, pp. 2, 47).

³ Or Yamuis. It is probably the Greek Imois.

to exhibit variations in dialect, particularly as regards the vowels. Some of them were in a much more cursive hand than others, and my identifications of the forms were not always correct. Some, too, were carelessly written, and the example of the Egyptian monuments proves how readily hieroglyphic signs are miscopied by an ignorant engraver. An illustration of this is to be found in the very badly written inscription of Carchemish (C. A 2, 3), where the *ka* of "Carchemish" is omitted in one instance and the name of the king is written with the character *tua* instead of the somewhat similar *na*, which we find in more carefully engraved texts. If all the texts were as well engraved as C. A 6, a large part of the decipherer's difficulties would be removed.

With the increase of better preserved inscriptions from the same locality, Carchemish, some of them still unpublished, I have been able to correct former errors and make new discoveries of importance. First of all, the name of the national god of the Kaskian Hittites (as I will henceforth call them) was not Sandes, but Tarkus. The symbol of the deity, , like the Assyrian  and , represented Tarkus, Sandes, Hadad, Rimmon, Tessub, etc., according to the district in which it was employed, and so probably did the compound ideograph  *Tar(ku)-ku*, originally intended to indicate the pronunciation *Tarku(s)*, but in later days regarded as a single whole, like similar compound ideographs in Assyrian. Hence the Kaskians or their princes called themselves, not "Sandians", but "Tarkuians", and the initial title of the Mer'ash kings must be read *Tarku-di-mi-ti-mi-i-is-s*, "he of the land of Tarkondemos." The suffix *-ti* denotes "belonging to", as in *Tua-tes*, "a charioteer," *Ni-mi-tis*, *Mi-ni-tis*, and *Mi-nissi-tis*, "belonging to the River-land."

"The River-land," the Naharaim of the Semites, is another discovery. The word *ni* denoted "water" in Kaskian; hence the value *ni* attached to its picture . *Nis* was

"rivèr", usually distinguished in writing from *ni* by a slight change in the form of the character , giving it the appearance of a stream rather than of flowing water. Consequently in M. iv, A, B, the reading is *mi-nis-ti-nas* and *mi-nis-nas* rather than *mi-ni*, "of the land of the rivers." One of the royal titles is that of "lord of the nine rivers", e.g. M. x, 4, 6, *nis-IX-ana* (followed in line 6 by *Khal-kuan-a Mi-ta-a-kan-is*, "of Cilicia, belonging to the land of Mita," or Midas).¹ In M. xxi, 4, the place of the numeral is taken by the word *kuan-mi-[a]* and *kuan-mis* (preceded by *NI-S*), which is probably to be read *khammia*, the word for "river" in the first example being replaced by the ideograph of the River-goddess, which, as we have long known from M. vi, 2, is to be read *Na-na* or *Nina*, the *Nana* of the Greeks who described her as the daughter of the *Sangarios*. In M. xxi, 4, the ideograph is glossed by the picture of a reservoir  with the phonetic complement *-nas*, and in C. A4, 3, the latter is used to represent the syllable *nis* in the word *Tua-uan-ni--s-mia*, "the city of Tyana." On the other hand, in the sense of "water-basin"  is represented by -*a-is-mi-i-yas* in M. i, 3, and simply *a-is-my-a-is* in M. xxxiv, C. In C. A 11, c 3, reference is made to "the River Khulani" (*Ni-is Khul-a-n-i-is*), the *Khulana* of the *Boghaz Keui* texts, which Dr. Forrer identifies with the classical *Iris*, the whole passage being: D.P. *Tarku-s* D.P. *Kar-ka-mi-s* D.P. *Khal-khalmi-mi-mi-s-mia* *atus amy kuan-ana-a-na-s-mia* D.P. *Tarku-s NI-is-Khul-a-n-i-is-mia Ni-my-mia Mi-ta-si un-ni-us*, "Tarkus-Carchemish of Khalbibî, the lord of the city of

¹ Besides "the 9 rivers" we find also "the 9 states" and "kings" (M. xviii, B5, etc.), "the 9 sanctuaries" and "the 9 gods" (M. x, 3, 4). There were also the 9 sacred horses (*yuami*, M. xlviii, 2). In a Cappadocian tablet (*Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*, 113644, 4) mention is made of *Khana-Narim*, "Khana of the River" or "Rivers". If it is "Rivers" it will be the name of a country, thus distinguished from *Khani-galbat* or *Melitene*; otherwise it would be the name of a city. Besides *nis* "water" *tutis* also meant "river".

Hierapolis, Tarkus the god of the sons of Mita of the River-land of the River Khulaniš."¹

Nina or Nana, "the River-born" goddess, was naturally the goddess of the great river-fortress Carchemish.² Hence, in the Carchemish inscriptions, the people of that city are repeatedly called *Ninatis*, *Nanatis*, "Niretians." This explains the name given by Ammianus Marcellinus to Carchemish, *Ninus Vetus*, "the old Ninus," which has been the subject of so much controversy. The name of Nina, Nana, as I pointed out in the *PSBA.*, January, 1915, p. 10, interchanges with the head of a horse, to which the phonetic complement *ana* (the three drops of lead or silver) is sometimes attached (e.g. C. A11, b 6). We are reminded of the kelpie or river-horse of the Highlands, as well as the hippocampus of the Greeks. In the Hamath inscription M. vi, 2, the "swordsmen of the people of Nana" (D.P. *Na-NANA-na-yis-mia*) mean the swordsmen of Carchemish. As we learn from the Carchemish texts, the consecrated "swordsmen" or "dirk-bearers" of Attys distinguished the religious cult of Carchemish, whose king accordingly bore the special title of "the Swordsman of Carchemish", just as the ruler of Melia (Malatiyeh) bore the distinguishing title of *Akuanas* or *Akuana-nas*, "Arch-priest" (in which I see the Phrygian title *akena-no-lavos*). Thus, at Gurun (Olmstead, *Travels and Studies*, xvi), ...*nais*, "the processionist of Khattu, Ma and the Sun-god, the priest of Khattu and supreme king," calls himself "Arch-priest of Melid, Swordsman of Carchemish, Arch-priestly [ruler] of the River-land (?), king of Oinoanda". At Emir-Ghazi (M. 1, 1, 5) Mamoas is entitled "the Swordsman of the goddess Amma", or "Ma", in whose image on Mount Siplyos the Greeks saw that of the weeping Niobê.

But to return to *nis*, "a river." We find it again among the

¹ Cf. M. i, 3, D.P. *a-(i)s-mi-i-us khul-i-nas*, "basins of green," i.e. "spring water?" In the Boghaz Keui tablets the Khulana is interpreted the "Green" river.

² *Nana-AMEL-is*, "The Man of Nana," is the name of a son of the king of Carchemish in a Boghaz Keui text (K.A.B. iv, No. 4, *Obv.* 52, 58).

titles of King Imois (C. A6, 2), where it is written \Diamond (Nis)-MY-me-yu D.A., i.e. Nis-me-yu "of the River-land". The name forms part of a sentence which, so far as I am able to read it, runs: *amis-wi kuan-wi D.P. Tarkuwis D.P. Aramawis-mia MASNI (?) -mi-wi agussi-TE-amias-mia akuan-wi mids agu-wi uannais isi-mian agussî-TE-ana agu-i isan Nis-me-yu-D.A. . . . -me-mis wismiy . . . -ni-D.A. . . . -me-mis wisi-mia MIA Mi-š-yi-D.A. Mi-is-ka-yi-D.A. Kusy-mi-yi-D.A. . . . -me-wis amias*¹ *Masni-me nawi*; "I am swordsman, I am priest, a Tarkuian of Aram; in the land of the Sun-god (?) in the Northern domain (?) I have been consecrated ruler; places I have built for the gods in the highlands of the North (?) I have built a temple for the gods; I am supreme over the River-land, being supreme over the land of . . . ni in this place, supreme over this city, over the Misians, the Moschians and the Kusians, (even) the cities of my Sun-god, the king."


The Kusians, also written Kasians, occupied Northern Syria, extending westwards from Carchemish to the Gulf of Antioch, according to the Assyrian inscriptions. A letter from Nabu-sum-iddin, published by Dr. Pinches in the *PSBA.*, November, 1881, includes Karnê (the Atu Keren of the Egyptian lists), Dâna (now Dânâ), Kullania (Calneh), Arpad and Isâna (now Isân) among their cities, and states that the horses exported by them bore the name of Kusâ or Kusian. "The country of Kassi" or "Kasse" or "Kašî", which has been erroneously identified with the *people* of the Kassi in Babylonia, is mentioned several times in the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Knudtzon, 76. 15, 104. 20, 116. 71) as an ally of Mitanni and the Hittites, whose territories it adjoined, and has left its name in the classical Mons Casius. At Emir-Ghazi Mamoas takes the title of "king of the land of Kusi" (*Ku-si-mi-a*), in accordance with the fact that the Kases (Byzantine Kasin) occupied the plain stretching east-

¹ The head of the ass which was usually *mias* had also the value of *anas*, *nas* (cf. Greek *ὄνος*); hence it could be used for *anas* "king".

ward from Emir Ghazi to Venata and Tyana, while another body of "Kassai" were on the frontier between Pamphylia and Isauria. In the first line of the larger Hamath inscription (M. vi, 1) the original in the Constantinople Museum reads clearly: "I am Ari(s)'atumian, chief swordsman, arch-priest of Yakhan, king of Hamath (and) the land of Kus" (*amistus akuannāwis*¹ *Ya-kuan-nā-a-na-D.A. nawis amia Ami-it-ti-mi-[a]-s Ku-is-mia-D.A.*). It is also a common title of the Carchemish kings, e.g. C. A6, 3, *Khal-kuan-an k(a)-kuan-n-i-s A-m-e-i-ME Kus-un-na akuan-ni ku-i-is at-(at)ta-mia*, "priest of the Cilicians, who has built a palace (*attamia*) for myself, the Kusian arch-priest"; C. A11, 63, *gus-mia Agu-gus-is-si-mi mi-(mi)-a-me-i-s Kus-un-ni-i-s . . . mes-wi*, "the ox-horn symbol of Agusimis I the Kusian citizen . . . have erected"; M. xi, 3, *na-wis Tuan-a-wis-mia Kus-wis*, "the king, a Kusian of Tyana."²

The Misians, who are conjoined with the Kusians and Moschians, are the Masu of the Egyptian monuments, the Misi of the Tel el-Amarna tablets (Knudtzon, 101. 4, 105. 27, 108. 38, etc.).³

One of the most important discoveries the Carchemish

¹ Perhaps we should read *akuana-nawis*, since the word is sometimes written with a second *na* or *nau* (e.g. M. xxxiii, 2). In the Asianic languages *l* and *n* so frequently take the place one of the other that I am inclined to see in *akuana-nawis* the Old Phrygian *akenano-lawos*, "High Priest." The initial *a* is the Kaskian word *a*, "man" (literally "the speaker"); the ideograph  *akuana* is a compound of the arm (*ku*), the numeral "one" (*ua*) and *na*. Just as *ak(u)ana-nawis*, also written *ak(u)anana-nawis*, is the Phrygian *akenano-lawos*, so the Hittite *kuana-mia*, "consecrated place" or "temple", would be the Phrygian *kene-man*, "consecrated place" or "tomb".

² In a mutilated passage, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, iv, 17, 17 seq., we read: "... whatsoever matter below, at home, abroad (*mamian kuinki sapal biran khatrá*) . . . any Hittite or Arzawan (*Arzauwa*) . . . now do thou these Kusian people (*kuies kús D.P. Kusawanas*)."

³ In *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, iv, 39, 56, the city of Mäsa is mentioned; it was in the neighbourhood of Winawanda (Oinoandos), also written Winianda (Oiniandos), the later Epiphaneia, and Ussa or Issos (probably the Washash of the Egyptian texts).

inscriptions have enabled me to make is the reading of the name of the Sun-god. This is *Mias-nis*, written also Masnis, Masnas, and Misnis, Misnas. The phonetic spelling interchanges with the ideograph of the sun, to which is often attached the phonetic complements *-s-n* and *-n*. As in the cuneiform inscriptions of Boghaz Keui, the king is called "the Sun-god", and (as I have remarked above) as at Boghaz Keui he also gives himself the curious title of "my Sun-god" (e.g. C. A6, 1; in M. ii, 6, MASN-*ś-ni mī-i* is "in the land of the Sun-god"). That the title was borne by other kings in the Hittite region besides those of the Hittite empire we learn from the impression of a seal on a tablet found at Boghaz Keui and published by Professor E. Meyer, "Reich und Kultur der Chetiter," p. 44. It contains two lines of cuneiform, which read: (1) *dup-sa-ar-[r]i-i-as-ma-as Khu-uz-zi-ya-us* (2) *Samsi-us Us-ta (?) - . . . -ku-wa-as*, "This is the seal of Khuzziyaus, (2) the Sun-god of Usta . . . kus" (which incidentally informs us that the name of the Sun-god in the Boghaz Keui texts is the borrowed Assyrian Samsi-us).

Masnis or Masnas is evidently the Lydian Masnês, Masanês, found on two coins of Sardes (Head, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Lydia*, pp. cxi seq.). One, of the time of Alexander Severus, represents two figures with clubs, one of whom holds out a herb, and with the names Masnês and Tylos attached to them. The second, of the time of Gordian III, represents a warrior striking a huge serpent with a club, and has the name of Masanês written over him. The reference is clearly to the Lydian myth quoted by Pliny (N.H. xxv, 14) and Nonnus (*Dion.* xxv, 451-551), from Xanthus how the hero Tylos was restored to life by a herb called Balis after having been bitten by a serpent, which was subsequently killed by Da-masên, son of Gê. A similar story has turned up among the Boghaz Keui tablets; here the serpent is named Illuyankas, who was slain by the god and his son (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkœi*, iii, No. 7). Masnês becomes Mannês, Manês, as well as Massês, by assimilation of

s to n and n to s; see Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Hermes* 34, p. 222. Mesna-bö and Mesna-wö are names found in the Karian inscriptions.¹

The correct reading of the word for "priest", *kuanis*, I owe to Dr. Cowley (see his *Hittites*, p. 63). The ram's head and horn, however, are not n, as he suggests, but *kuan*, *kuan*, *kan*, though in combination with other characters they could be used to express simply *ku*, *ka*, and *kha*. *Kuan* is evidently the Karian κῶν (Tzetzes, *Lykophron*, 644), connected with the Greek κῶας and κῶδιον. Another Kaskian word which has its analogue in the Karian glosses is *gus*, *gusi(s)*, "a stone," the Karian γίσσα (Steph. Byz., s.v. *Μονογίσσα*). The name of the city over which the Kilitolu-Yaila king claims rule (M. xxxv, 1, 3) now becomes intelligible. It is GUA-ku-(ku)ana, that is, Kuana or Ikonion. Kilitolu-Yaila was, in fact, in the district of Ikonion.²

The native spelling of the name of Ikonion, according to an inscription discovered there by Sir W. M. Ramsay, was *Kuoania*. This corresponds very closely with the Kaskian *kuan(is)*, which is the same word as *καυειν* "priest" in the Greek Lydian inscriptions and *gaenas* "priest" in Boghaz Keui Hittite.³ The Hebrew *kohen*, which has no Semitic root (the Arabic *kāhin* being borrowed from it), is a loan-word from "the sons of Heth", and we find the same word in the *KOAAAAEIN* of the MSS. of Hesychius, which must be read *κααειν*, and is said to be the Lydian word for "king". The initial vowel of Ikonion represents the Kaskian prefix *ā*, *i*, usually expressed by a man's head, from which we may infer that it was supposed to be derived from *ā*, "a man." Its

¹ The first of the three Lydian tribes whose names are recorded was entitled *Μασδύς*, which I should correct to *Μασρούς*, "that of the Sun-god." It would have been the royal clan.

² The photograph reads: ID.-a(?)-mī yis-mi-a atus (𐎶𐎵) A-atuṣ-A-atuṣ GUA-ku-(ku)ana-D.A., "ruler of this country, prince of the princes of Kuana."

³ Cf. Vannic *at-ṭanas*, "priest," *at-ṭana-we*, "consecrated," *at-qana-duni*, "he consecrated."

presence in the Greek form of the name of the city was probably due to the fact that the *k* was really a *q* followed by a semi-labial. At any rate, it gave rise to the story that the city was named from an image (εἰκών) of Perseus which stood at its entrance.¹

Kuana signifies "the priestly" or "sacred city", just as Tuana signifies "the chariot city" from the consecrated chariot of Rekeb-el, and thus is one of the many Hierapoleis or "sacred cities" that existed in the Hittite world. Not the least proof of the scientific soundness of my decipherment is that it results in finding Carchemish called not only Nina—the Ninus of Ammianus Marcellinus—but also Kuanas-mia, "the sacred city." The name occurs repeatedly in the Carchemish inscriptions by the side of Carchemish and Nina (e.g. C. A11, c 3, *atus amy kuan-ana-a-na-s-mia*, "lord of Hierapolis"; A6, 5, 6, *kui attamia k(a)-(k)uan-na-s-mi-a*, "I have built the palace of Hierapolis").²

In my first attempts at decipherment I identified the country over which the Hamath king claimed rule with the Yakhan of the Assyrian texts. My reading of the name, however, must be amended; it should be *Ya-quan-na-a-na*, Yaghannanna, "the land of Yakhannas." The name of Yakhannas has now turned up in what is the earliest of the Carchemish inscriptions yet discovered, where it reads *Ya-quana-s* (C. A1, 1). Yakhannas claims to be the conqueror of various countries, and entitles himself "the protector (?)³ of Carchemish (*Kar-ka-*

¹ Has the name of Perseus been derived from that of the Cilician city of Pursakhanda or Parsakhanda, which figures prominently in the legend of the invasion of Asia Minor by Sargon of Akkad, and appears again in the Boghaz Keui tablets? Perseus, the founder of Tarsus, is merely a Hellenization of the name of Tarsus.

² In the Aleppo inscription (M. iii, 3) Aleppo is called *Ku-GUANA-mi-MIA* (Kuana-mia), "the Sanctuary-city"; the Assyrian King Shalmaneser II similarly entitles it "the city of Hadad". The inscription in question reads: "This temple-court of my (*sic*) Sun-god Attys Ka-atus (Katys) king of the land of Tarkondemos . . . has built . . . being a Yanâtian of Hierapolis."

³ Represented by the picture of the winged genius with the head of an eagle, which was a symbol of the Assyrian god En-Urta. It was pronounced *Amuis* or *Amois*.

mi(as)-a-s-mia), the Hittite (*Khat-tu-mias*), supreme over the lands, Yakhannas, of the Kaskian (*Ki-is-KAN-ka-a-ni-in* D.A.) Tarkuians in the city of Carchemish (*Ka'-ka-KUAN-mi-is*) here in the River-land (*Nā-mi-a*) the god, the Sun-god" (*MISN-i-š-n-i-is*).

In the Aleppo inscription (M. iii, A2) the place of "the land of Yakhnan" is taken by *Ya-nā-a-tis*-D.A. "of the land of Yana." In an unpublished inscription from Carchemish this is written *Ya-ni-mi-yi* "of the country of Yani", which is termed "the land of Tarkus". Yani or Yana must be the Uan of the Egyptians, which, according to Amon-em-heb, the officer of Thothmes III, lay to the west of Aleppo, and since the name of the vine is written *wi-na* in M. xxxiii, 3, it will have signified "Vine-land". A town of Oiniandos (Winianda in the Boghaz Keui tablets) was situated one day's journey from Mount Amanus according to Cicero (*Ad Fam.* xv, 4), where its later name of Epiphaneia is applied to it. In an Assyrian geographical list (W.A.I. ii, 53-8) the country of *Ya-e-na* is given as adjoining Khilakku or Cilicia in the direction of Malatiyeh.¹ Here we have the explanation of the statement by Stephanus Byzantinus that *Iônê* was the original name of the Syrian Antioch, and the further statement of the *Periplus Maritima* that Ionia was the district at the mouth of the Pyramus. The name is written *Uan-na-s* in M. vii, 1, 1.²

The fertile plain running westwards from Carchemish to Antioch is still known as "the Lowland of Umq", the "Amyces campus" of classical geography, which, as was first noted by Conder, is called Amiqu in the geographical list of Thothmes III (No. 308). Umq is the Unqi of the Assyrian texts, the Unqi (*Uan-ku-KU(an)-i*, *Uan-UAN-kuan-is*, *Uan-UAN-kuan-ni-is*) of M. vii, 1, 1, and vi, 4, 5.

¹ Yaena stands in the same relation to Uana that the Hittite *gaenas*, "priest," stands to *kuanis*. The passage of *u* (*w*) into *i* (*y*) was a distinguishing feature of the Hittite languages.

² The first syllable is represented by the ideograph of "god", which interchanges as a phonetic with *uan* (*uan*, *yin*).

But the Semitic *Emeq* is also used in the Carchemish inscriptions to denote the "Valley" or "Lowlands" in contradistinction to the "Highlands"; thus we have (C. A2, 6) *Ami-ku-KUAN-ti-mi-i mi-ana* "city-lord of the Low-lands", and in an unpublished inscription D.P.-isi-is-ian-D.A. *Ami-kuan-tu-is-ian-mi-i*, "in the land of the Highlanders and Lowlanders." Here the word *amikantis* (or *amikandus*) will be a derivative from the borrowed Semitic *emeq*. It is evidently "the land" or "lands of Amki" of the Tel el-Amarna tablets.

Mitanni is written *Mi-it-ta-an-a(an)* in M. xi, 2, and *Mi-ta-a-na-s-D.A.* in C. A4, 1, 2. Mitanni or Mitanna signifies "the land of Mita" whom Winckler has identified with the Greek Midas. The Carchemish princes boast of their descent from him; thus in unpublished inscriptions we find *Mi-ta-kan-is* "of the race of Mita", and in M. x, 7, *Mi-ta-a-kan-is*, while in C. A3, 3, the god Tarkus is called *A-amis-ku-is-na-a-s-mia Khal-kuan-(ua)n-s-mi-i Mi-tua-s-mi-i*, "of the Chief prophet's land, in the country of the Cilicians and of Midas." Mita, it may be observed, is associated throughout with Cilicia and not with Mitanni, and accordingly in M. xxxiii, C. 8, we read "king ruler of [the land of] Mita (*Mi-MI-i-tua-na*), the supreme" (*isi-mi-s*). In M. xlviii, 1, however, which is an inscription of . . . -khattis from Hissarjik, not Erzerûm, *mi(a)-tua* is "chariot-place" and not a proper name (*mi(a)-tua ni-i-ni tua-a-uan si-nas-mi-an nismi-wi-s gua-uan-na (?) -s*, "to the chariot-place I have given a chariot of bronze (and) water-basins of stone"). The city of Mita is mentioned in one of the Boghaz Keui tablets (K.A.B. ii, 31, 22).

Among the countries conquered by King Yakhanas was that of the Kanisians (*Ki-a-ni-is-mi-ian-mi-a-D.A.*; C. A1, a2).¹ This must be the Kanes of the Boghaz Keui texts which, according to Dr. Forrer, was the primitive capital of the

¹ The photograph shows that the other place conquered by the king was *MIA-mi-a Yi-uan-na-uan*, "The city of the Yuanians." Are the Ionians meant?

Hittites. It is the Ganis of the Cappadocian tablets, now represented by Kara Eyuk or Kul-tepé, 18 kilometres north-east of Kaisariyeh. The name also occurs in one of the Hamath inscriptions (M. iv, A2), which reads: (1) *a-me-i isy TI-me-s Ari(s)-'atu-mi-ian-s akuan-na-wi-s Ya-khan-na-a-na-D.A. nawis* (2) *amia-a A-mi-it-ti-mia wi-mi MI-my n-nas-wi ur*¹ *Ka-a-n-nas-mia-a-D.A. Ni-mi-ti-nas* (3) *ku-wi i-us-i-ti mi-a-MIANA N-ami-kani-s-D.A.*, (1) "I am the supreme consecrator (or consecrated one), Ar(is)'atumian, the high priest, king of Yakhan, (2) in this city of Hamath: the country I have conquered. A writing¹ I being of the River-land of Kanis (3) have made in the temple, city-lord of the race of the River-land." In inscription M. 3, B, instead of the last sentence we have: (2) *ku Mi-ta-a-na-s-D.A. Ni-mi-ti-i-s* (3) *ku-wi i-us-i-ti mi-a-MIANA Tarku-di-mi-a-na-us-D.A.*, "(2) a statue I being of the River-land of Mita (*Mita-nas*) (3) have made in the temple, city-lord of the land of Tarkondemos"; while in inscription iv B the last line is: *MA-s Na-mi-a-n-nas-D.A. Ni-mi-nas ku-wi i-us-i-ti*, "Seats of the River-land I being of the River-land have made in the temple" (literally "high-place").

The phonetic value of the first character of the name of the king (which depicts a bedstead) is fixed by its occurrence in the name of Mer'ash (*Ma-ar-qua-si*), where it interchanges with *ir*, but the word it represents would be in the nominative *aris*, possibly a loan-word from the Assyrian *irsu*. Is the name of the king, then, identical with that of the Chushan

¹ The character is that which represents *ur* in (*A*)*mur-wis*, "Amorite." Since *ir* or *ar* (found in the names Gamir and Markhasi) is a picture of a seal with its string, and in M. xxxii, 2, 3, forms the first element in the compound *iry-ni-me* (sic)-*i-us*, i.e. "written stones" (*ni-meis*), to which the determinatives of an inscribed tablet and a stone are attached, I conclude that it means "to write". Cf. the Vannic *armanida-d*, "written tablets." The title *ir-wis* is frequently assumed by the writers of the inscriptions; e.g. in C. A5, a1, we have: *yi-a . . . -wy Yi-mi-ian-na-is ir-wi-s akuan-na-a-wi-is-wi D.P. Aram-a-[mia] amistus a-na-is Khal-kuan-uan-mia*, "This have I set up, Yimiannas, the writer; I am arch-priest, chief swordsman of Aram, king of the Cilicians."

Rish'athaim of Judg. iii, 8-10? The latter also was king of the River-land (Naharaim); he is called Chushan, i.e. Kusana(s), "of the land of Kusa," the very title assumed by Ar(is)-'atumian in M. vi, 1 (see above), and he conquered the country south of the Hittite region. Ar(is)'atumian omits the nominative suffix -s in writing his name in M. vi, 1, from which we may infer that it was not pronounced, and in the Ordek-burnu inscription neither the nominative nor the accusative terminations of the noun are written.

One of the errors which impeded my attempts to interpret the inscriptions was the supposition that in the inscription of the "Rabbit"-king of Mer'ash, what is really the name of his father represented the name of Mer'ash. I was led into the error by the patronymic suffix *si*, which is also the final syllable of *Markha-si*, Mer'ash. When at New York I found that the inscription from Mer'ash in the Metropolitan Museum, which had been very faultily copied, begins with the name in question, without, of course, the patronymic suffix, the correct reading of the first line being: *A-me-i-MIA ID.-kuan-s amis-s my-MIA + Y-wi*, "I am . . . -kaps (? Yakhanas), the swordsman of the city." He was the son of Mamias "of Gurgumi, arch-priest of the race of Mer'ash" (*Gu-GUR-gu-mi-MI-s-mia akuan Ma-ar-KUAN-gus-ka-ni-s*), M. xxi, 2. In M. lii, 4, the name of Gurgumi is written *Gur-gu-me*.

In my paper in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, January, 1914, p. 10, I pointed out that the name of the god whose seated image, on a pedestal with the figure of an eagle-headed man between two lions, was discovered at Carchemish, reads Agusimis, or rather Agusiwis, if my system of decipherment were correct (C. A4 d). A few months later my reading was verified by Professor Zimmern and Dr. Scheil, who recovered the larger part of a poem composed by King Khammurabi in honour of the Syrian goddess Agusaya, the rival and antagonist of the Babylonian Istar, and describing how the antagonism was finally appeased by their fusion one into the other. Agusaya is the feminine counterpart of

Agusiwis. The inscription on the pedestal is: *yi[-a] uan-mi-a A-KU-gusi-mi uan-na-yi yimes Masni-s ku-wi Nana-nay-uan . . . uan-mi-MIA A-KU-gusi-mi-s KUAN-a-ti mī-a-na*, "This god's place of Agusiwis the god I the Sun-god have made; of the Nanayans . . . the god's place may Agusiwis bless for the king of the land!" In C. A11, a5, the name is written D.P. *A-KU-gusi-mi* ("a shrine in this place belonging to Agusiwis here I have erected"); but in C. A11, b3, 5, it appears as *Agu-gu(s)-is-mi* and *Ā-agu-gu-is-wis*. I believe the name originally meant "the Ancient One", but the Kaskian scribes made it a compound of a "man" (once also *ā* "speaker") and *gusi(s)* "a rock", so that it would have signified "rock-man". At Boghaz Keui three of the king's sons are called "the gold-men" (K.A.B. iv, No. 10, *Rev.* 30), and Dudkhaliyas states that a "weapon of the gold-man" was set up in a certain spot on the frontiers of Tarkhun-tassa (K.A.B. iv, No. 10, *Obv.* 27).

The *s* of *Agusiwi(s)* is elsewhere equivalent to *z*, which became *d* in the later age of the Asianic languages. *Agūsiwis* could therefore correspond with the Greek *Agdi-stis*, the father of *Attys* according to one story. *Arnobius* (*Adv. Gentes*, v, 5) tells us that *Agdistis* was born from a stone and "received his name from his mother rock". We are further told that he married *Nana*, the daughter of the *Sangarius*, King *Midas* subsequently devoting his daughter to *Attys*. *Nana*, as we have seen, was the goddess of *Carchemish*; the river *Sangura* ran a few miles to the south, and the daughters of the kings who traced their descent from *Mita* were dedicated to *Attys*. As for the suffix *-tis*, it is common in Kaskian (e.g. *Mi-ni-tis* and *Minis-tis* "of the River-land", *Karkamesiyis-tis* "of Carchemish") and it is also found in Vannic (e.g. *Argistis*).

In the Tell Ahmar text (*Annals of Archaeology*, ii, 4, pl. xxxviii, 2) the name of the god is denoted by a serpent (*agu*, cf. *ἔχης*, *anguis*, Boghaz Keui *yankas*) followed by a picture of a stone, the passage reading: D.P. *Tarku-ku-s uan-i-is-s*

nu-wi-i-s D.P. KUANA-Khal-KUAN-kuan-D.A. D.P. . . . -*am-mi-ti-s* D.P. *Agu-gusi-wi-s* Tu-uan-a-ni-i-s-mia-D.A., "Tarkus the god, the king,¹ divine lord of the Cilicians, the god [Ka ?]mmitis, (and ?) Agusiwis of the land of Tyana."²

The goddess 'Atu, whose name is certified by its interchanging with *a-tu(a)* in that of the Wanatu or Eneti, was identified with Istar in Syria (in the compound עתר עתרה).³ On the coins of Tarsus 'Atheh, 'Atu, is represented as seated on a lion and wearing a veil with her name written beside her, while Baal-Tarzi, the chief god of the city, is depicted along with her (Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 616). Hence it is not surprising that at Fraktin she appears as the supreme goddess in the company of Attys (M. xxx).⁴ In front of her stands the priestess with the inscription *Am-mia-MI-mia-mi* ID., "High-priestess of Ammammi," and at the back: *Kuana-ana-uan-D.A.-ti* D.P. [*Tarku-*]wi, "(and) of Tarkus of Hierapolis." The strange character which follows *Kuana* has the value of *ana* according to an unpublished inscription of Carchemish—the only other place in which I have met with it. The Hierapolis in question was probably the neighbouring Komana rather than the more distant Kastabala-Hierapolis.

Sir W. M. Ramsay has given reasons for believing that Fraktin is the Das-Tarkon of Strabo. If so, it may be the Tarkhuntas of an unpublished Boghaz Keui tablet of which

¹ Or perhaps "king of the gods".

² At Kara-Dagh also the inscriptions of Khattu-kuanis record the construction of "this sanctuary of the gods Tarkus, Attys, and the Serpent" (AGU-ku); Ramsay and Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches*, p. 515.

³ See my paper on "The Monuments of the Hittites" in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vii, 2, p. 12. In M. lii, 1, 2, 4, the character 'Atu also interchanges with *a-ti* in the name of the country יַאֲדִי, written Yaeti in Assyrian (*Black Obelisk*, 90). In line 1 we have *Ya-atu-yu-a-si-ian-D.A.*, in line 2 *Ya-ti-a-si-ian-D.A.*, in line 4 *Ya-ti-[asian]*.

⁴ Ἀδαγυός was the name of "a Hermaphrodite" deity among the Phrygians, with which Thomopoulos (*Pelagika*, p. 447) compares δαγός, "an image of Aphrodite." Ada-gyus would be the Kaskian 'Atu-gus, "the oxhorn-pole of 'Atu," which might be described as Hermaphrodite, since the *gusiya*s or pole was properly the symbol of the bull-god Hadad-Tarkus.

Kuruntas was king. In K.A.B. iv, No. 10, instead of Tarkhuntas we have Tessubtassa, Tessub and Tarku being merely the varying national names of the same deity. In an inscription of the Vannic king Sarduris II (Sayce, l, 30, 31), two Melidian towns are mentioned called Tâsê or Tas and (AN) Queraî-tâsê, the *tasê* (or "township"?) of the god Queras.¹

I can now explain another rock-sculpture of Asia Minor with more exactitude than was possible when I first attempted a translation of it. This is the sculpture at Ivriz (M. xxxiv). The inscription attached to the figure of the god is: (1) *yi-a* D.P. *Tarku*² *kui-s Ti-ya-s ku-wi* (2) *U-wi-ni-a-si-s a-tu Ky-ti-is-(3)s-mia Uana-tu-ti attas*, (1) "This for Tarkus making I Theias have made, (2) the son of Uwi-nias, prince of Ketis, father of the Eneti" (*Wanatundi*). That attached to the figure of the king is: (1) *yi-a ku-wis U-wi-(2)ni-a-s ami* (?) *ku-(3)-yu is-wi*, (1) "This making, of the High-priest Uwinias the image I have erected." In the mutilated inscription below all that can be read with certainty is: . . . *ku-wis ti-mi-a-ani* . . . *U-wi-ni-a-s-my a-is-mi-[yas]* . . . " . . . making the consecrated place . . the water-basin(s) of the place of Uwinias . . ." Uwi-nias signifies "dedicated to the priest", as Uanna-nias (C. A6, 9) signifies "dedicated to the god".



Sufficient has now been said to show that as fresh materials have come to light the application to them of my system of decipherment has resulted in translations which are congruous in sense and yield the geographical, personal, and divine names which we should expect. I will now conclude this series of verifications with an example of another sort.

In the *Journal* of this Society, October, 1912, p. 1036, I published the fragment of a tablet from Boghaz Keui containing an inventory of the royal treasures and finishing with

¹ Kuaruwan above (p. 538) is a derivative from Queras. Similar formations in *-uan*, *-ian* from divine names are common on the Kaskian seals.

² Or Sanda, since we are here in Cilician territory.

the colophon: *dub* II-KAM *u-ul ga-ti sa* D.P. *Ar-nu-wa-an-da-[as]* *Khu-o-ti-wi-is u-nu-ut bit* TAK-DUB, "Second tablet, not finished; by Arnundas the *Khutiwis*; (giving) the contents of the house of stone monuments"¹ (i.e. the royal museum). Then comes a counter-signature consisting of three hieroglyphic characters, which I rendered: "before the minister." The newly published cuneiform texts show that the translation is exact. The character I have rendered "minister" is the head of a large hound, and in accordance with this in the colophon of the legend of the slaying of the wicked serpent we read: D.P. *Kas-kha* AMEL . . . *pa-ni* D.P. UR-MAKH *rab* DUB-[SAR-]MES *is-dhur*, "Kaskha the . . . before the Big-dog, the chief scribe, has written (this)." In M. x, 4, the head of the hound is followed by the picture of the quiver (*ka*), which is probably its phonetic complement.






How the characters were pronounced in Hittite we do not know. In Kaskian *miami* was "before", in Assyrian *pani*; but in Boghaz Keui Hittite the word was probably *ziyantaz*.² As in the case of the cuneiform characters, the Hittite hieroglyphic characters had different pronunciations according to the languages in which they were employed. Thus, in Cilician *is* "a goat" was *tarkus*, Greek *τράγος*, *guan*as "temple" (the "consecrated" place) was *dimes* (*times*), Greek *δῶμος*. In Kaskian itself an ideograph could have more than one pronunciation, though the one to be adopted is usually denoted by phonetic complements or a reproduction of the whole word; e.g.  *ana* generally represented *amis* when written perpendicularly, and  (*imis* and *kuan*as) has *kuan-n-a-is* attached to it in M. xxi, 5.

The arm and hand in various positions occupied a prominent place in the Hittite script and represented a number of different words and phonetic values. I have had great difficulty in

¹ This is how we now know the lines should be read and translated.

² The Boghaz Keui reading of MI-i-a-MI-i would, therefore, have been ZI-i-a-NZI-i.

distinguishing them, and in one or two instances have not yet been able to reach a certain conclusion. Many of the inscriptions are as carelessly written as similar Egyptian hieroglyphic ones, the result being that characters of similar form are confounded by the engravers, some of the texts are in an exceedingly cursive script rendering identifications with the original pictures a matter of difficulty, the inscriptions belong to different localities and periods, and a considerable number are mutilated or only semi-legible. It is but recently that the Tell Ahmar inscription (*Annals of Archaeology*, ii, 4, pl. xxxviii, 1) has given me the pronunciation of the frequent

title  *a-gu(ku)-uan-na*, i.e. *kuanis* or *kuanas*, with the prefix *a* "man", which explains the Phrygian title *akenanolavos*. The arm  is merely a variant of the hand, which in its most cursive forms appears as  and  *mis* or *wis* and *nas*, *as*, and denotes the "seizer" or "conqueror" (see C. A3, 2). It is clearly related to *nas-wi*, "I conquered." A variant is , with the thumb expelling a word (*na*), which ought to have the value of *nas* or *as*, though it seems to have been employed for *mis* and *wis*. With the sword or dirk (*mis*) attached to it, the outstretched arm denotes *ana* "king" (perhaps a compound of *a* and *nas*), but when standing upright it represents "swordsman" (*a+mis*), as it also does when surmounted by the ideograph of "city" (e.g. M. iii, B3). The upright arm is *atta*, "father," also *atus*, "lord," which may originally have had the same signification; *Papas*, "father," we are told, was a title of Attys in Phrygian.¹ With the palm turned away from the reader it was *ku*, probably from *akuan* or *kuan*. With the nail of the thumb turned outward it was *isi*, "high," the cursive form of which I formerly mistook for a

¹ So in C. A6, 5: *ki-i-is ky-i atta-na-a Khattu*, "I have given gifts to our father Khattu." Cf. line 7: *ki-i-is ky-i ID. IX Mas-na-i*, "I have given gifts to the Sun-god of the 9 heavens."

ladder.¹ The depressed hand, denoting consecration, had the value of *ti*, *di*; with the palm towards the reader it was *ki*, "to give." In the reverse position it was *akuan*. For other uses of the arm or hand the syllabary must be consulted.

SCRIPT AND PHONOLOGY

The Kasko-Hittite hieroglyphs originated in the highlands of Asia Minor. All were primarily pictographs, and were accordingly used to express the words of more than one language. Hence we must expect to find them polyphonous.

In course of time a few of them came to be employed phonetically. Unfortunately the number of these was limited, and a very small number had to serve for the more common sounds of the language. As in Mitannian and Vannic cuneiform, the syllabic value of a character tended to pass into an alphabetic one.

The oblique or perpendicular stroke so frequently attached to a character had a double signification. Properly the perpendicular stroke denoted the vowel *u*, from *ua*, "one," while the oblique stroke indicated that the character to which it was attached was modified in pronunciation. But as this frequently meant the addition or insertion of *u*, *ü*, the two came to be confounded together in the later texts. On the seal of Tarkondemos the oblique stroke attached to *mi*, "four," is represented in the cuneiform transcript by *e*.²

One of the peculiarities of the script is that an object is

¹ With the forefinger crooked inward it denoted "conqueror", "possessor." The two forms are clearly distinguished in C. A6, 2. The name of the Karaburna king (M. xlvi, 1) is Sianas, and he calls himself "king of the land of Siana", *Si-ana-s-mi-a nais*. Sir W. Ramsay places Sanisênê to the north of it, and the fortress itself is either the Byzantine fortress Sania-na or its earlier representative. Sianas calls it Kamissa, "the fort," which must be the *Kάμισσος* of Polybius (xxv, 4). The use of the hieroglyph of hand or arm by the Hittites influenced their use of the Sumerian *Á*, "hand," "arm." Thus, *Á-DU* (*átú*) is used for *attas*, *átúas*, "lord," *Á-AS* (*addu*) for *SI+DU-is*, "general," *Á-SAL*, Assyrian *Sarkhattu*, for *Kharú*, "an Amazon" (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, i, 42; ii, 7-9).

² It is noteworthy that the same oblique stroke is found on the famous Disk of Phaistos.

generally represented only by a part of itself, a man or animal, for example, by the head alone. Hence more than one part of an object can be used indifferently for this purpose and so possess the same pronunciation; thus, a chariot is represented by its wheel and front as well as by its body, a ram by its head as well as by its horn. In different localities the same object may assume different forms; the Syrian chair, for instance, as depicted at Hamath is somewhat different in shape from that of Asia Minor. In the later cursive writing, again, many of the characters acquired forms which are sometimes difficult to identify with their originals.

The vowels seem to have been obscure and uncertain as in English. As in English, also, *r* was untrilled, and was a vowel rather than a consonant. But it must be remembered that the pronunciation, especially of the vowels, would have varied in the different localities and periods to which the inscriptions belong. By the side of *u* was *ü*, which often passed into *i* or *y*. The sonant nasal of the accusative is occasionally omitted in writing, and was probably but little heard.

W passed into *y*, as *u* or *ü* into *i*. This characteristic of the Hittite languages influenced the language of Canaan, the passage of *w* into *y* being a well-known characteristic of Hebrew. Perhaps the Greek *Βάκχος* and *Ίακχος* came from the two-fold pronunciation of some Hittite word for "wine".

As in Assyrian and Sumerian, no distinction was made between *m* and *w*, *w* being ordinarily represented by *β* in Greek and by *p* and *b* in Egyptian and cuneiform. It is probable that in Assyrian this very non-Semitic characteristic was also due to northern influence.

As in other Asiatic languages the vowels could be nasalized, so in the proper name Garpa-rundas by the side of Khite-ruadas.

L is rare, in this affording a great contrast with Vannic. Its place in grammar appears to be taken by *n*, and I would accordingly divide the Asianic languages into the two groups of *l* and *n* languages. This would explain such double forms

as Khali-galbat and Khani-galbat,¹ or the equivalent pronominal forms *li* and *ni* quoted in Assyrian lexical tablets from what are presumably Asianic dialects (cf. V.R. 27, 4, 57; 27, 34, 43). On the other hand, the Greek *l* often replaces *r* before a semi-vowel; e.g. Olba for Urwa, while conversely Tabal, Tubal, appears as Tibareni. The interchange of *l* and *n* is common enough in all languages; final *l* becomes *n* in colloquial Egyptian Arabic, and even in English *chimbley* is the vulgar pronunciation of *chimney*.²

Final *s* tended to pass into *h* and then disappear altogether. In the nominative singular its occurrence in the script seems to be etymological only; at all events it is more often dropped than written in the case of proper names in *-uan*, *-ian*.

There were at least two sibilants, *s* and *z*, but at present it is not possible to distinguish between them in transcription. The patronymic suffix *-si* is represented in Assyrian by *-zi*, as in Tarkhu-na-zi, "son of the land of Tarkus," Tarma-na-zi, the modern Turmannin; the Biblical Ashkenaz is similarly Aska-na-zi, "son of the land of Aska" (whence the names of Askanios and Aska-ênos).³ On the other hand, we find in Greek Suennesis, from Zuin, the Moon-god, while Tarsus, Tarshish, is written Tarzi in Assyrian and Aramaic. In the Ordek-burnu inscription the demonstrative *yisi* is written יִסִּי.

The interchange of surds, sonants, and even aspirates in the Hittite region has long been known both from the Tel el-Amarna tablets and from the Assyrian inscriptions, and is reproduced in the Cypriote syllabary, where the same character represents surd, sonant, and aspirate. The Asianic *q*, *kh*, is made the equivalent of the Semitic *ghain* in a name like that of Mer'ash, and could be lost altogether like *qóf* in Cairene Arabic. Hence *Mápaσις*, *Tápaσις* for Mer'ash, Tarkus.

¹ Or *galbe*, *kalbe*, as it should more probably be read. Does this represent the Khalbi(s) of the Kaskian texts?

² Similarly, Parnassos on the Halys is the modern Parlason.

³ In the Cappadocian tablets the name appears as Waskhania (e.g. Contenau, *Tablettes cappadociennes du Louvre*, 4, 8).

The dentals, as in Boghaz Keui Hittite, were confounded together, and were especially addicted to the development of a preceding sonant nasal (as in *rundas*), which, however, was seldom written.

R, as I have said, was pronounced as in English, and before a consonant or at the end of a word could be treated as a vowel. Hence the name of Karkamis is now and then written Kē-ka-mis. On a seal the name Garpa-runda appears in Aramaic letters as גרבר.

Grammar.—The leading characteristics of Kaskian grammar are those of the other Asianic languages. Adjectives are formed by the suffix *-wa*, *-wi*, which later passes into *-ya*, *-yi*. The ethnic suffix is *-na*, by the side of which we also find *-ni*. A territorial suffix is *-mias*, "of the land of," to be distinguished from the purely adjectival *-wis* and *-mis*, the latter of which corresponds with the Greek *-μο*, as in *Tarkamos*. *-Kanis*, from an earlier *-qanis*, *qvanis*, a compound of *-ka* and *-ni*, denotes "of the race" or "family".¹ The name of the agent is denoted by *-tis*, as in *Nana-tis*, "the Nanayan," *tua-tes*, "charioteer," *Karkamisiyas-na-tis*, "he of the land of Carchemish." The gentile suffix is *-sis*, as in *Uwinia-si-s*, "son of Uwinias"; it also denotes "the child of" a city or country. In *amis-tus*, "chief swordsman," *-tus* has the signification of "chief"; *-kus*, as in *amis-kus*, must have much the same meaning.² Many proper names are formed from those of deities by means of the suffix *-wan*, *-yan*, which apparently corresponds with the Greek *-ων*. Another suffix is *-(n)da*, as in *Amikandas*, "the lowlanders."

The case-terminations of the noun are Asianic, and agree with those of Vannic, Mitannian, Boghaz Keui Hittite, Hittite, and Lycian: nom. sing. *-s*, acc. sing. *-n*, oblique case a vowel according to the stem, the genitive, however,

¹ Or rather, perhaps, "people," since we find *Markhas-kanis*, "of the people of Mer'ash," and similar formations, as well as the form *-kan-mi*, "in the land of the people of" such and such a locality.

² M. liii; xxxv, 3; xxxvi, 2.

being often denoted by *-wi*, *-yi*; nom. and acc. plur. *-s*, gen. plur. *-an*, *-wan*, *-yan*. Postpositions are the locative *-ta*, *-ti*, *-da*, *-di*, and the elative *-mi* (?). The vocative had the same termination as the nominative. A peculiar form of the accusative singular is that in *-mia*, *-mi*, which is used with words denoting "a place", like *gû(s)-mia*, "the place of the sacred ox-horn," *di-mia* or *ti-mia*, "a temple" (perhaps from *ti*, "to consecrate"). In the Ordek-burnu inscription it is represented by **𐎠𐎶** in the word **𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶**, "sanctuary," the Kaskian *aku-mia*, which must have been pronounced *akuwia*. In place of the ordinary genitive we sometimes find the adjectival *-syi* (Lycian *-hi* for *-si*); e.g. *Uan-kua(n)-nas-yi* and *Uan-UAN-kua(n)-ni(n)-as-yi*, "of the Unqians" (M. vi, 4, 5), *mia-a Tarku-ku-uan-YIWIS-yi-s-yi-D.A. UAN-uan-yi*, "city of the god of the Tarkians" (or, perhaps, Sandians, i.e. Herakleia, M. xxxii, 4), *kuan-a(n)-as-yi-mia a-na-is*, "king of Hierapolis." In certain proper names, moreover, *-s* seems to be a suffix of the genitive singular.

The prefix *a-* denoted a person; thus from *kuanis*, "consecrated," was formed *a-kuanis*, "a priest," from *mis*, "a knife" or "dirk", was formed *a-mis*, "a swordsman." The Kaskian scribes regarded this prefix sometimes as the word for "man", sometimes as the word for "speaker".

The adjective usually preceded the substantive with which it agreed in number and case. There were no genders. The genitive usually preceded the governing noun, the verb coming at the end of the sentence.

The 1st pers. pron. sing. was *yimis*, or, rather, *yiwis* in the nominative,¹ the dative being *ami*, *amia* (or *imi*, *imia*), M. xxxi and v, 4. In the abbreviated form *-mei* (cuneiform *-me-e*) it could be attached to a noun, as in *ana-mei*, "I am king" (M. xxxii, 1; so, too, x, 8). The 2nd pers. pron. was *tu* in the genitive: *me-s i-us-is-tu*, "builder of thy high-places" (C. A3, 4). Of the 3rd pers. pron. I know only the

¹ Cf. Vannic *ies*.

acc. plur. *sena* (M. xi, 5), which is affixed to the verb, as in Mitannian.

The poss. pron. of the 1st pers. sing. was *mis*, in the plur. *na(s)*; e.g. *TE-a-na*, "our sanctuary" (C. A1, a6), *atta-na-a*, "to our father" (C. A6, 5).

The numerals, so far as I have been able to ascertain them, are *ua*, "one," *tuaus*, "two" or "two-fold" (M. lii, 2), *kes*, "three," *mi*, "four," *nitini* and *nitinna*, "six" (C. A1, a3), *qanmi* and *qanmis*, "nine," "nine-fold," *kar*, "ten," and *gu*, "one hundred."

The demonstrative is *yi(s)* or *wi(s)*, *yia*, *ya* in the accusative. A fuller form is *yisis*, which becomes *yis-i*, *yis-a* in the accusative, and is written 𐎶 in the Ordek-burnu inscription. *Yis'i* seems the older form. From *yis* was derived the adverbs *yismia*, *yismi* and *yimia*, *yimi*, "here" (literally "in this place"), as well as the adjective *yismianas*, *yimianas*, "of this country." The plural is *yis*, *wis*. Another demonstrative was *tua*, which we find in *my-tua*, "of this land" (M. xxi, 3; in M. i, 3, *mí-a-tu(a)* may be "of thy country").¹ Whether a word *ai*, which follows a noun in some passages, is a demonstrative I do not know.²

¹ Possibly *ti* in M. vii, 1, 2, is the demonstrative rather than the locative suffix ((*gu*)-*ka-s-mi i-us-i-ti*, "for this high-place").

² The inscriptions attached to the series of figures in C. A7 will illustrate the use of the demonstrative and at the same time serve as a practical verification of my system of decipherment:—

a. (1) *yi-s-mia-a KA-kuan-n-i-s Yi-is-mi-a-na-i ID.-yis akuan-ni-i-(y)is a-mi-mi-a-ian yi-mí ki-i-is* (2) *ky-ian ti-mi-a-ian UAN-KA-ti sy(?) -mi AGU-a-ku-s-mi-MI akuan-na-s a-s* (3) *ku-wi a-mis-s*, (1) "Here (is) the priest of this land, the supporter of the king, the arch-priest of the people: here (2) giving the gift, an altar in the temple-court I have erected as arch-priest of Agusimis. Now (3) I have done (it), being swordsman."

b. *yi-mi-MIA-a I-my-yu-s Amis-tu-s*, "Here is Imois the chief swordsman."

c, d. *yi-[is]-ja Kuan-i-Tarku-mi-MI-s yi-s-mi-a-MIA*, "This (is) Kani-Tarkamos." "Here (is)"

e, f. *AMIS-s mí Tarku-ku-wi-s yis-mi-a Ku-ni-wi-s-mi-s*, "the swordsman of the country Tarkois. Here (is) the attendant of Kuniwis."

g. *yi-s-mia-a I-si-ku-wi-s-mi-s*, "Here (is) the attendant of Isikois."

h. *yi-s-a Isi-ka-wy-s*, "This (is) Isikois."

i. *yi-s-a Tarku-di-mi-ú-s yi-is-s-a Is(i)-ka-wi-s-mi-s*, "This (is) Tarkondemos; this is the attendant of Isikois."

There were at least two conjugations (or tenses ?) of the verb, in one of which the 1st person of the past tense was expressed by *-mi*, and in the other by *-wi*, which passing through *-yi* became *-i*. *-Wi* is the *-bi* of Vannic.

The 3rd pers. sing. (and also plur.) terminates in *-tu*, *-ti*, and *-t* (as in Lycian, Lydian, and the Vannic plural); e.g. *es-tu anas*, "the king has erected" (M. liii), KUANA-*ti*, "may she bless" (M. xi, 5), *Agusimis ID.-a-ti mia-na*, "may Agusimis bless our land" (C. A4, d). We may conclude from the last two examples that the precativè was denoted by *-ti*.

Much use is made of the present participle in the nom. sing., which can also take the place of a 3rd pers. sing.; thus we have *kis kyn timian UAN-KA-ti sy-mi*, "giving a gift, I have erected an altar in the temple-court" (C. A7, a2).

A derivative conjugation was formed by the suffix *-mi*, and we have what is probably a causative in *nas-kuan-yi*, "I have set up" (M. xxxi, 1; xlvi, 1), by the side of *nas-me-w-i* (M. xxxiii, 4).¹

The only conjunction I know is *as*, which occurs at the beginning of a sentence in the sense of "now", "behold" (C. C6, 4, 7, etc.; cf. M. xi, 3).

Adverbial prepositions are *miam*, "in front of," also used as a postposition, and *agu*, "behind." *Kasmi*, *kesmi*, probably signifies "for", "on account of" (M. i, 3; vii, 1, 2).

Linguistic Position.—The language of the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions is that of the Kaskian and Moschian tribes, who in the thirteenth century B.C. overran Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Lesser Armenia, established themselves at Carchemish and Melid, made Tyana their capital and founded the second Hittite empire, called "Cilician" by Solinus,

j. (1) *yi-s-mi-a-MIA Na-ñ-is-i-s kuan-ni-i-s Nanay-uy* (2) *yi-me-s DET.-isi-mi a-kuanis yi-me-i-s ISI-MI-s*, (1) "Here (is) Nawisis the priest of Nana: I (am) supreme arch-priest of the land, I (am) supreme over the land." *Isi-kuwis* is really a title signifying "lifter-up of the standard".

¹ I should now render this last passage, which reads: *a-(a)nin agu-ti-is a-kuana-s nasmeui*, "the (sacred) stone I the priest of the inner shrine have set up."

which extended from Syria to Lydia. Along with the Tabal, Tubal, or Tibareni, and other tribes, among whom Yavan, the Ionians, would have been included, they overthrew the older Hittite empire which had its centre at Boghaz Keui, made themselves masters of Northern Syria and threatened Egypt, which was saved only by the victories of Ramses III. Tiglath-pileser I tells us that under their "five kings" the Moschians had occupied the Assyrian dependencies of Alzi and Burukuzzi, on the Arsianias, and that "4,000 men of the Kaskians and Urumians, soldiers of the Hittites", had conquered the Assyrian province of Subarti. The old song quoted in Gen. ix, 27: "God shall enlarge Japhet (a Cilician deity according to Stephanus Byzantinus) and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant," must belong to the time when the Cilician empire was established.

We may assign the Kaskian occupation of Carchemish to about 1200 B.C.¹ The conquerors carried with them the new form of culture, which has been brought to light by the British Museum excavations on the spot—the practice of cremation and the use of "Hittite" seals, special types of pottery, hieroglyphic writing, and the general substitution of iron for bronze. The kings traced their descent from Mita or Midas.

Kaskian Hittite was an Asianic language, displaying the same combination of Asianic and Hellenic elements as are found in other languages of Asia Minor. It is becoming clear that in the prehistoric age Asianic and Indo-European languages were in close geographical contact in that region; indeed, Dr. Forrer believes that Hittite, "Luvian," and the parent Indo-European were sister forms of speech. That the Greek language contains many words of Asianic origin has long been suspected, and where there is extensive lexical borrowing there is also grammatical borrowing.

It is also becoming evident that the Asianic languages

¹ The Hittites were already established there in the time of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1110 B.C.); cf. his Annals, v, 49.

exercised some influence upon Northern Semitic, that is to say, Canaanite or Hebrew, Aramaic and Assyrian. The use in Assyrian of the prepositions *ana* and *in* (later *ina* through assimilation) is an example of this.

The manufacture and use of bronze seem to have originated in Asia Minor. At all events it was from that country that a knowledge of the metal was carried to Babylonia, Canaan, and Egypt, and with the bronze would have come some knowledge of the language of the bronze-makers. At an early date, also, Asia Minor became a main source of supply of silver and lead to the ancient Oriental world, and iron followed at a later date.

It is not surprising that words of Asianic origin occur in Sumerian like *guskin*, "gold," the non-Indo-European *oski* of Armenian, or *annak*, "lead," the Armenian *anag*. It was from the highlands of Armenia that the brachycephalic peoples of Western Asia made their way to the south.

By way of appendix I add a note upon the two rock-inscriptions of Lydia, which had much to do with the discovery of the Hittite empire, and about which more can be said to-day than was possible a few years ago.

There is a good cast of the inscription attached to the figure of the Pseudo-Sesostris at Karabel in the Museum of the Fine Arts at Chicago. Here the second character looks like the ox-horn on a pole (*gusias*), but I confess that when I visited the monument in 1879 it seemed to me rather to resemble what we now know to be *kuanis*, "a priest." The characters in the third line are now visible in the cast, and are *amis-ku* (as in M. liii). Consequently the whole inscription reads: (1) *ku* . . . *nawy* (2) *Khalwi-nay* (3) *amis-ku*, (1) "the image of . . . the king, (2) of the land of Khalwis (3), the chief swordsman." Is Khalwis the Halybê of Homer (Il. ii, 857)? At any rate, "the land of Khalwis" seems to be the nameless "City of Midas" near Kumbet, since a hieroglyphic inscription engraved on a rock at its entrance reads: "The rock of Khalwis" (M. xxxvi B). Khalwis corresponded to Kybelê,

and since it could also be read Khubis, the name of the country ought perhaps to be Khuba or Komba.

The copy of the "Nisbe" inscription on Mount Sipylos (M. xxxviii, 5) requires correction, the boot under the bull's head being part of the head itself, which should face the reverse way. The first character is the outstretched arm found on Mount Argæus (*Annals of Archaeology*, i, pl. viii) (where it is followed by *Amma* as on Mount Sipylos), at Kara-Dagh (2b) and elsewhere; it signifies προσκύνημα, "adoration." Consequently the translation of the inscription is: "adoration to Ammi (*Amma-mi*), queen of the rocks." The same title is applied to the goddess Amma or Ammi at Emir Ghazi (M. l, 2).¹

NOTE.—C. denotes *Carchemish*, part i (1914), by D. G. Hogarth; M. Messerschmidt's *Corpus inscriptionum Hettitarum*, ii sqq. (1900-6); ID. "ideograph".

¹ The list of Carchemish kings hitherto recoverable from the inscriptions is as follows: Yakhans (C. A1 a), Khalbi-iyaki(?)me (M. x), Kanas (C. A2, 3, 11; M. ix, xi), Yimiannas (C. A5, a1), Imois (C. A6, 7), and Agu-sis, the father of Kanas, who was Swordsman of Nukhassi and lord of Melid (C. A11, b1, A4, b7). Yimiannas could also be read Yiwiannas, and be compared with the Assyrian Yamanu, Yavanu, "Ionian." It must be remembered that the hieroglyphs were employed for more languages than one, and that consequently where the characters are used ideographically (and to a certain extent, at all events, phonetically) they would have different values in the different forms of speech. At Boghaz Keni, for example, they would not have the same pronunciation as at Mer'ash or Carchemish. That was certainly the case in Cilicia, where an Indo-European language, which we may call proto-Ionian or Yavanian, was spoken. On the seal (misnamed "boss") of Tarkondemos the goat's head (*is* in Kaskian) is *tarku*, Greek τράγος, and the temple (*guana* in Kaskian) is *dimme*, Greek δῆμος. So on the bilingual seal of Indi-limma in the Ashmolean Museum the hieroglyphic legend reads "Life-stone (NA-ZI at Boghaz Keui) of Indi-limma", the name of the deity being represented by a character not found elsewhere, while *limma* or *livva* is expressed by the stone which had the value of *ani*, *ana*, syllabically *na*, in Kaskian. As Tarkondemos is "the temple of Tarkus", so Indi-livva is "the stone of Inda", *livva* being the Greek λίθος, "to stone," Doric λίθς, "stone," usually identified with λίθς, which is, however, more probably a loan-word from Asia Minor.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A CHINESE COURT OF JUSTICE

In the lecture hall of the Royal Asiatic Society in London hangs a painting, probably by a Chinese artist, representing a trial which is noteworthy as being the first Chinese trial at which Europeans were permitted to be present.

On 24th February, 1807, a Chinese was said to have been killed in a rowdy affray between English sailors and Chinese townsmen at Canton; and the authorities held three trials to detect the culprit and determine his guilt among fifty-two sailors who were that day on liberty from the Indiaman *Neptune*. These three trials were held in the great hall of the old factory of the English East India Company, the hall being draped for the purpose with cotton cloth striped red and yellow. The painting represents the first trial, on 9th April, which was presided over by seven Chinese officials—so the records state, but only six could be identified in the records, and the painting shows only six. Of these, five have tables before them, with judgment vases on the tables; the sixth, the representative of the Hoppo, has no such table, since he exercised no judicial function. The officials were the following :—

At the middle table :—

In the middle the Kwangchow Fu, the Fu or Prefect of the Prefecture of Kwangchow (Canton).

On his left (the spectator's right, the Chinese side of honour) his predecessor as Kwangchow Fu.

On his right the Künning Fu, an officer having jurisdiction over Macao.

At the side table on his left, the Punyii Hien, the magistrate of the eastern half of the city of Canton and the district to the east, in which lie Whampoa and the foreign shipping.

At the side table to his right the Namhoi Hien, or magistrate

of the western half of the city of Canton and the district to the west, in which lie the European factories and the scene of the riot.

The Hoppo's deputy sits retired at the spectator's left, between the Künming Fu and the Namhoi Hien.

The three at the middle table appear to have transparent blue buttons on their hats, indicating the third rank; the pusa on their breast is not fully delineated, but for that rank would be a blue peacock for the two Kwangchow Fu, and a leopard for the Künming Fu; if the buttons are opaque blue, they indicate the fourth rank, of which the insignia are a wild goose for the civilians and a tiger for the military. The three at the side all appear to have crystal buttons, indicating the fifth rank, of which (for civilians) the pusa is the silver pheasant. These were the judges.

In the pew on the spectators' right (the real left, or side of honour) are four Hong Merchants. These are in order of seniority:—

Puankhequa, who had been a Hong Merchant since 1788, and since 1794 head of the Gild Merchant, Co-Hong, or Consou of Canton; retired from business at the close of this year.

Mowqua, oldest of the merchants; had made his arrangements for retiring this season, but this affair depleted his purse, and he had not sufficient money left to pay for the privilege of retirement.

Puiqua (known also as Howqua).

Conseequa.

These four all wear the red coral button, indicating the second rank, of which the pusa is the golden pheasant. This puts them in a higher rank than the judges; but the judges acquired theirs by examination and official appointment, while the merchants paid money, much money, for theirs. The youth in a long red gown, standing next to Conseequa, also has a red button on his cap; but it is of silk, and has no significance.

In the pew on the spectators' left are the English representatives :—

Captain Robert Rolles, R.N., of H.M.S. *Lion* (Lord Macartney's ship in 1792-3), who showed great tact in a matter in which he could not venture to intervene too freely, and whose firmness on occasion was such as to command the respect of the Chinese.

John William Roberts, President of the Select Committee.

Thomas Charles Pattle, second member of the Select Committee.

William Bramston, third member of the Select Committee.

Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart., writer and interpreter. He is the page in the suite of Lord Macartney at the reception of the Emperor Kienlung in 1793, as shown in the sketch by William Alexander on the opposite wall ; both pictures were presented to the Society by Sir G. T. Staunton. In 1823 he and H. T. Colebrooke founded the Royal Asiatic Society, to which he presented 3,000 volumes of Chinese.

In the painting the three supercargoes, Messrs. Roberts, Pattle, and Bramston, represent dignity and enjoyment of the good things of this life ; and the records of the East India Company show that they were men of capacity and of high commercial honour. Sir G. T. Staunton, then in the 26th year of his age, retains the natural slenderness of his years, and still has a waist.

The fifty-two sailors were introduced in batches of five, as shown in the painting. The two marines lent dignity to the court ; Captain Rolles had proposed to show honour to the judges by a more numerous guard of red-coated marines, but the Chinese merchants gently hinted that such an attention might instil more fear than pleasure.

H. B. MORSE.

PSALM CXXX

I suggest below, I believe for the first time, an arrangement of Psalm cxxx in the so-called Qīnah, or elegiac, metre. Each distich is an illustration of what Dr. G. B. Gray calls *echoing rhythm*, with three stresses in the first line and two in the second. Dr. Briggs treats the Psalm as in trimeter throughout. The arrangement is secured (1) by treating the Divine Names, יהוה and יה, as interpolations. Their omission makes the Psalm Adonaijic (cf. Ps. lxxxvi, which has many verbal similarities). (2) By omitting as glosses the "and to His word my hope", ולרברו החלתי, of verse 5; and the "Let Israel hope in Yahweh", יחל ישראל אל-י, of verse 7 (omitted also in Gk. and by Briggs). (3) By omitting the והרבה of verse 7, as making the line too long. I am doubtful as to the proper stressing of משמרים, and in verse 4 I have followed the Gk. ἔνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος σου.

A SONG OF ASCENTS

I.

Out-of-the-deeps I-call-Thee, Lord :
 Hearken-to my-voice.
 O-let-be Thine-cars attentive
 To-the-voice-of my-entreaty.
 If-iniquities Thou-shouldst-mark, Lord,
 Who shall-stand ?
 For with-Thee (is) forgiveness,
 Because-of Thy-Name.

II.

I-wait, my-soul waiteth :
 My-soul (is) toward-the-Lord,
 More-than watchers for-the-morn,
 Watchers for-the-morn.
 For with-the-Lord (is) kindness,
 With-Him (is) redemption ;
 And-He shall-redeem Israel
 From-all his-iniquities.

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

DEVESVARA

The date of Deveśvara, author of the *Kavi-kalpa-latā*, a treatise on rhetoric, prosody and composition of verses, can be approximately settled from the internal evidence supplied by the text itself. The *Kavi-kalpa-latā*, as its name implies, belongs to that group of writings which is obviously directed to the practical object of *kavi-śikṣā* or instruction of poets, and closely follows, in its treatment of the subject and general arrangement, Arisinhha and Amaraçandra's well-known work on the same theme. It is not difficult to show, even from a cursory comparison of the two works, that Deveśvara not only draws his inspiration from Arisinhha's *Kāvya-kalpa-latā* and Amaraçandra's commentary thereon, but also slavishly copies wholesale the text of his predecessors, wherever the respective texts deal with the same theme. Deveśvara borrows literally most of his definitions from Arisinhha (e.g. *adbhuta-vidhi*, p. 130 ed. Calcutta 1900 = Arisinhha, p. 93 ed. Benares), and even repeats the illustrative examples word for word. Compare, for instance, the long passages appropriated by Deveśvara, pp. 157-60 and pp. 36-7, from Arisinhha, pp. 135-7 and pp. 30-1 respectively. This copying is found not in isolated instances but practically wholesale throughout the work, so that it is highly probable that Deveśvara must have had the text of his predecessors' work before him when he composed his own. This will place Deveśvara later than the middle of the thirteenth century, thus enabling us to arrive at one terminus of his hitherto unknown date.

Apart from the probable borrowing from Deveśvara (e.g. pp. 27-37, cited above) by Keśava Miśra (*Alaṃkāra śekhara*, pp. 57-69, passage beginning with *nrpe kīrtipratāpājñā*), who belongs to the second quarter of the sixteenth century, Deveśvara is also cited in the *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* (pp. 8, 14, 29, 34, 35, 39, 85, 205, 611). Of the verses which are quoted under his name in this anthology, one at least (*nāga-viśeṣe śeṣe*, p. 85, No. 545) occurs in the text of the

Kavi-kalpa-latā (p. 155), and this makes it probable that the poet Deveśvara, cited in the *Paddhati*, is the same as our author, and will presumably place Deveśvara earlier than A.D. 1363, the date of compilation of the anthology, furnishing us with the other terminus.

It is probable, therefore, that Deveśvara should be placed in the century between the middle of the thirteenth and the middle of the fourteenth. Allowing roughly half a century to elapse between him and Arisimha, on the one hand, and a similar period of time roughly between him and the compiler of the *Paddhati* on the other, we may reasonably fix the beginning of the fourteenth century as the approximate date of our author. This is apparently confirmed by an allusion in the text. In one of the *samasyā śloka*s (p. 200) there is a panegyric of one Hammīra-mahimahendra. If this Hammīra is the famous Cauhan prince, who is the hero of Nayacandra Sūri's *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, then Deveśvara was probably a contemporary of or flourished immediately after that prince, who began his reign about A.D. 1283 (ed. Kirtane, v, 56, also p. 27; Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1882-3, p. 43; *Rep.* 1887-91, pp. lxvii ff.). In the text Deveśvara describes himself as the son of Vāgbhaṭa, chief minister (*mahāmātya*) of the king of Mālava.¹ This prince was probably one of the chiefs of the Tomara clan, who superseded the Paramāra dynasty of Mālava, and who in their turn were followed by the Cauhan princes. This makes Deveśvara's eulogy of the Cauhan prince Hammīra intelligible. In the verses cited as Deveśvara's in the *Paddhati*, he praises the poet Govindarāja (p. 29), Bhoja (p. 205), and also Hammīra (p. 611). Five verses of Govindarāja are quoted in the *Paddhati* itself (pp. 92, 146, 166, 469, 506), while the verse *vayasyāḥ kroṣṭāraḥ* is attributed in the same anthology to Hammīra-narendra, who, as we know, was the patron of

¹ The text in the Calcutta edition (p. 18, l. 5) reads *mālava-pati*, which is clearly a mistake. The variants in the Bibl. Indica ed. are *mānava-pati* and *ānada-pati*, of which the latter seems to be the correct reading from the author's own comment on the word (pp. 19-20). See also i, 2.

Rāghavadeva, Śārṅgadhara's grandfather, and who is apparently the prince referred to by Deveśvara.

SUSHIL KUMAR DÉ.

LETTERS OF MAHRU

With reference to the interesting attempt of Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, in the *JRAS.*, July, 1922, pp. 319-72, to establish critically the exact chronology of the early princes of the Toghlughide dynasty at Delhi, it may be not entirely useless to mention a little known, or, probably, even altogether unknown work belonging to the same period. It is a treatise on *inshā*, i.e. a collection of specimens of epistolary style, compiled towards the end of the eighth century A.H. (or fourteenth century A.D.) by Māhrū, or 'Ayn-i-Māhrū, as he usually calls himself, or, more officially, 'Abdu'l-lah Māhrū. He was, as one may gather from the text, a high official, apparently a governor of Sind, under the Toghlughide princes. Unfortunately, the only manuscript copy which I have examined (which may be unique), "F 11" of the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, is very defective. The preface and the beginning of the work, as well as portions in the middle and its end, are lost in this transcript (which is apparently at least four centuries old, perhaps even older).

The part extant contains 123 letters, which seem to be "true copies" of various specimens of original correspondence, not simply exercises written on fictitious topics. Their order is more or less systematic: first come documents issued by the Central Government, such as appointments of governors, wazirs, etc. Then follows official, diplomatic, and business correspondence with various officers, divines, landowners, Indian local chiefs, etc. And finally there are a considerable number of private and family letters of Māhrū addressed to his various sons and friends.

Naturally, the documents and epistles are reproduced here for the purpose of demonstrating peculiarities of their style

only. This is why their dates are almost invariably omitted. Only accidentally the year A.H. 763 (or A.D. 1362) is mentioned on fol. 47 verso. On fol. 227 the year 59 (A.H. 759 ?) is referred to. Fīrūz Shāh is referred to on fol. 70. Several letters are addressed to Ḥasan Gangū, the founder of the Bahmanide dynasty in Daccan (A.H. 748-59 or A.D. 1347-58). On folios 33 v.-34 v. an official message is cited containing a mention of the death of a Sultān and accession of Muḥammad (the third? in such case it belongs to the year A.H. 792 or A.D. 1390).

All this is fairly sufficient to identify the period to which the correspondence pertains. But there are also a great number of references to various officials, divines, etc., and some of them may be identified in other works on the history of that time. Not being a student of Indian history I have not made any special research in this direction, but it may be very interesting.

However incomplete and haphazard these selections from actual correspondence of that time may be, the collection nevertheless contains genuine historical documents, and in such case undoubtedly possesses considerable interest for a student of the Toghluqide dynasty. Even unofficial letters have their own value as depicting various sides of the contemporary life of the country, and a thorough study of the book by a specialist historian will probably reveal much new and important material.

W. IVANOW.

CALCUTTA.

24th August, 1922.

THE OROPUS OR EUROPUS TITLE OF CARCHEMISH

My corroboratory note¹ upon Professor Sayce's important identification of the Greco-Roman "Oropus" or "Europus" with "The Older Hierapolis or Ninus" of the Romans as a title of Carchemish does not appear to have pleased

¹ In April number of *Journal*, pp. 267 f.

Mr. Woolley. In the July number of the *Journal*¹ he attempts to controvert several points in my note, and in so doing perpetrates not a few misrepresentations and absurdities. As these misrepresentations are calculated to seriously mislead the readers of the *Journal*, they call for refutation.

Apropos of Professor Sayce having clearly established in his *Geographical Notes*, under reference, the literary evidence for the use by Ammianus Marcellinus of the title "The Older Hierapolis or Ninus" for Carchemish, the modern Jerablus, I incidentally remarked in introducing my supplementary note: "The usual Greek and Greco-Roman name for the strategic town occupying the site of the old sacred Hittite city of Carchemish was 'Hierapolis', which Greek name is generally assumed to be the source of the modern name by which the site is known to the Arabs—'Jerablus'."

On this Mr. Woolley remarks "so far from being 'usual', the name (Hierapolis) is not supported by any literary or archæological evidence". Perhaps I should not have used the word "usual", seeing that so few references to Old Hierapolis are found in extant classic literature. But it will require, however, something more than the mere *ipse dixit* of Mr. Woolley to sweep aside Professor Sayce's evidence for the literary usage by the Greco-Romans of the name "The Older Hierapolis" as a title for Carchemish or Jerablus. And as regards *archæological* evidence for the Greco-Roman usage of "Hierapolis" for Carchemish, it is yet too early in the initial stage of the excavations at Carchemish to say positively that no archæological evidence for it exists.

The obvious equation of the name "Jerablus" with "Hierapolis" is accepted by the authorities as etymological identity, and reiterated by Professor Sayce in his note as: "the name Jerablus, which is Hierapolis," is curtly dismissed by Mr. Woolley as "a mere theory . . . Dr. Hogarth has shown (*Carchemish*, pt. i, pp. 21 *seq.*) that the derivation is unnecessary". The fact, however, is that Dr. Hogarth, on

¹ *Id.*, pp. 427 f.

the contrary, admits therein the probability of the relationship of these two names, saying "it does not however follow that the name Hierapolis has nothing to do with the parentage of Djerablus [*sic*]"; and "it is probable that the termination *-blus* is *πολις*".¹

The confusion between "The Older Hierapolis" Jerablus or Carchemish, and the later "Hierapolis", so named by Seleucus Nicator² for the Upper Syrian city of Membij, the Syrian *Mabug* about 25 miles S.W. of Carchemish, and a later headquarters of the Mother-goddess cult, is of long standing. It is already found in the early Syriac (or "Peshito") second century A.D. version of the Old Testament, wherein "Mabug" is substituted for the "Karchemish" (Carchemish) of the Hebrew in 2 Chronicles, xxxv, 20. And Professor Sayce has explained how his confusion obviously occurred.³

Hitherto previous writers have assumed that the modern Arab name "Jerablus" is a direct survival or derivation of "Hierapolis"; but in my note I ventured to suggest that both of these names might be independently derived from, or coined upon, an earlier Hittite name. Such an earlier form of the name seemed to me postulated by the title given by Homer to the Trojan hero-chief of the *Kētei* (who are now recognized to be "Hittites"), namely *Εὐρύπυλος Eurupulos* (misspelt in my note through clerical oversight "Europulos"), who presumably had his capital at Carchemish, and had his Hittite name thus Grecianized to give it an Hellenic form and meaning. This name, I also remarked, obviously contained the elements of the later Seleucid city-name for Carchemish, namely "Oropōs" or "Europus".

This, as I deem it, reasonable suggestion has apparently roused the ire of Mr. Woolley, and he attempts to demolish it by showing what he thinks to be the baselessness of what he calls the "assumptions" on which it rests. He states that

¹ *Carchemish*, pt. i, p. 24.

² See reference to authority in E. R. Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, i, 218.

³ Sayce, *The Hittites*, 1910, 95.

I have based this suggestion on four erroneous "assumptions" which he disposes of to his own satisfaction. I shall now deal with his allegations *seriatim*. He writes:—

(a) *he assumes that the people whom he calls "Ketei" (Homer calls them Keteioi) are the Hatti.*

This is not correctly cited by Mr. Woolley. I called these people, as they themselves spelt their names, *Khatti* (the "Hittites" of modern writers), and I identified them with the Homeric *Kētei*—the Hellenic plural affix *oi* is necessarily omitted in obtaining the native form of such a foreign name for comparative purposes. This identity of the "*Kētei*" with the "*Khatti*" (or "*Hittites*") is no assumption of mine; but it is an obvious fact admitted by the leading authorities (for instance, Professors Sayce and Petrie after W. E. Gladstone) who have long recognized that the ancient ruling race of Asia Minor and Syria, who had Carchemish for long as a chief capital and called themselves "*Khatti*", were identical with the *Kētei* of Homer, the *Kheta* Syrians of the Egyptians, and the *Heth* or *Hitti* of the Hebrews, which latter name is Latinized and disguised in our Old Testament version into "*Hitt-ites*".

(b) *he assumes that the "Ketei" leader is named after the "Ketei" capital, stating that Homer commonly gives a chief the name of his principal town, and that "Europylos" in Greek means "wide-gated" and could only be applied to a city. It would be difficult to parallel from Homer the alleged Homeric usage. Unfortunately, too, "Europylos" which looks so attractively like "Europus" . . . is a pure invention of Colonel Waddell's—Homer calls the chief "Europylos", which means "wide-gated", but cannot be twisted into "Europus".*

This, again, is not correctly cited—it is largely a jumble of nonsense of Mr. Woolley's own invention. I nowhere used the word "*Europylos*", and deliberately avoided the hybrid arbitrary, though fashionable, transcription "*Eurypylos*" for the Homeric *Εὐρυπυλος*—which name for comparative purposes I transcribed with strict orthographic literalness as.

"Eurupulos", though by an unfortunate oversight the second *u* was copied out as *o*. Nor did I write that "Homer commonly gives, etc." I wrote "Homer appears . . . in many other instances, etc.", which is a very different thing. As Mr. Woolley finds it "difficult to parallel from Homer such Homeric usage", let me instance for him an apparent parallel of such usage in Homer's account of the slaying of the Trojan hero *Pēdasos*, where in the fourth succeeding line his associate is said to have "dwelt in *Pēdasos*".¹ Under the same initial letter, other instances of Homeric heroes bearing place-names appear to be *Petēos*² and *Pēdaios*,³ with corresponding place-names *Petēon*⁴ and *Pēdaion*.⁵ And it was not an infrequent practice for the Hebrews in the Old Testament to call eponymic ancestors of the Syrio-Asia Minor people after their cities and lands.⁶

Confirmatory evidence for the association of the Homeric Eurupulos with Carchemish is possibly found in Homer's description of "the hero Eurupulos" as "the son of *Tēlephos*".⁷ This Hellenized "*Tēlephos*" might postulate a Hitto-Sumerian original "*Tilla-pa*", wherein *pa* means "offspring"⁸ and *Tilla* is the Sumerian equivalent of Ur, *Urartu* or "Armenia"⁹ and *Amurru* or "Amor" or "Amorite";¹⁰ and Carchemish was situated in the Amurru region according to the Assyrian and Egyptian records. And I find that Carchemish is also described in the local Carchemish inscriptions as being situated in Ur, *Urartu*, or *Amurru*, as is established with detailed proofs in my forthcoming work on the Hittite Inscriptions.

(c) *He assumes that the capital of the Ketei—Hatti would be Carchemish—which certainly was not the capital of the Hatti, an Anatolian power whose chief town was at Boghaz-keui.*

¹ *Iliad*, 6, 21 f.

² *Iliad* 4, 338; 12, 355; 13, 690.

³ *Id.*, 5, 69.

⁴ *Id.*, 2, 500.

⁵ *Id.*, 13, 172.

⁶ See Genesis, ix, x.

⁷ *Odyssey*, 11, 519.

⁸ See, for instance, Barton's *Babylonian Writing*, ii, 130, No. 249, 5.

⁹ Cf. Prince, *Sumerian Lexicon*, 332, 351.

¹⁰ Barton, *op. cit.* 165, No. 316.

It is, indeed, lamentable to learn that an official excavator of the ruins of Carchemish should be ignorant of the elementary fact that Carchemish was for hundreds of years the chief capital of the Khatti (or as he spells their name in Semitic fashion Hatti) or Hittites after the fall of their imperial capital at Boghaz-keui. Even in Mr. Hall's excellent summary of Hittite history¹ we read: "*Carchemish, the capital of the southern Hittite kingdom, that had come into existence at the break-up of the empire of Shubbiluliuma.*" Now this event, with the rise of Carchemish as the chief capital of the Khatti, is placed about 1200 B.C.,² which is before the epoch usually assigned to the Trojan War of Homer with its episode of "The Hero Eurupulos, chief of the Kētei" in the defence of Troy against the Achaian Greek invaders.

(d) *He assumes that the Seleucid Greeks, finding the name "Europulos" (which he has explained as Greek), could not understand it, and supposing the termination to be Assyrian, dropped it and "Grecianized" the word into "Europus" or "Oropus".*

What I did write was: "The original Hittite form of this Grecianized name 'Eurupulos' will doubtless be disclosed when the excavations at Carchemish are further advanced. As regards the formation of the later Greek name 'Oropus' or 'Europus', it seems conceivable that the later Seleucid Greeks, who are usually credited with having had the Assyrian priest Barosos in their employ, may have treated the latter part (*ulos*) of the name 'Eurupulos' as the common Assyrian affix of city-names, namely *alu* 'a city'. This would result in a reading of 'Eurup' for the city-name, and 'Eurup' would be Grecianized into 'Europus' or 'Oropus'." [The misspelling of *o* for *u* is herein rectified.] This suggestion seems to be expressed with sufficient clearness for ordinary comprehension, and is in itself a sufficient reply to Mr. Woolley's captious attempt to twist its meaning.

¹ H. R. Hall, *Ancient History of Near East*, 447.

² G. Garstang, *Land of the Hittites*, 391.

Regarding the probable form of the original Hittite source of this Grecianized name "Eurupulos", I went on to suggest that "the immediate source of the Greek name *Oropus* and the modern Arabic *Jerabis*—the commoner modern local name for Carchemish—is, I think, the Akkado-Assyrian 'Arba-ilu' or 'The divine Arba'. This latter city contained a famous shrine sacred to the goddess Ishtar, who bears the title of *Arba*; and I have observed some evidence indicating that 'Arba-ilu' was Carchemish".

As *Arba* has the Sumerian equivalent of *Nin* or *Ninni*, a title of the Mother-goddess Ishtar, who bears also the variant of *Nina* and *Nana*, I recalled that Professor Sayce, in his note under reference, states that he finds in the local texts of Carchemish, that that city is called "the city of Nana or *Nina*";¹ and thus fully confirms the statement of Ammianus Marcellinus that Carchemish as "The Older Hierapolis" was known to the Romans also as "Ninus". I then suggested, for the reasons indicated in my note, that "the modern name for the lower channel of the Euphrates as 'Shatt-el-Arab' or 'Channel of Arab' appears to me to possibly preserve the tradition of *Arba* or 'Oropus', when it was a chief capital of the Seleucids and pre-Seleucids in Upper Mesopotamia"—especially as I had elsewhere shown² that the modern name of the other great waterway, the "Shatt-en-Nil", presumably preserved an old title of the city of Babylon.

On this Mr. Woolley sagely remarks: "Arba-ilu is Arbela [by which he presumably means the modern Arbēla or Irbil about 50 miles east of Mōsul]. . . . As to the Shatt-el-Arab, I fail to see what it can have to do geographically or historically with *Europus*." If, however, Mr. Woolley re-reads my former note more carefully perhaps he may see what he "failed" to see before.

In confirmation of Carchemish having been presumably the

¹ *JRAS.*, 1921, 48.

² "Shinar and the Tower of Babel in the Babylonian Inscriptions" in *Asiatic Review*, April, 1922.

great *Arba-ilu* of the Assyrian hymns and rituals, I may mention here that I have found in the local Carchemish inscriptions numerous references to that city as the especial shrine of the goddess Ishtar under the title of *Nin* or *Ninni*, with the Akkado-Assyrian equivalent of *Arba*. Ishtar elsewhere is called "Queen of the city *Ninā*";¹ and the Assyrian oracles during the Assyrian domination of Carchemish make that goddess repeatedly exclaim "I am Ishtar of *Arba-ilu*".² This "*Arba-ilu*" has hitherto been identified by Assyriologists with the modern Arbela or Irbil, to the east of Mōsul, the ancient Nineveh—which latter city was also called "*Ninus*" by the Romans. No extensive remains of the Ishtar cult appear to have been found at this eastern Arbela; and its mere name does not necessarily identify it with the famous *Arba-ilu* of the rituals of the Spring festival, during the Assyrian domination of Carchemish. Place-names of sacred sites were often reduplicated. We have already seen the confusion between "*The Older Hierapolis*" of the Greeks at Carchemish with the later Hierapolis of the Seleucids at Membij. Besides these two cities called "*Hierapolis*", the Greeks had a third Hierapolis at Laodicea in Phrygia, and a fourth at Castabala,³ north of Carchemish, in eastern Cilicia. Similarly, as regards "*Europus*", in addition to its application to Carchemish, there were two other Seleucid sacred cities bearing that name in Asia Minor and Babylonia, and another in Seleucis' birthplace in Macedonia.⁴

Thus the new evidence seems to indicate that the great "*Arba-ilu*" shrine was at Carchemish, or "*The Older Hierapolis* or *Ninus*" of the Greco-Romans; and that this Akkadian name, *Arba-ilu*, was probably the original source from which Homer coined his "*Eurupulos*" (or "*Eurypylos*"); and from which the later Greco-Romans coined respectively their "*Hierapolis*" and "*Ōrōpos*" or "*Europus*".

¹ S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 48.

² *Id.*, 128 f.

³ Bevan, *op. cit.*, ii, 151.

⁴ Cf. *id.*, ii, 318.

It will thus be seen, I think, that whatever defects may prove to be inherent in the suggestions put forward in my note under reference, those suggestions still stand untouched by anything contained in Mr. Woolley's captious desultory remarks.

L. A. WADDELL.

Editorial Note.—The discussion of this matter will not be continued.

THE SURROSH K. R. CAMA PRIZE

The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute (172 Sukhadwala Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay) invites competitive essays for the Surrosh K. R. Cama Prize of the value of Rs. 225/- on the following subject :—

“A lucid and thoroughly intelligible translation in English of the 32nd, 33rd, and 34th chapters of the Yasna (the last three chapters of the Ahnuvaiti Gatha), in due accordance with grammar and philology, with notes and comments, wherever necessary, and with the substance of the whole at the end.”

The essay should be designated by a motto and should be accompanied by a sealed cover containing the name of the competitor and his post office address, and should reach the Honorary Secretaries of the Institute on or before 5th July, 1923. The competition is open to all.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE MUFADDALĪYĀT. An anthology of Ancient Arabian Odes. Compiled by al-Mufaḍḍal, son of Muḥammad, according to the recension and with the commentary of Abū Muḥammad al-Anbārī. Edited for the first time with translation and notes by Sir CHARLES J. LYALL. Two volumes, 12 × 9, xxxviii + 892 and xxxi + 389 pp. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1918-21.

It is only in deference to the wish expressed by the late Sir Charles Lyall that I have undertaken to write this notice of his last and most important work. To review it adequately would have been beyond my power in any case, but I had hoped, at least, to be able to read it through from beginning to end before attempting to give some account of it in the *Journal* of the Society with which he was so long and intimately connected. Other tasks, however, have come in the way, and in the circumstances a brief notice will not be considered inappropriate.

The collection, as its title indicates, was made by al-Mufaḍḍal of Ḍabbah (died *circa* A.H. 170), the most eminent of the Kúfah philologists in his day; according to one story it was compiled at the suggestion of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, to whose son, Muḥammad (al-Mahdī), al-Mufaḍḍal is said to have given instruction in literature. There seems to be little doubt that it has come down to us intact, having been transmitted by Ibn al-Aʿrābī, al-Mufaḍḍal's stepson, to Abū ʿIkrimah of Ḍabbah, from whom it passed to Abū Muḥammad al-Anbārī (died A.H. 304), whose commentary on it was afterwards published by his son, Abū Bakr, generally known as Ibn al-Anbārī (died A.H. 328). This is the standard recension; but another, by al-Marzūqī (died A.H. 421), is extant at Berlin and formed the basis of the unfinished edition by Thorbecke (1885), which contains the text alone of exactly one-third of the 126 pieces printed,

together with al-Anbári's commentary, in the first volume of the present edition. The selected odes (including many that reached the compiler in a fragmentary state) are chiefly pre-Islamic; no more than six of the sixty-seven authors were born after Islam was promulgated, while the great majority lived and died in paganism. The oldest pieces, those attributed to Muraqqish the Elder, must have been composed about A.D. 500. As Sir Charles points out, there is some evidence for, and none against, the view that these are genuine. His arguments in favour of the authenticity of the ancient poetry as a whole are set forth in a most lucid and effective manner, and can hardly fail to convince anyone whose mind is open to receive them.

Basing his text on two transcripts of a manuscript of al-Anbári in the Sultan's Library in Cairo, itself the copy of an original in Constantinople, the editor also had at his disposal (1) portions of the same commentary preserved at Leipzig; (2) Thorbecke's copy of the Berlin MS. of al-Marzúqí's commentary; (3) two copies, lent by the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft and Yale University respectively, of another recension represented by a manuscript at Vienna; (4) Professor Wright's copy of a British Museum MS.; (5) the *Kitáb al-Ikhtiyárain*, purchased by the India Office from Mr. Krenkow, which contains twenty-three poems belonging to the *Mufaḍḍalíyát*. Al-Anbári's commentary is of large extent and numerous verses are cited in it, so that critical and explanatory notes are often called for; these have been printed under the Arabic text. It need not be said that Sir Charles spared no pains to make the text perfect, and he acknowledges "the deepest obligations" to Professor Bevan and Professor Nöldeke for the help they gave him by reading the proofs throughout. Some difficulties, of course, remain unsolved, but it may be taken for granted that the number of avoidable errors is exceedingly small. The printing of the first volume, which began at Beyrout in 1910, under the care of the Jesuit Fathers, L. Cheikho and A. Salhani, was

interrupted by the European War, with the result that although the English volume had gone through the press at Oxford by 1918, Sir Charles did not live to see the publication of either. He intended to publish, separately and later, "indexes of personal and place-names, of poetical quotations, and of selected words explained in the text." This indispensable supplement is now being prepared by Professor Bevan, and it could not possibly be in better hands.

The anthology of al-Mufaḍḍal is not a collection of masterpieces, like the *Mu'allaqāt*, or of choice excerpts, like the *Ḥamṣah*. It stands on a lower level of excellence—some of the odes seem to have been selected on account of their interest to philologists—but on the other hand, its contents exhibit the general features of Bedouin verse more truly and in greater variety. The translation is as admirable as would be expected by all who know the author's skill in this art. Most of the poems have been rendered into prose. Amongst the metrical versions (in which Sir Charles again follows the methods so successfully adopted by him, with certain modifications, from Friedrich Rückert) attention may be called to the splendidly vivid poem by Ta'abbata Sharrā (No. I), the beautiful prelude to No. XX (ash-Shanfarā), the bard's lament for his lost youth (No. XLIV: al-Aswad, son of Ya'fur), Mutammim's elegy on his brother Mālik (No. LXVII), and the famous odes of 'Alqamah (No. CXIX) and Abū Dhu'aib (No. CXXVI). The English commentary includes biographical and historical introductions to each piece, ample notes on points of language, interpretation, prosody, genealogy, folk-lore, botany, etc., and illustrates the details of old Arabian life in a way that has never been surpassed. The whole volume, in short, displays the peculiar gifts which made Lyall such a great interpreter and translator, combined with an erudition worthy of the two French scholars, Silvestre de Sacy and Caussin de Perceval, to whose memory it is dedicated. There is a valuable index of subjects as well as one of proper names.

I may conclude with a few suggestions :—

X 21. The editor takes أَطَاعَ as equivalent to طَوَّعَ, adding that the lexx. do not mention this sense. I think the ordinary meaning will serve. Translate : “ (A ship) whose quick-travelling sail is obeyed (i.e. not opposed) by the wind.” The sail has a following wind, not a contrary one.

XI 6. فَرَأَيْتُ أَنَّ الْحُكْمَ مُجْتَنِبُ الصِّبَا. The use of *ḥukm* in the sense of wisdom is unusual, as the editor remarks ; but more extraordinary is the use of *ḥukm* in this context at all. We should expect الْحِلْمَ. *Hilm* is specially contrasted with *jahl* (Goldziher, *Muḥamm. Stud.*, i, 222 foll.) and with *ṣibā*, which is a species of *jahl* (الصَّبُوءَةُ جَهْلَةُ الْفِتْوَةِ), *Lisān*, xix, 181³) : cf. *Mufaḍḍ*. xxi¹, فصبا وليس لمن صبا ; *ḥilm* ; *ibid.* xlii¹ ; Zuhair, *Dīwāns*, 192 penult. ; *et passim*. I

should be inclined to substitute الْحِلْمَ for الْحُكْمَ. The latter word, though supported by the gloss, seems barely possible in such a quasi-proverbial phrase as we have here.

CXIX. The statement (vol. ii, p. 328) that Mundhir, son of Ma'as-Samā, was killed in the battle of 'Ain Ubāgh is rejected by Guidi (*L'Arabic antéislamique*, p. 22), on what authority does not appear.

CXXIII 14. For مَرَّ الْحَقِّ cf. *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 125, l. 2.

R. A. N.

GRAMMAR OF COLLOQUIAL TIBETAN (crown octavo, viii + 224 pp.) and ENGLISH-TIBETAN COLLOQUIAL DICTIONARY (crown octavo, xxxvi + 562 pp.). By C. A. BELL, C.M.G., C.I.E. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot. 1920.

In the above two volumes Sir C. A. Bell has published a revised and extended edition of his former *Manual of Colloquial Tibetan*, published in 1905. The fact that the former manual has been sold out and a new edition was required shows the value of Sir C. A. Bell's former work, which is now further increased by the additional matter of the present two volumes.

Sir C. A. Bell is particularly well fitted to write on colloquial Tibetan, for, as he mentions in his preface, he was, as Political Officer in Sikkim, for many years in charge of the diplomatic relations of the British Government with Tibet and Bhutan, and was brought in contact with Tibetans of all classes.

The amount of matter that has been added is shown by the fact that the grammar portion of the former manual has increased from 153 to 224 pages, and the vocabulary from 298 to 562 pages. The additions to the grammar are chiefly under the head of the verb and the conversational exercises. The portion of the grammar dealing with the pronunciation has also been printed as an introduction at the beginning of the dictionary, so that the latter can be used by itself. This introduction should be carefully read, so as to supplement the phonetic spelling of the Tibetan words, given in the Roman character. As Sir C. A. Bell observes, it is not possible to represent all the Tibetan sounds by Roman letters with exactitude. Consequently, though the phonetic spelling adopted gives the correct pronunciation in many cases, in many others it is only approximate. One or two general examples will show this. The indefinite article ཅི་ "a", "an" is written as *chi*, and the definite article འི་

"the" as *dī*, but the vowel *i* has quite a different sound in these two words. In the first the final *g*, though almost, is *not quite* silent, and the sound would be *chik*. Again, བསད་པ་ "to kill" and རྟོགས་པ་ "to know" are spelt *se-pa* and *she-pa* respectively, though the sound represented by the *e* is entirely different in the two cases, being short and abrupt in the former and long in the latter. The grammar and dictionary are of the dialect of Central Tibet. Although there are various dialects in outlying parts of the country, the Central Tibetan dialect is understood throughout the country and may be said to be the *lingua franca* of Tibet, and the standard form of the language. Its difference from the dialects is chiefly in the pronunciation. The grammar gives all the forms of the verb which are in current use, with perhaps one exception. I have both found in current written Tibetan, and also frequently heard in speech the form རྟུག་ *rgyu* for the future tense, e.g. *bglug-rgyu-yin*, "I, or we, will pour," for which Sir C. A. Bell gives only *bglug-gi-yin*. Although uneducated persons may use *gi* for the future as for the present tense, educated Tibetans in many cases speak as well as write *rgyu* for the future.

It will be noticed that a number of the forms in use in literature are not used at all in current speech. We could wish that the grammar had dealt more fully with the question of tones in Tibetan, which are mentioned in paragraphs 28 and 29. Sir C. A. Bell observes that "for practical purposes we must discriminate between three tones, the high, the medium, and the low. The initial letter and the prefix" [to which should be added also a superscribed letter] "govern the tone". The Rev. E. Amundsen¹ has dealt the most fully, so far, with the tones in Tibetan. As he notes, the Tibetans consider that there are six tones: (1) high tone, abrupt; (2) high tone, long; (3) medium, abrupt; (4)

¹ *Primer of Standard Tibetan*, by E. Amundsen—the Scandinavian All. Mission Press, Ghoom, Darjeeling (about 1900).

medium, long; (5) low, abrupt (low and rising); and (6) low, long, descending.¹

As Sir G. A. Grierson has pointed out,² a pitch may be high or low, but cannot be long or short, and hence it is wrong to talk of a prolonged tone. On this basis the number of tones in Tibetan would be four, Nos. 5 and 6 being separate tones. In a future edition of the dictionary it would be useful if the tone of the word could be indicated on the notation proposed by Sir George Grierson.³

All students of Colloquial Tibetan are greatly indebted to Sir C. A. Bell for this enlarged edition of his Colloquial Grammar and Dictionary.

E. H. C. WALSH.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CRUCIFORM PLAN OF CAIRENE MADRASAHs.

By K. A. C. CRESWELL. pp. 54, 10 figures, xii plates.

Extrait du Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, t. xxi. Cairo, 1922.

Hitherto the commonly accepted belief has been that the cruciform plan for a madrasah or collegiate mosque originated in Syria or perhaps further to the eastward, somewhere in the Saljûq empire. Mr. Creswell, after a very full discussion of what seems to be the whole of the evidence available, arrives at the conclusion that the plan is an Egyptian invention.

Mr. Creswell's arguments are convincing, and he tells us that the late Monsieur Max Van Berchem (who originally threw out the conjecture which is the basis of the current belief), after seeing the evidence collected by him and discussing the matter with him, expressed himself converted to his theory. In accepting it, however, it will perhaps be safer to make some reservation as to our almost complete want

¹ See also *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iii, pt. i.

² "Tones in Oriental Languages," by Sir George Grierson (*JRAS.* 1920, pp. 447 ff., 458).

³ *Ibid.*

of knowledge of the plans of early Mesopotamian and Persian mosques.

The work includes a description of the eight existing Syrian madrasahs which were founded before the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and plans of seven of them, besides illustrations—a valuable supply of new material, for it appears that only a short account and an imperfect plan of one of these mosques have been published before. It represents a substantial contribution to the history of Muhammadan art, all the more acceptable as the tendency recently has been to minimize the share of Egypt in art development under Islam.

A. R. GUEST.

REVISED TRANSLATION OF THE CHAHAR MAQALA OF NIZAMI-I-'ARUDI. By EDWARD G. BROWNE. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, xv + 184 pp. Gibb Memorial. Cambridge University Press, 1921.

Ahmad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Ali of Samarcand, better known by his title of Nizami, the Prosodist, flourished in the twelfth century of the Christian era. His great work, termed *Chahar Maqala* or the "Four Discourses" on secretaries, poets, astrologers, and physicians, gives a vivid and accurate bird's-eye view of Persia, Afghanistan, and Central Asia, and of the leading figures of the period. Professor Browne first edited this classic in 1899, and we now have to thank him for a second and improved edition with valuable notes on many subjects.

It is difficult to know what to notice, there is so much that excites our interest. We have the oldest account of Firdawsi, of how he wrote his famous epic that stands alone in Western Asia, as that of Homer did in Hellas, and of Mahmud's lack of liberality. Finally we have the dramatic scene, when the repentant monarch dispatched a rich reward on the royal camels, which entered Tus by the Rudbar gate, as the corpse of Firdawsi was being carried off to burial. The birthplace of

Firdawsi at Bazh, the site of Tubaran, of Rudbar, and of Razan, which are referred to in the anecdote, have now all been identified (*vide* my "Historical Notes on Khurasan", *JRAS.*, October, 1910). Again, we have the reference to the Astronomer-poet of Nishapur, and we realize how deeply Umar Khayyam impressed his contemporaries, not, indeed, as a poet, but as an astrologer.

Perhaps one of the most typical verses quoted is that of the poet Muzzi, who, having been rewarded for a notable quatrain by the gift of a horse, immediately expressed his thanks :—

The King beheld the *Fire* which in me blazed ;
 Me from low *Earth* above the Moon he raised ;
 From me a verse, like *Water* fluent heard,
 And swift as *Wind* a noble steed conferred.

This brilliant impromptu, which refers to the four elements, is an excellent example of this class of Persian poetry.

Thanks to Nizami, we gain a keen insight into the character of Mahmud, the famous "Idol-breaker". He must have been difficult to live with, for he said of himself, "Kings are like little children, in order to receive rewards from them, one should speak in accordance with their views." Mahmud certainly acted up to the above as anecdotes prove.

In conclusion, the text is just under one hundred pages, and in no other work is so much to be found in so few pages, and not only the scholar but the historian will gain much by studying what is held to be the most perfect example of Persian prose.

P. M. SYKES.

MEMOIRS OF ZEHIR-ED-DIN MUHAMMED BABUR, EMPEROR OF HINDUSTAN. Translated by JOHN LEYDEN and WILLIAM ERSKINE. Annotated and revised by Sir LUCAS KING. Two volumes, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, pp. cxi + 471, 1 portrait, 1 map. Humphrey Milford : Oxford University Press, 1921.

These two small octavo volumes, neatly got up and closely printed, contain an amended reprint of Erskine's edition of

Babur's *Memoirs*, two prefaces (by Sir Lucas King and Erskine), Erskine's introduction and supplementary remarks, five appendices, and an index of 22 pages. The book is, in fact, Erskine's edition of 1826 brought up to date by a thoroughly competent scholar, and thus most welcome. Of the three parts into which it is divided I hardly like to say which is the most interesting and illuminating: Babur's self-revealing text, the fine introduction, which is highly instructive reading even for the expert Orientalist, although a hundred years old, or the appendices. To all of them Sir Lucas King has added a running commentary in footnotes, distinguished from Erskine's by square brackets, which are remarkable for the self-restraint and mature scholarship exhibited.

This account of Babur, the Mughal "tiger", coming on the heels of Professor Qanungo's recent researches into the story of Sher Shah Sūr, the Afghan "tiger" of much the same time, is of supreme interest to those who would know what manner of men they were that founded Muhammadan Empires at Delhi and Agra in the sixteenth century. Sher Shah's was destined to disappear after a short while, but Babur's lasted on for two and a half centuries. Alike in many respects and both possessed of supreme military and administrative capacity, the manner of their coming by their title of "tiger" rather shows the difference between them. Babur inherited his, for he was not the first Babur of his line in the days before he thought of India: Sher Shah had his conferred upon him on account of the character he bore among his contemporaries, which they compared to that of the Royal not the savage tiger. Babur was a typical prince of his day and race, though of much more than ordinary intellectual power, which is saying much for him: Sher Shah raised himself by sheer force of intellect and character from the position of the eldest son of a country gentleman (*jāgīrdār*) to that of Emperor of Hindostan. In this sense he was the superior man of the two, though this must not be understood as any belittling of the achievements of Babur.

It is impossible to do more than skim over so full a book as this in the space at my disposal, so I will merely touch on a point or two to indicate its extreme interest to those who study Oriental history. In Erskine's introduction there is a good deal about Tamerlane (i.e. limping Taimur or Tīmūr, according as one affects the Indian or Persian pronunciation), from whom Babur was directly descended. Going on the information as to this really great man that was available to Europeans a century ago, Erskine gives what is to my mind an inadequate idea of him, and Sir Lucas King does not apparently "correct" him. Two incompatible views of Tīmūr have come down to us: one by an enemy and one by a friend. It was the enemy's that first found its way to the world of European scholarship. To the enemy and traducer he was everything that was low and vile: to the friend and admirer everything that was the reverse. I may be wrong in my own estimate of this important man, but very briefly it is this. He was by descent the military head of the Barlās or Birlās tribe of Mongols in Samarkand, but was brought up in an atmosphere of scholarly Arab Muhammadanism in which his father and grandfather delighted, being by personal inclination peaceable, highly read antiquaries. So what Tīmūr inherited from his general Mongol ancestry was military capacity, and what he acquired from his immediate forebears was a cultivated taste and a habit of reading, which were engrained in him. He was anything but an unlettered savage leader, though he showed the ancestral ferocity on occasion. So, indeed, did both Babur and Sher Shah, owing to inherited characteristics. The four days' sack of Delhi by his followers (1398), which he did not try to check, was horrible, but he had the grace to devote several pages of excuses for it in his *Institutes* or *Memoirs*, which, as I think, he wrote himself. Indeed, the time has come for an amended and fully up-to-date edition of Davy's translation (1783) of the *Tūzūkāt-i-Tīmūrī*, and no one could do it better than Sir Lucas King.

There are other items in the introduction on which I am

tempted to dilate, but I must pass on to the text itself. Every great man's actions spring from three sources : his intellect, his character, and his environment. His intellect governs his conscious actions ; his character governs his natural, i.e. unconscious or at best subconscious, actions ; his environment, including his heredity, largely colours both. There is perpetual war between his intellect and his character, each endeavouring to control the other, and in this war his environment is always intervening. So that when a man is trying to use his intellect only, his character colours the resultant action, and vice versa his intellect is at play even in his more unconscious actions ; and in both cases he never quite gets over the pressure of his environment. Thus the same man may be a great administrator, a profound thinker, a fine scholar, and yet what is universally recognized as "a human being" in his every-day actions, and a prey to temptations of a certain kind—it may be, indeed, of every kind—i.e. unable to resist the promptings of his unconscious or subconscious mind—unable to escape from his surroundings and early education. In this way a far-thinking philosopher may be as weak as water and hide-bound by custom in daily life, while an intellectual dolt may be strong of will, and able to perform the difficult feat of breaking through custom. One can get at the situation thus brought about by considering the phenomenon of moral and physical courage. In every man's life there is a perpetual struggle between these "qualities", with the result that no man is either wholly a moral or a physical coward or hero.

All this is well illustrated in the outspoken pages of Babur's memoirs of his own life, and it is this that makes them so well worth study, irrespective of the greatness and importance of his personal achievements. It is all there :—the intellect that made him capable of planning and carrying through his many campaigns, great and small ; that enabled him to be the first in his regions to utilize on a decisive scale the then novel idea of modern artillery ; that made him set about

regulating the administration whenever he got possession of a city or province; that caused him to apportion of care aforethought praise and blame; that caused him to be an accurate student of the geography of the countries within his ken—as, indeed, every successful general must be; that made him appreciate the difficulties of any given position at their true worth.—The character that made him drink and take drugs to excess; take a pride in recording his ancestry and their doings, for which, however, we of the centuries after him must be thankful; minutely observe the people about him and record his observations, for which mirror of the society of his day our heartfelt thanks; that gave him his love of nature and natural history; that produced his infatuation for his son, Humāyūn.—The environment that made him an unlimited polygamist and governed his attitude towards women and his appraisalment of them in the abstract; that caused him to act as a ferocious tyrant when he thought it politic, taking political action to be the result of the conquest of environment over character, when intellect has become the handmaid of character—the conscious mind the handmaid of the subconscious. It was unconscious subservience to environment that made him capable of such a comment as this: “Many young cavaliers of his party were taken prisoners. Sultan Hussain Mirza ordered the whole of them to have their heads struck off. Nor in this instance alone: on every occasion when any of his sons rebelled and was defeated, he uniformly ordered every one of his adherents who fell into his hands to be beheaded. And why not? He had right on his side.”

So much for environment affecting a view of political action. Now for a traditional view of an act of treachery (*nimakhārāmī*): “For the sake of this fleeting world, which never was and never will be true to anyone, this thankless and ungrateful man [Khusru Shah] seized Sultan Masa’ūd Mirza, a prince whom he himself had reared from infancy to manhood, and whose governor [tutor on behalf of his father,

his own patron] he had been, and blinded him by lancing his eyes. . . . Every day till the day of judgment, may a hundred curses light on the head of that man, who is guilty of such blank treachery, and on his who plans it." Elsewhere Babur also hurls invectives at Khusru Shah, of whom he says in his own inimitable fashion that "he had not the courage to face a barn-door fowl."

Babur's general attitude towards women was wholly that of his race and time, i.e. it was dictated by custom and environment. Writing of his own sisters and other near relatives, he records again and again, as a matter of ordinary fact that, in consequence of political events in his turbulent day, so and so "fell into the hands of" such and such a prince or even marauder, and by him had children, whose careers he records. These misfortunes had no effect on their social status. Sometimes there was a much worse fate in store, e.g. "In the prisons of that wicked miscreant they [the captured women] departed from this perishable world."

His marriages were strictly in accordance with custom, and he made no attempt to escape from his environment in this respect. His first wife was Aesha Sultan Begam, his cousin, to whom he was betrothed at 5 and married at 16. She was the mother of his short-lived first child, born when he was 19; but he soon tired of her, and she finally "left my family". Subsequently "he saw" her half-sister, "and being pleased with her," married her by the usual procedure. At the instance of his mother he married yet another cousin: "We did not agree very well," and after a while this poor lady died of smallpox. Of one of his father's wives, he remarks: "A year or a year and a half after the marriage she was removed from the *haram*." One wonders what sort of family tragedy this bald statement covers. Of another lady we read that she acquired such influence over her husband that he could not look at another woman, and so she was put out of the way. Of a near relative, however, who, too, had married a first cousin, it is recorded that "he had no other wife or concubine".

In his frank, outspoken way Babur also tells the world of his shyness and bashfulness when he first married Aesha Sultan Begam, but he records this fact in terms less strong than those used in the unsavoury story of the boy, Bāburī. That story is told with evident confidence as to its being understood as a natural and not unusual expression of feelings by his contemporaries. On the other hand, Babur was capable, when he applied his intellect, of gauging the mental capacities of women: "There were few of her sex who equalled my grandmother, Ahsān Doulat Begam, in sense and sagacity. She was uncommonly far-sighted and judicious. Many affairs and enterprises of importance were conducted by her advice." One can see the whole story. In Babur's attitude towards women, environment took charge of the situation and controlled his character, while his intellect played the part of a subservient handmaiden.

Babur's intellectual estimates of the men around him and of his own family are penetrating in a high degree, and are expressed with an astonishing picturesqueness. They form, indeed, a criterion of his intellectual powers, and perhaps in no way is his character more clearly shown than in the use he made of those through whom he most clearly saw. Thus, of Kambar 'Alī Salākh, a Mughal officer who had risen from quite the lowest ranks of life, he remarks: "From me he received distinguished favours. Till he had attained high rank, his conduct was exceedingly good, but after he had gained a certain elevation he became negligent and perverse. He talked a great deal and very idly; indeed, there can be no doubt that a great talker must talk foolishly. He was a man of contracted capacity and of a muddy brain." He is often mentioned, and Babur's mode of using such a man is a lesson in both politics and administration.

Babur founded the Indian Mughal Empire, and the Mughals were his mainstay, but characteristically he never liked them. It was always his Tūrki connexion that he was so proud of. Witness the quatrain he quotes with evident gusto of "the wretches of Mughals":—

If the Mughal race were a race of angels, it is a bad race;
And were the name Mughal written in gold, it would be
odious.

Take care not to pluck one ear of corn from a Mughal's
harvest;

The Mughal seed is such that whatever is sowed with it is
execrable.

In the above lines and the circumstances in which they are quoted Babur shows himself to be "a man", i.e. his character has command of his intellect. It constantly has in these breezy memoirs, e.g. in the wonderful story he tells of the powers of the Mughal *yākshi*, or surgeon, who "cured" him of the severe wound he received on the banks of the Khākān in 1503, and his reasons for having "no doubt that Khwāja Maulāna Qāzī was a Walī (Saint)": "What better proof of it could be required than the single fact that in a short time no trace or memorial remained of any one of all those who were concerned in his murder?" Here character as subconscious intelligence, and not intellect as conscious intelligence, is arguing.

Observing that this book is a mass of delightful tit-bits of observation and self-revelation I must cease from quoting it further, and close my remarks with one or two as to the admirable notes of its latest editor. I would first call attention to the notes on geographical identifications and to such comments as those on the Uighurs, p. xxiii; on the Mongol language, p. li; on the term Turkoman, p. lxviii; on the Huns, p. xlix; on the introduction of modern artillery, p. 58. On the last point I would remark that Sher Shah deliberately, and with admirable judgment as the sequel showed, did not follow Babur as to the use of artillery with such armies as he was first able to raise, because the then new-fangled arm would have prevented the rapid secret marches through mountain jungles he was obliged to make, showing here as much genius in eschewing artillery as Babur did in using it.

There are many of such important notes scattered through

the two volumes ; but surely Sir Lucas King must be tripping, if his note on p. 80 is to be read as supporting Erskine's error that the carved "Mosque" at Samarkand mentioned by Babur in 1497 is modelled on Sher Shah's mosque at Delhi. Sher Shah did not get to Delhi as a ruler before 1539 in the days of Babur's son and his opponent, Humāyūn the Unready. In fact, the Qila'-Kohna or Sher Shah's Masjid in the Purāna Qila' at Delhi seems to have been built in 1541.

Lastly, if any reader of Babur's *Memoirs* should be inclined to judge that this mighty man of the past was after all not a very great personage, let him consider whether the stories of other such heroes have come down to us with a hundredth part of the candour or fullness of revelation as to character as is to be found in his engrossing pages.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORICAL TRADITION. By F. E. PARGITER. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, viii + 368 pp. London : Oxford University Press, 1922.

The *Purānas* and the Brahmanical literature formed thereon naturally attracted the attention of the earlier English inquirers into "Things Indian", leading to the historical school of Wilford and his time. Their lucubrations were, however, premature and soon brought them into ridicule, when true scholarship began to tackle the vast historical subject that Sanskrit MSS. revealed. They were, as it were necessarily, followed by the better, but still imperfectly, equipped schools of the "higher criticism". This led to the equally erroneous, as it has turned out, beliefs that no real history is contained in Hindu literature and that no acceptable chronological statements can be found between the days of Aśoka and the Muhammadan irruptions—a period of some thirteen centuries. The advance made in the deciphering of epigraphic documents and in the solution of Indian epigraphic chronological statements next led, and still erroneously, to the belief that scholarship in India itself must rely entirely on epigraphic

records for Indian chronology, and this belief was confirmed by the gradual filling up in this way of the gaps in ascertained dates for nearly the whole period desired.

As one who has taken a leading part in the publication of the labours of the Indian epigraphists I suppose I ought to support their pretensions, but all through the half century that has elapsed since Fleet and his fellow workers commenced to perfect their line of study and research I have felt that literature such as that contained in the *Purānas* would in the end be found to include true history in its statements. It is, therefore, with real pleasure that I have perused the results of Mr. Pargiter's scholarly and level-headed labours of the last thirty years, though it must be admitted that they are startling and revolutionary.

The space at my disposal in this *Journal* does not permit of my making any but the most cursory remarks on his work. Speaking in the briefest manner possible, it appears to me that he has applied to his subject a profound scholarship and treated the evidence it has brought before him with the minuteness and patience that his training as a High Court Judge must have made habitual to him. It need hardly be said that it is marshalled with the skill and fairness of an experienced lawyer.

Mr. Pargiter's great point is that the *Purānas*, divested of Brahmanical religious padding, and what is more important, of their sectarian clothing, are historical records of the Kshattriyas, i.e. of active men of the world, and therefore contain real history which is capable of being dug out of them.

Tradition of every kind dies hard, and in a well-known book published so lately as 1914—Professor Rapson's *Ancient India*—one finds the writer following the tradition established by modern European scholarship and regarding the *Purānas* and the like as purely Brahmanical books of no historical value whatever, leaving it to epigraphy and the works of foreign contemporary writers to supply what true historical data are obtainable about ancient India. But he does express

a hope that some day a scholar will be found who can separate the Brahmanic dross from the old literature and thus bring out the history that is buried in it. Such a scholar has arisen in Mr. Pargiter, and owing to the impetus that will be given by his book, which bids fair to become a classic on its own account, we have a chance of developing history from Indian literature, a line of thought that is taking root everywhere in the minds of Indian scholars.

I cannot go further here into this important work than to point out the revolutionary nature of the main historical inference drawn by Mr. Pargiter. This is that Indian tradition does not support the now long-accepted theory that the "Aryans" entered by the north-west frontier and spread thence over North India and the Deccan, and finally from the religious point of view dominated all India. But on the contrary, it supports the view that the Aryans entered India by the Mid-Himalayas and penetrated as far south as Allahabad, and then by a reflex movement spread northwards into Iran or Persia and North Mesopotamia (Mitanni). If this very brief summary does Mr. Pargiter injustice I tender him my apologies. But my point is that if he is right—and his book is such that it cannot lightly be set aside—we must reconstruct all our ideas of "Aryan" migrations to India, Persia, and Europe, and one's experience of such reconstructions is that they do not take effect until a novel theory has been subjected to every kind of criticism—friendly and hostile.

R. C. TEMPLE.

FISHING FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES. By WILLIAM RADCLIFFE, Esq., sometime of Balliol College, Oxford. 8vo, 478 pp., with numerous illustrations. London: John Murray, 1921.

We have here a very readable and highly entertaining book by an English country gentleman of the old school, a veritable Martial of our times. The author's object is to describe the

craft of the fisherman in ancient times, from the old Stone Age to A.D. 500. Done in the best of English style, savoured with classical learning, witty and full of culture, it has strong claims to attaining the reputation of Isaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler*. The Introduction is devoted to fishing and fishing tackle in the Palæolithic Period, the cave dwellers of Europe, the Aztecs of Mexico, and the ancient Peruvians; the Eskimos and various lower races of our time are all thoroughly examined with respect to fishing. He concludes that "Only two weapons can be traceably attributed to Palæolithic man. First and pre-eminent the spear (or harpoon, with its various congeners), with possibly adjustable flint heads, and second, but to a far less extent, the gorge, or as it has been better termed, the bait-holder." Fishing with hook and line is not a primitive contrivance and the use of the net is doubtful in the old Stone Age. In his remarks on certain Aztec pictographs, pp. 22-3, which obviously refer to boating and fishing, the author interprets probably after standard writers on the subject, certain dots and ovals to indicate the age of boys and their allowance of cakes. My own experience with pictographic writing excites a feeling of caution regarding these conjectures and many others which have been made concerning the Mendoza Codex of Aztec signs.

The subject of Greek and Roman fishing occupies the first and greater portion of the book. The civilization of Greece and Rome is Mr. Radcliffe's specialty. He required little help and guidance from specialists here, and his chapters on this department are admirably illustrated with quotations of classical writers; especially does he lay Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Theocritus, Pliny, Vergil, and Martial under contribution. Obscure writers of all periods even down to the Middle Ages and the recently recovered Greek papyri are utilized. The statements of the text are extremely well defended by documents and citations. Fishing with spear, net, line, and rod were already familiar to the Greeks in Homer's time, but to Aristotle belongs the credit of founding the science

of piscatorial zoology. He first determined the age of certain fish by scale reading, and Mr. Radcliffe claims to be the first historian to vindicate the distinction for Aristotle. There is an important digression on pp. 169-72, concerning Plutarch, who has been hitherto accused of "speaking against fishing as a base, illiberal employment, having neither wit nor perspicacity in it, nor worth the labour". For centuries Plutarch had been libelled as a contemner of fishing, but our author shows that it is all a stupid blunder. The words were written by Plutarch, but occur in a debate and were said by Aristotimus, who advocates the superior sagacity of terrestrial animals as against the aquatics. The false accusation against an ancient writer so well known and meritorious as Plutarch is easily dispelled, and the point will certainly secure for our author unstinted praise. Space forbids but scant notice of these delightful and learned chapters on fish and fishing among the Greeks and Romans, nor can I devote more than passing reference to the exhaustive chapters on Egyptian fishing. For Egypt is claimed the invention of the hook and, above all, the rod and the reel.

The chapters on Assyrian fishing represent the first attempt to investigate this aspect of Sumero-Babylonian-Assyrian culture. The Sumerians, from whom the civilization of ancient Mesopotamia was principally derived, fished only with net and spear; the Assyrians, at any rate, knew the hook and line, but their use in ancient Sumer is doubtful. The rod seems to have been unknown in Babylonia and Assyria, as it was among the Hebrews, an extraordinary fact in view of their long and intimate contact with Egypt. The arrival of the Semites in Mesopotamia is placed at 3800 B.C., but the author should revise his date here. Semitic kings are known to have ruled in the northern kingdom of Kish as early as 5000 B.C. See my article in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, October, 1921, "The Early Chronology of Sumer and Egypt." As to the relations of the Sumerians with pre-historic Egypt, the statements on p. 352 now require drastic revision.

Sumerian culture and writing existed in Egypt long before the advent of the true Egyptians, and archæological evidence of their presence there is abundant. It is a real pleasure to the specialist to see how carefully Mr. Radcliffe utilizes scientific work and makes every effort to understand problems which he approached as *terra nova* to himself. The chapter on the fish gods of Babylonia is cautious and moves the Assyriologist to question his own knowledge of the subject. It is certainly curious that the Sumero-Babylonian pantheon possessed no special deity of fishdom. The nearest approach thereto is certainly the old Sumerian aspect of the mother goddess Ninā, whose name means "Queen of the Waters", and the pictograph for her name means "fish-house". See my *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 45, but she is essentially a patroness of irrigation and pastures. She was by origin most certainly a patroness of water crustacea and fish, and was later identified with the western? (Hittite?) *Ishara*, the scorpion deity. *Ishara*, the secondary name of Ninā, is possibly derived from *eš-la*, "fish-house," see *ibid.* 46 f., but it is curious that she is constantly identified with Scorpio in astronomy and not with Pisces.¹ As she was by origin a fish deity but in actual worship a patroness of canals, springs, and rivers, the inference is that the piscatorial craft was despised in Babylonia as it was in Egypt and Greece. Scheil, in his note "Sur le Marché aux Poissons de Larsa", *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 15, 183, comments upon the remarkable decline in the demand for fish in Sumer and Accad. In early Sumerian times economic documents contain numerous references to fish in offering and in commerce. But fish as a diet certainly declined in Babylonia, which probably accounts for the transformation of the character of Ninā. An old Sumerian hymn to Ninā actually describes her as patroness of fish, *PSBA.* 1918, 83, cited by the author and another, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 15, 128, published by Scheil, again connects her with various fish.

She is, at any rate in the early period before the decline of

¹ See *JEA.* vi, 196, n. 3.

fish-eating, a fish goddess. But undoubtedly the Sumerian deity most commonly associated with fish was Enki or Ea of Eridu. He was identified with the constellation Pisces, see Kugler, *Sternkunde Ergänzung*, 65, 19, and to his regime in the heavens belonged Aquarius or in legend the fish-man (*kulilu*), and especially Capricorn, usually called *suḫurmaš*, the goat-fish, or *kusarikku*, fish-antelope, or *alluttu*. This god of water was usually symbolized on monuments by the goat-fish, a goat or an antelope with a fish-body. The best example is found on the kudurru of Melišipak, *Delegation en Perse*, i, pl. xvi. That he was actually associated with both goat-fish and fish-man was proven by Heuzey in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, v, 131, from a seal which shows the water-god standing on both of these fabulous beings, who are also figured above him. He holds the overflowing jar from which two streams, the Tigris and Euphrates, descend. His association with the antelope or goat probably arose after he was identified with Capricorn, and the widely spread symbol of the goat-fish or antelope-fish is due to his double association with Capricorn and Pisces. The figure of a being with body of a fish and head of a bearded man on the monuments and seals usually represents Ea of Eridu, but sometimes simply Aquarius as one of the primeval monsters of chaos, who were bound and chained to the stars by Marduk. See especially the conflict of Marduk with the fish-man (*ja-galu*, *ja-lù*, *ja-lù-lù* = *kulilu*) in Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, No. 657. The fish-man (*kulilu*) appears frequently in the epic of Creation among the monsters of the dragon of chaos, Tiamat. Senecherib honoured Ea by offerings of *balgû* and *šelibbu* fish, Meissner-Rost, *Bavinschriften Senecheribs*, 76, 18, and by dedicating to him a boat of gold, a golden fish, and a golden goat-fish (*alluttu*),¹ III R. 12, No. 2, 34.

¹ For *alluttu* = *suḫurmaš* = capricorn, see Weidner, *Handbuch der Babylonischen Astronomie*, 66, 10; 67, 31. The Babylonians saw in Capricorn not only the figure of a goat, but alpha + beta of this constellation was also called the *kaḫḫab ma-gur* or boat-star and assigned to Ea.

Therefore Ea or Oannes was primarily the fish-deity of Babylonia, god of wisdom, the creative word who evolved the form of all things, and to his priests of incantation he delegated mystic wisdom and power over the demons. For this reason his priests clothed themselves in robes to imitate fish, symbol of the divine and mystic wisdom of the water-god. On monuments of Nineveh there is a curious genius from whose head falls a robe in imitation of a fish. He appears to be in the act of fertilizing the sacred date-palm, see Radcliffe, p. 365, and Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 343. This figure is certainly not Dagan, but an inferior water-deity of the cult of Eridu. The figure has been commonly taken for Dagan of Ashdod, whose cult in Babylonia is said to be a western importation. His cult appears in Babylonia in the age of Sargon and Narām-Sin of the twenty-ninth and twenty-eighth centuries, and he seems to have been worshipped at Maer, a Semitic centre on the middle Euphrates, from ancient times. He certainly does not belong to the Sumerian pantheon, except by adoption, and there is no evidence at all for his fish-character in Babylonia. There is every reason to believe that Dagan is really a very ancient Amorite deity, but there is no evidence for seeing Dagan in the fish-genii of the monuments of Nineveh. The figures designated as Dagan in chapter 33 almost certainly represent a minor deity of the great water cult of Eridu.

A study of Jewish and Chinese fishing fills the last seventy pages of the book. The fine quality of investigation is sustained to the close. Here, again, the author has taken counsel from great scholars, and his acute observations really contribute to the elucidation of Hebrew and Chinese archæology. The only weak feature of the book is the Index, which does not do justice to the details and full literature of the contents.

S. LANGDON.

RECUEIL DE LOIS ASSYRIENNES : TEXTE ASSYRIEN EN
TRANSCRIPTION AVEC TRADUCTION FRANÇAISE ET INDEX.

By V. SCHEIL, Membre de l'Institut. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, 125 pp.
Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1921.

The publications of the German Oriental Society appear in rapid succession, and continue to reveal the remarkable richness of the old Assyrian library of Assur. On plates 1-21 of his *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Verschiedenen Inhalts*, Dr. Otto Schroeder has published two large tablets of an edition of laws which regulated society in Assyria. The more complete tablet VAT. 10000 consists of four long columns on obverse and reverse, eight in all, each containing more than 100 lines. The second tablet, originally of the same size, is less than half preserved. The Assur library contained also another edition of the Assyrian laws redacted on smaller tablets; Schroeder publishes fragments of four tablets of this edition. There are no duplicates in the material now made accessible. It is understood that an edition of these texts is being made in Germany. Meissner first called attention to some aspects of the laws in OLZ. 1920, 246, and in his *Babylonien und Assyrien*. A translation with notes by Jastrow appeared in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1921.

Naturally, the recovery of a considerable portion of the laws of the Assyrian kingdom is an event of great importance. Babylonian laws were already known from the famous Susa Stèle first published by Scheil and now more or less completed by tablets from Nippur and Warka. A new edition of all the Babylonian laws of the old kingdom and the few paragraphs of the Neo-Babylonian Code which are known, is in preparation by Mr. Driver, of Oxford, who intends to include the Assyrian Code as well. Assyriologists will receive the first transcription of the Assyrian Code from the hands of Professor Scheil with a feeling of satisfaction mingled with sentiment. *Qui primus leges Babylonicas interpretatus est, quoque Assyricas*. His edition has no notes to defend his interpretation, and consequently the brilliancy of some of his translations may be

easily overlooked by those who do not read him closely. The paragraphs of the Assyrian Code are numbered from their order on each tablet; it is at present impossible to assign the tablets to their proper position in the Code.

I have been studying these texts a good deal myself, and on the basis of Scheil's edition I shall turn this review into a running commentary.

§ 1 (of VAT. 10000) concerns women who steal from a temple. The penalty is shearing of their hair. It was certainly preceded by a law concerning theft from temples by men. The latter law corresponded to § 6 of the Babylonian Code, where death was the penalty. Restore ll. 11 f. *gullubta ša-a [zinnisat lu-u] aš-ša-at [lu-u marat]*.

§ 2 concerns women who are guilty of slander. Her husband is not responsible. On *miḫit pī tartišt*, "She involved on herself a slip of the mouth," cf. *miḫit tēmi*, failure of the understanding.

The woman's children are involved, and if she is convicted they are not allowed to approach her husband.

§ 6. A married woman sets up a shop in the plain. Anyone who purchases from her is a thief. The word *kīdu*, plain, field, occurs several times in the Code, and is correctly translated. For *kīdu*, see Hilprecht, *Anniversary Volume*, 162; Thureau-Dangin, *Sargon*, 135.

§ 7, l. 82, *ilte-ša-ma*, "which is beside it." *Ištu, išti > iltu, ilti* is a favourite word for *itti*, with, beside, in vernacular Assyrian. See Ylvisaker, *Zur babylonischen und assyrischen Grammatik*, p. 54.

l. 84, restore *e-ri-m-ma*, inflammation. Sumerian *sa-samag* = *erimmu*, CT. 19, 4, 31; *an-šumug* = *erimmu*, with *ḫalū*, boil, *pendu*, inflammation, Voc. Boghazköi, 36, 6. See also Holma, *Kleine Beiträge*, p. 7; Meissner, SAI. 1959. See also *erimu*, boil, CT. 28, 29, 17; Holma, *Körperteile*, p. 4, n. 4.

§ 9. Here the law concerns a man who has embraced or kissed a man's wife. The penalty I restore as follows: His

lower lip [ina] *ši-e-ri-im-te ša a-pa-a-še [i-sa-]ad-du-du inakisu*, with the edge of a sickle shall they draw across and sever it. For *apāšu* = *pāšu*, sickle, sword, see CT. 12, 45, K. 4408, R. 26. For line 89 I prefer the reading *kipūru epussi*, "he embraced her."

§§ 10 and 11 belong together, i.e. § 10 extends to col. ii, 13, for there is no dividing line. From this point my section numbers are one less than Scheil's.

§ 11 (12), l. 16, *la-ni-ik-ki-me*. *me* is the particle attached for direct discourse, Thureau-Dangin, RA. 11, 154. The form is for *lu anik-ki*, "Let me cohabit with thee."

§ 14. A man discovers his wife in the act of adultery. He may slay both man and woman. Or he may cut off the nose of his wife and render the man a eunuch, and mutilate his face. Or he may set them both free. The Babylonian cognate of the Hebrew *sārīs* occurs here as a dual *šarišen*, but the word has been known for some time; in fact, it was suggested by Delitzsch, H.W. p. 694, and proven by Jensen, ZA. 24, 109, n. 1. The usual form is *ša ri-e-ši*, *ša-rēši*, Ebeling, *Religiöse Texte*, 135, ii, 14. It occurs in Aramaic dockets, Delaporte, *Epigraphes Araméens*, p. 14.

§ 17, l. 80, *igaddimuš*, probably for *ikaṭṭimuš*, they shall circumcise him (?). See § 18, l. 92.

§ 20 corresponds to § 209 of the Bab. Code, and to § 19 of the Sumerian Code.¹ The fact that this law concerning gravid women occurs in all the law codes from the earliest times is not complimentary to the ancient peoples of Mesopotamia. The circumstance that a man by violence causes a gravid woman to have a miscarriage must have been fairly common among them. See below, § 50.

§ 21. *bit kâte*, the crucial word in this law means treasury, chest. Scheil undoubtedly had this sense in mind. I suggest the following restorations: *šum-ma ki-[di-nu ana aššati ina] bi-it ka-a-te id-[din i-tam-ma] ma-a šum-ma-a-ni [la i-di-mi] ù šum-ma ašša-at [ameli taḫtabi] ma-a it-ti-ka-an-ni [ù]*.

¹ See this *Journal*, 1920, 508.

amelu bit kâte [šuate] *amelu* (ša) *id-di-nu-ú-ni* [*a-na nari-it*] *il-lak*, etc. "If a protégé unto the wife of a man from the treasury gave (something) he shall swear saying 'I knew it not', and if the wife of a man said 'he cohabited with me', then the keeper of the treasury that man who gave shall go to the river without cords. If he returns from the river, as the husband did to the wife so shall they do to him (i.e. to the husband, for the accused is innocent)."

§ 23. *mummertu* is for *mu-ma'ir-tu*, mediatrix as Scheil has interpreted. Hardly the niph'al participle, but the pi'el of *ma'āru*. In l. 33, note the irregular permansive fem. sing. subjunctive, *ki-i ni-ku-tu-ni taktibī*, she said that she had committed adultery. Cf. *usbutuni*, *našutuni*, *ḥadiutu-u-ni*.

§ 24. In line 48 read *be-da-at*, she passed the night. Line 52, *ašša-su di-it-te*, but his wife knew (?), ditte for *tīdi*?

§ 40 contains interesting legislation about the veiling of women in the street. All free-born married women and girls must be veiled. A man's concubine (*esirtu*) must veil herself when she went out with her mistress. Also a married hierodule (*kadištu*) must veil herself in public. But an unmarried hierodule could not wear a veil. A harlot (*ḥarimtu*) could not wear a veil. If anyone saw a harlot veiled he was obliged to seize her and bring her to the palace. He then received her clothing, leaving her only her adornments. She received fifty stripes, and pitch was poured on her head. And if a man saw a harlot veiled and neglected to seize her, he received fifty stripes, his clothing and razor (?) were taken from him, his ears were pierced, a string was passed through them and tied behind his back; he was compelled to do the king's service for a month. To veil a woman meant to marry her.

§ 42 contains an interesting reference to a ceremony of betrothal. If a man poured unguents on the head of a maiden it indicated that he had chosen her for his bride. At the same time he gave her some kind of implements called *ḥurupāte*, which signified betrothal. The word occurs in Thureau-

Dangin's *Sargon*, 363, in a list of objects plundered from Mušsašir, *hurupate erī*, rakes or scrapers of bronze. I connected the word with late Hebrew *hārōpā*, PSBA. 1914, 32. It designated some kind of utensil which by custom signified the duties of a housewife. I would render this law as follows: "If a man in passion (*āmi*) unguents (*rāki*) of oil on the head of a man's daughter poured or in folly brought her scrapers they shall not make restitution." A man who on a rash impulse thus proposed to a girl lost his engagement presents, but he was, of course, by Assyrian law, not bound to proceed with the marriage. For *rākū* = *raḫku*, sweet-smelling ointment, see *raḫ-ku* = *busumtu*, balsam, K. 2036, 21 in CT. 18, 23. The forms *ruḫku* and *riḫku* are more common, and *riḫku* is explained by a Canaanitish gloss as *zurwa*, Hebrew, *šūrī*, balsam. A Berlin vocabulary explains *šim-šar* by *raḫū*, *raḫkū*. *Šakultu* for *sakultu*, folly, follows the ordinary Assyrian method of pronouncing *s* as *š*.

§ 45, l. 66, *uppušu*, they shall acquire. The verb is *epēšu*, to acquire, see Johns, *Deeds and Documents*, iii, 294.

§ 46, l. 101, *išu ilten tuššab*, she shall dwell with one (of her sons).

§ 47 is translated with good insight by Scheil. The law throws much light upon the practice of sorcery. § 2 of the Babylonian Code also emphasizes the prevalent superstition about witchcraft. The older law is less complicated. If a man accused another of sorcery and could not prove it, the accused was, at any rate, passed through the water ordeal. He plunged into the river, and if he perished he was guilty, and his accuser seized his house. If he survived, he was innocent, and his accuser was executed. The accused seized his accuser's house. The Assyrian law is more detailed. It reads as follows: "If either a man or a woman practised sorcery and were taken in the act, they shall prove them and convict them. They shall slay the practitioner of sorcery. The man who saw him doing sorcery or who heard it from the mouth of one who saw the sorcery who said to him 'I saw it',

the hearer shall go and tell it to the king. If the one who saw it denies that which (the hearer) said to the king, he shall speak before the god *Gudbanda* of Shamash,¹ saying, even he, that he said it not. He (the accused of sorcery) is then innocent. The one who saw it and denied it, the king, if he pleases, shall interrogate and examine his past career (*kutallu*). A priest of mysteries (*āšipu*) when he arrives shall cause the man to speak (i.e. the accused), and that man shall say: 'The oath which thou hast taken unto the king and his son does not dissolve you.² Thou shalt swear by the tenor of a tablet which thou swearest to unto the king and his son.' Thus the accused had written evidence of his innocence."

§§ 50, 51, 52, 53 go into the circumstances of miscarriage and abortion in more detail than in § 20. The former law (§ 20) refers only to a miscarriage of a man's daughter and mentions no details. It is difficult to explain why it was separated from the main body of legislation on this point.

§ 50 refers to a miscarriage of a married woman caused by a blow inflicted by a man. He must pay the husband the price of a life. If the woman die they slew the violator. If the husband had no son they shall slay the violator for the miscarriage of a male child, but for a female child he must pay for a life.

§ 52. A man by a blow caused a harlot to miscarry. He was given blow for blow and fined for a life.

§ 53. A woman practising abortion on herself was hung to a tree and not given burial.

§ 59 = col. viii, 61ff., read *ibākan uz-ni-ša u-lap-pa u-pal-la-aš*. The remainder of VAT. 10000 is not inscribed. Col. i of VAT. 10001 is broken away, and less than half of col. ii

¹ The *Gudbanda* was an image of a mythological being, probably a divine bull and sacred to the sun-god. These images, along with images of Scorpion Men, Fish Men, and other astronomical signs mentioned in the Epic of Creation, stood at the gates of Assyrian temples. See Schroeder, *OLZ.* 1920, 243.

² 2nd pers. plur. of formal speech, for the singular. See also *dibbi-kunu* = *dibbi-ka*, iv R, 34, No. 2, 2.

is intact. The first legible section concerns the right of primogeniture. The eldest son was entitled to two parts or to twice as much as the other heirs and he had the right to choose (*nasālu*) in some cases both of his portions, or at least one portion. The law contains the remarkable phrase *išī aḫē-šu pur-šu iṣalli*, he shall cast lots with his brothers, i.e. for the portions which remained after he had chosen one portion (*išēnit kāta*). This phrase is correctly translated by the editor. The word *pāru*, *bāru*, stone vase, is thus definitely proven to have been used for casting lots, and came to mean "lot", and passed into Hebrew as *pūrīm* in *ī'mē pūrīm*, "the days of the lots," the Feast of Purim. The eponym names of Assyrian *limū*, years, seem to have been chosen by lot. At any rate, such is the inference made by Sayce from the date of the year 733 on John's *Deeds and Documents*, Nos. 90 and 415, where Bēl-dān, who had been eponym eleven years before, is said to be the eponym, *ina šané pu-ri-šu*, by his second lot. The suggestion of Sayce, who connected *pāru* here with the Purim festival, was, therefore, correct, although almost no one accepted it, and Jastrow denied the interpretation outright. Sayce will derive deserved satisfaction from the verification of his shrewd suggestion.¹ The section is obscure. It concerns the inheritance of a field under cultivation from which the elder brother chooses two portions of the vegetables growing thereon. [*maru rabū*]-u 2 *ka-a-ta* [*ina ur-ki*] *inasaḫ ilaḫḫi*. And then his brothers (*ū aḫē-šu*) the vegetables together shall choose and take. After that the younger brothers have the right to choose anything on the field together with the improvements.² After this preliminary division of crops and property on the estate, the elder brother chooses one portion and shares the remainder with his brothers by lot.

§ 3 is obscure. Line 23 I would transcribe *lu dal-la-ta*,

¹ See Johns, *Deeds and Documents*, iii, 154.

² *manahlu*, usually expenses, outlay for upkeep, but here and in col. v. 25, it means the improvements.

and render the law as follows: "If a man among brothers who had not divided their inheritance either religious duty [*shirked* ?] or fled his portion (*kat zitti-šu*) of the property the king shall do as he pleases with."

§ 4 I would restore as follows. If brothers upon a field not divided [*išten ahu*] one brother among them [*lu še'am lu*] *pukla*¹ *izru*, sowed either barley or rye.

§ 6 is the longest and most difficult law in the Code. The difficulty is increased by the lacuna at the beginning. The law concerns the inheritance of property for which there are no direct heirs, but only a relative of the family. The interpretation depends upon the meaning of the term *amelu ILA*, which Scheil renders *amel naši* without translation. Preferable is *amel kinatta*, a member of the family. In lines 1-4 there seem to be references to acquiring the property by money, which is forbidden. After line 5 the details are clear.

"Within one month the member of the family shall make proclamation in the city Assur. Thrice in the city field and house which he took he shall cause to be proclaimed, saying: 'Field and house of such a one son of such a one in the district of such a city for my property (*a-na buši-ia*) I will take. Whosoever objection (*ba-ka* ?) and complaint have, let them bring their tablets, and lay them before the inspectors. Let them make complaint and justify it, and take possession.' They who within this one month have not yet even one of them brought their tablets at all² and placed them before the inspectors, the man (i.e. the *kinattu*) shall have full claim over his field and shall take it. At the time when the relative makes proclamation in the city Assur one of the ministers who is before the king, a scribe of the city of the relative and the inspectors of the king shall confer. Of the city where he took the field and house the governor and three great men shall confer. If the relative has made proclamation they

¹ The sign is Meissner, *SAI*. 689. See *PSBA*. 1914, 105.

² For *uđini* . . . *la*=not yet, see Ylvisaker, *ibid.*, 57. In line 22 read *ma-da-e=mađe*, verily, at all.

shall write their tablets and give to them, saying, 'In such a month the relative made proclamation thrice. He who in that month brought not his tablet and laid it not before the inspectors—his hand departs from the field and house. They are ascribed to the proclaimer which is the relative.' Three tablets which the judges write they shall . . ."

§§ 8, 9 concerning the moving of a boundary are unusually interesting. The laws take into consideration the great boundary, i.e. the line marked by stones which surrounded the entire estate, and the little boundary made of reed mats or palings, which surrounded the dwelling and garden. In line 21 read *ša-a būrāni*, i.e. of reed palings. For *būrānu*, see Meissner, MVAG. 1907, 161.

§ 10, *dunna*, is rendered "dike", perhaps rightly. But *dunnu* may be a loan-word from Sumerian *dun*, ditch. See *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 211.

§ 17 concerns the use of irrigating waters by neighbours. In line 4 and line 23 *ana šakāni*, for gardening, is preferable to a more ordinary sense of *šakānu*. For *šakānu*, to work a garden, see Ungnad, *Briefe*, p. 385.

Professor Scheil has good reason to be congratulated. The first edition of such difficult texts involves profound knowledge of lexicography and grammar, and he possesses the necessary equipment. Undoubtedly more fragments of the Assyrian Code will be recovered, and we all hope that he again will be their first interpreter.

S. LANGDON.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM EXCAVATIONS AT ABU SHAHRAIN IN MESOPOTAMIA IN 1918. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. From *Archæologia*, vol. lxx. 11½ × 9½, pp. 101-144, 6 plates.

The modern tell Abu Shahrain, which lies in the extreme south of ancient Babylonia, west of the present course of the Euphrates and about 12 miles south-west of the ancient city

Ur, has long since been identified with the famous Sumerian city Eridu, centre of the cult of the water god Enki or Ea, and home of a great school of Sumerian theology. Located in the most desolate region of a notoriously inhospitable country, not even the lure of fame and tradition has been able to induce a well-equipped expedition to adopt Abu Shahrain as a site for excavations. J. E. Taylor, the intrepid British explorer of Babylonia, worked there for a short time in 1854, and from the few stamped bricks which he recovered the site was identified. Since that time Eridu has received no serious attention. It was most commendable on the part of the British Museum to seize the opportunity of exploration in the extreme south, and to have secured the services of Captain Campbell Thompson, soon after the British occupation of southern Mesopotamia. The Museum sent him to Eridu, and in the following year Dr. Hall, of their own staff, was sent to Muqayyar, the vast ruins of Ur. The results of the former expedition are admirably described in the brochure under review.

A good topographical drawing of the region of Ur and Eridu is given on p. 102. His description of the topography is most welcome to Assyriologists, for it rectifies a good many old misconceptions. From Ur to the south-west the land slopes slightly upward, until a low sandstone ridge is reached 6 miles east of Abu Shahrain. The sandstone ridge drops abruptly only 15 or 20 feet, and from that point to the mound the soil is perfectly flat. The intervening ridge must be very low, for the peak of the stage tower of Eridu can be seen from Ur. Apparently Eridu lay in a wide flat plain almost on the same level as Ur.

The author gives a good résumé of what is known concerning Eridu in history and tradition. Although it figures little in the early inscriptions and ceased to be of importance already in the age of Hammurabi, tradition regarded it as one of the oldest cities of Sumer, and it is mentioned as late as the seventh century. A Babylonian chronicle states that Eridu

lay on the shore of the sea by which we commonly understood that it was situated on the ancient sea-coast. But Mr. Thompson makes a strong argument for regarding the "sea" not the Persian Gulf, but the great Euphrates lagoon. He observed a fact never before brought to the notice of archæologists, that the mussel-shells which abound in all strata are not marine shells, but freshwater shells. An incantation text seems to imply that Eridu lay at the mouth of the two rivers,¹ by which one infers the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates. If this statement refers to Eridu and not the lower world in this passage it is impossible to explain it on any assumption, except that the scribe refers to the junction of the Euphrates and the old canal the Shatt el Hai. This would mean that the old bed of the Euphrates reached the sea via the plain of Eridu from Erech. A Sumerian hymn concerning the building of Eridu² enables us now to state with certainty that Eridu actually stood on the bank of the Euphrates, and beside the sea. It also gives the name of the temple of Eridu as Esirra or Esira, for which a well-known epithet E-apsû, House of the nether sea, was often substituted. Its *ziggurat* was named *E-unir*.

The temple is constructed with gold and lapis lazuli,
 Its foundation on the nether-sea (*apsu*) is filled in.
 By the river of Sippar (Euphrates) it stands.
 O Apsu pure place of propriety,
 Esira, may thy king stand within thee.

Other passages refer to the glory of the temple, and its quay-wall was of carnelian.³

The results of the excavation which consisted principally in soundings at various points are important. The explorer has brought to light numerous fragments of geometrical

¹ CT. 16, 47, 198.

² Published in *Historical, Religious, and Economic Texts*, Nies & Keiser, No. 23. Duplicate in my *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, No. 20. An edition is in the press in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*.

³ *samtu*. Thompson found carnelian in considerable quantity, which tends to confirm the identification *samtu* = carnelian.

pottery of the earliest period. This kind of pottery is characteristic of pre-historic Elam, and was found at Anau in Russian Turkestan, as well as in predynastic Egypt and Syria. Thompson concludes that the makers of this ware were not Sumerians, but proto-Elamites, or, at any rate, he argues that they belonged to the widely extended race of pre-historic times represented by the inhabitants of the earliest strata at Anau and Susa. The argument is based upon the accepted theory that the Sumerians did not make this fine type of pottery. Certainly the extensive explorations at Nippur, Lagash, and Umma have brought to light almost nothing of the kind from the earliest Sumerian period. Only one vase of the second or realistic period was found at Lagash. But the statuary, dress, and tonsure of proto-Elamitic times are obviously Sumerian, and I, for one, am not convinced that the Sumerians did not belong to the same race. Hall has also found the same type of pottery at Ur. This point is not yet settled, and I cannot see why it is not debatable.

The author gives a detailed and admirable account of the various kinds of pots which are unmistakably Sumerian, the flints and stone axes of the neolithic period and baked clay reaping knives. His drawings of the trenches and detailed data are a model of what such field work should be. But he and all Assyriologists had hoped for tablets and the discovery of the temple library. That pious expectation was not realized, only a few stamped bricks and round tablets inscribed with short lists of Sumerian words represent the sum total of the inscribed material. We now have for the first time from Eridu a stamped brick of Ur-Engur, "who built the temple of Enki in Eridu." Duplicates of the well-known Bur-Sin brick inscription were found. A copy is given on page 115, and a translation on p. 116. The text contains the word *sag-us*, which Thureau-Dangin rendered by "he who lifts the head of". A new syllabar now in Berlin gives *mákiš réši* as the Semitic equivalent, that is "supporter, patron".

A stamped brick of Nur-Immer, eighth king of the

dynasty of Ellasar, is the most interesting inscription yet found at Eridu. A copy is given on p. 115, and a translation on p. 116f. It reads: "Nur-Immer, the mighty man, the true irrigator of Ur, king of Ellasar, who has purged the rituals of the house of Ebabbar. Of Eridu, which since ancient days had been destroyed, its income he caused to be regular. He commanded to build it. Of Enki he built the abode, the holy, which he loved. Its designs (sculptures) of eternity he restored to their places." A duplicate of the Nabonidus brick stamp from Ur, No. 14, p. 296 of my *Neue Babylonische Königsinschriften*, and two fragments of other Nabonidus bricks afford welcome evidence of the work of the last Babylonian king at Eridu.

S. LANGDON.

Works on the Dutch East Indies

KOLONIAL INSTITUUT TE AMSTERDAM. Mededeeling No. IX.

Afdeeling Volkenkunde No. 3. Volkenkundige Opstellen

I. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$, 104 pp., 10 + 14 plates. Amsterdam: het Instituut, 1917.

This volume contains two separate works. The first ninety pages consist of an anthropological dissertation by Dr. J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan on the inhabitants of the Tanimbar (or Timor Laut) Islands, with special reference to their craniology. The rest is a brief study by Herman F. E. Visser of the native decorative art of Seram (or Ceram), particularly the north-western part of that island. Both *opuscula* are of a somewhat specialist character, contributing new data to our knowledge of two rather remote regions. The illustrations are good, the coloured reproductions of Seram designs being particularly pleasing.

KOLONIAL INSTITUUT TE AMSTERDAM. Mededeeling No. IV.

Afdeeling Volkenkunde No. 2. PANDECTEN VAN HET

ADATRECHT. IV. De overige Rechten op Grond en Water. Stuk A, Stuk B. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. x, 1302.

(Idem.) V. Het Erfrecht. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, viii+634 pp. Amsterdam : het Instituut, 1918, 1919, 1920.

These are three tomes of a large compilation of Indonesian customary law still in course of publication. They are based on a number of different sources of very varying value, and must be regarded rather as materials for further study than as a final authoritative statement of law or custom. But subject to that inevitable qualification they are of the utmost value. Each article ends with a reference to the source from which it is derived, and there are full bibliographical lists of the authorities in question. It were much to be wished that the *adat* of the Malay Peninsula (and some other British possessions and dependencies) could be systematically set forth in a similar way before it has been modified out of all recognition by changing conditions and the effect of legislation. In the work under review so many persons have collaborated that it is impracticable to give all their names here ; they will be found in the work itself, which, by the technical excellence of its preparation, does them every credit. It would be tempting to go into details and compare some sections of the customary law herein exemplified with that of other regions. But even if this were not rather a case of trespassing into the field of a journal of comparative jurisprudence, it is to be feared that I should not be allowed to use as much space here as an adequate treatment of the subject would necessarily demand.

KATALOG DES ETHNOGRAPHISCHEN REICHSMUSEUMS. Band XIV. Sumatra-Supplement. Von H. W. FISCHER. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, xviii + 127 pp., x plates.

(Idem.) Band XV. Java : vierter Teil. Anhang. Baduj und Tenggöresen, Madura und umliegende Inseln (Bawean und Kangean). Von Dr. H. H. JUYNBOLL. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, xxii + 163 pp., x plates. Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1920.

These are two volumes of the catalogue of the well-known Ethnographical Museum at Leyden. The objects dealt with

are, of course, of the most miscellaneous character, but they are methodically classified and briefly but sufficiently described. A number of indexes, as well as bibliographical and other lists, besides the excellent plates and some illustrations in the text, add materially to the value of the catalogue. I trust that some day the collection itself will be more adequately housed, in quarters where its valuable contents can be conveniently inspected, which was not the case when I visited it some few years ago.

PARARATON (KEN AROK) OF HET BOEK DER KONINGEN VAN TUMAPĒL EN VAN MAJAPAHIT, uitgegeven en toegelicht door Dr. J. L. A. BRANDES. Tweede Druk bewerkt door Dr. N. J. KROM met medewerking van Professor Mr. Dr. J. C. G. JONKER, H. KRAEMER en R. Ng. POERBATJARAKA. (Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Deel LXII.) 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$, xv, 9*, 343 pp., one folding pedigree. 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1920.

This relatively brief chronicle is of exceptional importance as being one of the two extant literary sources of fairly ancient date for the study of the history of Java in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was originally published in 1896 by that eminent scholar, the late Dr. Brandes, who furnished it with a translation and a copious and most valuable commentary. The present revised issue does not depart very widely from the first edition, but embodies facts which have come to light during the last quarter of a century, and suggests the solution of a number of small problems which had baffled the original editor. The language, while not as archaic as the old Javanese of the early inscriptions, is sufficiently far removed from modern Javanese to raise a good many difficulties. Several additional MSS. of the work have now been critically collated. Among the new notes added to the translation one in particular deserves to be mentioned, namely the suggestion on p. 140

that the word Pamëlökahan in the text means the region of Malacca. If that conjecture is correct, it would follow that Malacca was in existence about the beginning of the fourteenth century. But this interpretation is at present quite hypothetical.

The editors seem to have done their work very conscientiously; indeed, their names are in themselves a sufficient guarantee of it. One cannot but regret that Professor Jonker (for some years one of our honorary members) should have died before he could put the finishing touch to his share of the work, but the notes bear witness to the fact that it was no small one.

GESCHIEDENIS VAN JAVA. Deel II. De Mohammedaansche Rijken tot de Bevestiging van de macht der Compagnie. Door W. FRUIN-MEES. 10½×7, viii+127 pp., 22 plates, and one map. Weltevreden: Commissie voor de Volkslectuur, 1920.

This is the second part of a popular history of Java and deals with the Muhammadan kingdoms and the gradual establishment of the Dutch East India Company in that island, comprising the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and about the first third of the seventeenth. I have not seen the first part, which no doubt dealt with the Hindu kingdoms of earlier date. The work is succinct and simply written, but I am glad to see that it is essentially sound and scientific. The latest sources of information have been used by the author, and if her work does not profess to be anything but an *œuvre de vulgarisation*, it is an excellent one of its kind. It is also well got up and illustrated.

SUPPLEMENT OP DE IN DEEL LXI, 3E EN 4E STUK, DER VERHANDELINGEN GEPUBLICEERDE NADERE AANVULLINGEN EN VERBETERINGEN OP DE BIJDRAGEN TOT DE KENNIS VAN HET MIDDEN MALEISCH (BĒSĒMAHSCH EN SĒRAWAJSCH DIALECT). Door O. L. HELFRICH. (Verhandelingen van

het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Deel LXIII, eerste Stuk.) 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$, 66 pp. Batavia : Albrecht & Co., 1921.

This is a further supplement of addenda and corrigenda to a vocabulary of two Sumatran dialects of Malay, originally published in Deel LIII (1904) of the above *Verhandelingen*, and calls for no special remark.

HANDELINGEN VAN HET EERSTE CONGRES VOOR DE TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE VAN JAVA. Solo, 25 en 26 December 1919. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$, xxxi + 426 pp., 52 plates. Weltevreden : Albrecht & Co., 1921.

This, the first congress held in Java for the discussion of matters relating to the languages, literatures, ethnography, archaeology, history, etc., of that island, is an event of importance; and its Transactions, now issued in this very pleasing form, are of the utmost interest. It is to be hoped that it is only the first of many such congresses, and will have worthy successors. There is no room here to discuss all the papers read on this occasion; I can only single out a few for special reference. There are several valuable contributions to our knowledge of the three principal languages and literatures of the country (Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese). The early relations of Java with Southern and Central Sumatra are discussed by L. C. Westenenk, in a long historical paper, which, though to some extent hypothetical, is based on a great number of sources and will serve as a good starting point for further investigations. The relation of Javanese to Indian art is dealt with in a very fascinating way by Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, who essays to show that Javanese architecture is in no sense a mere copy of any particular Indian prototype, but has a large measure of originality, especially in its treatment of decorative features. Considerable interest attaches to an Arabic funeral inscription in a sort of Kufic character, dated A.H. 495, the most ancient Arabic record as yet found in Java, which is explained by J. P. Moquette.

The formal meeting of the congress was preceded by an entertainment of native music and dancing, and on the two following evenings two Javanese plays were performed; an account of their plots is prefixed to these Transactions. The congress was held at Surakarta, the capital of one of the two surviving Javanese principalities, and it is to be noted that natives of the island took an active part in the proceedings and contributed some valuable papers. The numerous illustrations, many of them very beautiful, add greatly to the interest of this attractive volume.

WIR MENSCHEN DER INDONESISCHEN ERDE I. Die indonesische und indogermanische Volksseele. Eine Parallele auf Grund sprachlicher Forschung. Von RENWARD BRANDSTETTER. 9×6, 21 pp. Luzern: E. Haag, 1921.

In this pamphlet, the first of a series, the author essays to show from linguistic data that the psychology of the Indonesians is in essentials the same as that of the Indo-Europeans. For this purpose he analyses and compares the words which denote "soul", "vital principle," "departed spirits," and various mental functions, etc., and has no difficulty in establishing analogies between the way in which such matters are expressed by these two unrelated groups of peoples. As usual, his method is linguistically sound, and his conclusions are of great interest. To what extent they can serve as a basis for wider psychological deductions is a matter I am incompetent to discuss. While freely accepting the essential unity of mankind, as evidenced *inter alia* by such facts as are here illustrated, one must bear in mind that they relate back to a somewhat remote period, and that subsequent differentiation, in various directions and at different rates of change, may have done much to create very diverse mentalities. Perhaps the learned author, after establishing the fundamental identities, will complete the picture by also giving us the characteristic differences; this would no doubt be equally interesting and important.

GESCHIEDENIS VAN JAVA. Door W. FRUIN-MEES. Met een inleidend woord van Raden Dr. Hoesein Djajadiningrat. Deel I. Het Hindoetijdperk. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, iv + 113 pp., 30 plates, and 3 maps. Weltevreden: Commissie voor de Volkslectuur, 1919 (on the cover, 1920).

The second part of this excellent little work came to hand first and has already been noticed. This first part deals with the period of Indian civilization in Java, and attempts also to give some estimate of the standard of Javanese culture before the Hindus first settled in the island. It continues to the end of the great Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Majapahit. The work is soundly based on the historical data derivable from the inscriptions, etc., so far as they had been deciphered when it was written (1918) and embodies the results of the century of research that had elapsed since Raffles published his *History of Java*. The latter was founded merely on garbled legends contained in comparatively modern native chronicles, and has now been entirely superseded by the study of the genuine contemporary records that have been interpreted since its time.

But this study is still in progress, and it is unfortunate that just after Mevr. Fruin-Mees had finished this first part of her work, fresh documents should have turned up which have thrown a new light on the early relations between Java and Sumatra, and particularly the influence exercised for some time by the latter island on the former. These newly deciphered records would have caused our author to modify some parts of the first few chapters of her book, if they had been available when she wrote. For the rest, she has done her work admirably, and the book makes very interesting reading. The portions devoted to the religions and arts of medieval Java, though brief, are adequate to the scale of the work, and are supplemented by very fine illustrations. The list of Errata is unusually long, but might be augmented by some additional cases, which are, however, mostly of trifling importance. I may point out that in the third map Cape Rachado is misplaced; it should be a little way south-east of Kēlang. I have elsewhere already expressed my opinion

that the "Saimwang" of the Nāgarakṛtāgama list of countries should not be read Semong (or Seumang or Semang, as here, p. 83 and map), but represents Sai, one of the Patani districts or "states", the word *muang* being merely the conjunction "and".

OOSTERSCH GENOOTSCHAP IN NEDERLAND. Verslag van het Eerste Congres gehouden te Leiden op 4 en 5 Januari, 1912. 9½ × 6½, vii + 55 pp. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1912.

The Royal Asiatic Society welcomes the creation of a new sister society in the Netherlands. It is curious that in spite of the great interest taken by Dutchmen in various branches of Oriental study, and the excellent work done by many of them in contributing to the progress of knowledge in these departments, no such society had been established before. The Royal Institute at the Hague, an Orientalist body of the highest standing, confines its attention, for the most part, to the Dutch colonial possessions; so there was room for an association of a more general character and wider scope. This small volume contains the proceedings of the first congress of the new society, and consists mainly of abstracts of the papers read on that occasion, the sections represented being Semitics and Egyptology, Aryan studies (including Iranian), the Far East, and Hellenistic and Byzantine studies. There is not space available here to discuss the details of these contributions, but many of them are of much interest and deserve to be published in fuller form. A paper by Lieut.-Col. T. van Erp on the decorative features of the Hindu architecture of Central Java, should be compared with Dr. Bosch's paper at the Java congress of 1919: the points of view are curiously in contrast, inasmuch as the former authority maintains the essentially Indian character of these features, while the latter insists on differences from the Indian type.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA. Edited by Professor E. J. RAPSON. Vol. I. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, xxiv + 736 pp., 34 plates, 6 maps. Cambridge University Press, 1922.

Professor Rapson has projected, with the collaboration of other scholars, to publish the *Cambridge History of India* in six volumes, and this is the first volume dealing with ancient India from the earliest times till about the middle of the first century A.D. It is an imposing book containing 760 pages of print and 34 fine plates of coins and antiquities. It begins with a geographical description of India, and the surrounding countries and peoples, and includes in its historical purview all the kingdoms beyond India to the north and west that influenced India or into which Indian influence directly extended; and Dr. P. Giles propounds the theory that the Indo-European race arose in what was the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The early history of India itself is dealt with in chapters that treat separately of the periods in which were composed the Rigveda, the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, the Sūtras, Epics and Law-books, and the Purāṇas, and of the Jain and Buddhist periods. The former are expounded by Professors Keith, Washburn Hopkins, and Rapson, and the last two by Dr. Charpentier and Dr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids. The materials for these are almost wholly the Sanskrit, Jain, and Buddhist literatures. These scholars have given a résumé of whatever can be gathered therefrom, expressing it so as to make it as nearly as possible historically a religious, social, legal, and political retrospect. As those periods are somewhat indefinite in duration and character, the accounts cannot take the shape of real history, though as general expositions they are full and excellent. This is the first part of the volume.

True history begins where the Persian Empire extended its conquests into India, and from then there are reliable materials available from Persian, Greek, and other foreign records and accounts, together with inscriptions and coins,

and with some help from the lists of Indian dynasties in some of the Purāṇas. Professor A. V. W. Jackson deals with the Persian Empire, Mr. E. R. Bevan with Alexander's invasion, Dr. G. Macdonald with the Hellenic kingdoms of Syria, Bactria, and Parthia, Dr. Thomas with the Maurya Empire, and Professor Rapson with the dynasties that arose afterwards in India and on the frontier till the Scythian and Parthian invasions. South India and Ceylon are then noticed and Dr. Barnett states what is known of them—alas, tantalizingly little. Finally the monumental history is fully and clearly described by Sir J. H. Marshall with abundant illustrations. All this second part is excellently done, for each scholar is specially qualified to handle his subject, and he has real historical material to utilize.

The volume is enriched with a very detailed table of contents, a bibliography for each chapter, a chronology and a copious index. It embodies excellently the progress that research has now reached, yet there is a real difference between the above two parts as regards history. The second part makes solid advance in recovering lost history, and though all differences of opinion are not dissipated, yet the historical presentation will no doubt stand in all its main features. But the ancient portion of the first part is based almost entirely on literature that was composed by brahmans, who lacked the historical sense, and that does not deal with history. That manifestly is not a sound historical guide. Moreover, the Aryan conquest of North India was effected by warriors, and not by priests. The kṣatriyas maintained their own tradition as well as the brahmans, as was pointed out in this *Journal* in 1910 (pp. 1-5), and Professor Rapson has accepted the distinction in this book; but practically nothing has been incorporated from kṣatriya tradition in the Purāṇas and Mahābhārata, because it had not been critically investigated when this book was written in 1914. The whole of the ancient period will have to be reconsidered from the kṣatriya standpoint, not only as regards its political history, but also as

regards its religious and social developments, and how important the latter may be may be inferred from the assertion in tradition that Indra originally was a non-Aryan god.

F. E. P.

THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD: TRACTATE BERĀKŌT. By the Rev. A. COHEN, M.A. Translated into English for the first time, with introduction, commentary, glossary, and indices. 8vo, xxxix, 460 pp. Cambridge University Press, 1921.

Among the legends woven round the Talmud, there is the one that this book could not be translated. The language is of an Aramaic peculiar to Babylon, resembling somewhat the Mandaean; the compilation is apparently unsystematic, subjects of diverse kind jostling one another in a manner which looks incoherent; the discussions and dialogues are very terse, seeming to lead to no definite conclusion; quaint stories mix with abstruse dialectics, the highest ethical conceptions are mentioned almost on the same page with minute trivialities of daily life and superstitions of many origins—all these seem to justify the belief that the book was untranslatable. And yet this has proved to be a mere legend, for the book lay open to every serious student; there was nothing mysterious in it or behind it, and in fact many a treatise has been translated during the last few centuries into Latin, German, and other European languages. Parts of the Mishnah, the Code from which the discussions in the Talmud start, have also been translated into English in the middle of the last century, and now the Rev. Mr. Cohen has given us for the first time a complete translation of one of these treatises. It is more or less typical of the rest, and anyone who has been able to master the original text with the help of this translation will find no great difficulties in grappling with the others. The subjects chiefly treated are prayers and blessings, and a careful student will find that

though the thread seems to be continually broken by the details above mentioned, yet it is taken up regularly throughout the book and is never entirely lost to sight. It was not an easy task to find adequate English expressions for the terse, technical terminology which baffles the student when he first takes up the work. Of course, in a work of this kind, slips must occur here and there, but in view of the magnitude of the task accomplished, they can easily be condoned.

In addition to the reliable translation, which, of course, is the chief merit of the book, the author has accompanied the translation with marginal rubrics of contents and numerous explanatory footnotes. A long introduction, which seems to have been written for readers very little acquainted with the Talmud, is also unnecessarily apologetic in tone. The book is also made more serviceable by a glossary as well as by the copious indices of (1) rabbinical authorities cited, (2) Scriptural and liturgical texts, and (3) a general index of subjects.

The book has been printed with the usual care and beauty of the Cambridge University Press.

M. GASTER.

UN MONUMENT DES PREMIERS SIÈCLES DE L'HÉGIRE EN PERSE. Extrait de la *Revue Syria*. By H. VIOLLET and S. FLURY. 21 pp., 8 × 10 in., 11 plates. 1921.

The monument is the mosque of Nâyin, an out-of-the-way place on the edge of the great desert, and the date is inferred from the character of a Quranic inscription and from some ornament remarkable for its resemblance to a pattern in a convent of Wâdi Naṭrûn in Egypt. M. Viollet is to be thanked for again adding to our still scanty list of descriptions of early Persian mosques. The analysis of the inscription and decorative elements is undertaken by Mr. Flury.

A. R. GUEST.

OBITUARY NOTICE

W. Harry Rylands, F.S.A.

William Harry Rylands was the second son of Thomas Glazebrook Rylands, a member of the well-known family of north country ironmasters and manufacturers, of whom his cousin, Sir William Peter Rylands, is perhaps the most prominent in the public eye. He inherited his life-long and absorbing interest in antiquity from his father, himself a munificent patron of nearly every branch of learning, a diligent and enlightened collector of books, a fluent writer on such diverse subjects as Ptolemy's geography, the early history of Lancashire, and meteorology, besides being a practical astronomer and mathematician. Both the subject of this note and his elder brother followed their father's bent at an early age, and Professor A. P. Duncan, F.R.S., left it on record that their house at Highfields in Cheshire, after he had "spent many hours in the libraries of Mr. Rylands and his two sons", seemed to him "more like a literary and scientific institute than a private residence". In his later days, Mr. T. G. Rylands turned his attention to the study of Eastern religions, and joined in succession the then recently formed Society of Biblical Archæology and this Society. He had previously been elected F.S.A. in 1877 and was made a member of the Royal Irish Academy eight years afterwards.

It was possibly from his father's study of the exact sciences that W. H. Rylands derived his great power of rapid yet careful and accurate delineation which enabled him to transfer immediately to paper any object of antiquity set before him, whether MS., inscription, scarab, or other museum exhibit, and this before the development of photography gave him an advantage that few archæologists possessed. But this gift first became known to Orientalists when he became Secretary to the Society of Biblical Archæology in circumstances already

made known to readers of this *Journal* in the January number of 1919. Mr. Arthur Cates, in a subsequent report, did not exaggerate when he spoke of Mr. Rylands' acceptance of the office as "a fresh starting-point for the Society", and as "the period when its real development commenced", and the *Proceedings* with which he supplemented the earlier *Transactions* at once took a unique place among the publications of learned societies from the punctuality of their monthly appearance and the wealth of illustrations that they contained. For the first time even untried writers found a means of publishing either their discoveries or their views without waiting and with the Secretary's ever-ready pencil to help them, and it may be doubted whether this state of things has ever been repeated. Its effect on the fortunes of the Society may be judged from the fact that its numbers suddenly rose from 400 to 625.

In spite of the labour which this entailed and the tact and zeal displayed in recruiting fresh members and obtaining papers, he yet found time to make solid contributions to archæology on his own account. The Hittite question had not long arisen, and his first appearance in the *Proceedings* was in the year of his election, with "Inscribed Stones from Jerabis, Hamath, Aleppo, etc." Then, in 1880, came "Comments on the Boss of Tarkondemos", one of the first Hittite inscriptions to receive adequate treatment; in 1882 his "Aleppo Inscription", to which he returned the following year; in 1884, the "Terracotta Bowl from M. Schlumberger's Collection" and on "Engraved [Hittite] Gem from Nineveh"; in 1887, the "Inscribed Lion from Marash"; and in 1898, a complete *corpus* of the Hittite inscriptions up to then discovered. In all these cases the Hittite hieroglyphs, often much rubbed and doubtful, were more accurately and graphically delineated than they could have been by photography, and they have since been made use of by nearly every Hittologist. From this corpus, too, he was able to design a fount of Hittite type, which is still in use; and he may

therefore be fairly claimed as a pioneer indispensable in the decipherment of this still mysterious language.

His Hittite work, however, by no means exhausted his activities in Oriental archæology. In 1888 he gave in the *Proceedings* the first of the Egyptian Magic Ivories, which have since been collated and interpreted. In 1884 he began the reproduction of the Hypocephali in the British Museum, which he continued until the death of his friend, Sir Peter Renouf; and in 1897 he published a *Biographical Record of Peter Lepage Renouf*, to which, in his thorough-going fashion he appended a list of all the scattered papers of that voluminous writer. Coupled with his excellent administrative work, he thus laid the Society during his period of office from 1878 to 1902 under an obligation which it would have been impossible to repay. Some slight evidence of the affection and esteem which he had at the same time inspired in the members was shown by the fine service of plate which they and other friends presented to him on his retirement.

His activity in other branches of learning was not less marked. Following again in his father's footsteps, he early joined the Holbein Society, for which he published a facsimile of "Ars Moriendi", a rare tract of 1450, and he also became a member of the Harleian, of which he was Chairman at the time of his death. For this last he edited in succession the *Heralds' Visitations* for the Counties of Bucks, Suffolk, Hampshire, Warwick, Stafford, and Berkshire, and those of Lincoln for the Lincoln Record Society. He also was much attracted by Freemasonry, and was a Past Master of the Masons' Company, Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, a Past Master of the Lodge of Antiquity, the *Records* of which he published, and Founder and for some time Secretary of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, to whose *Transactions* he was a constant contributor.

Personally, Rylands was one of the most charming of men. Always modest and retiring, he never sought publicity or the

distinctions to which his real learning entitled him. He was, too, entirely free from the jealousy and rivalry which is sometimes said with justice to be the bane of learned societies, and was always ready to put his knowledge and talent at the disposal of those who wanted his help. Hence he was an ideal coadjutor in archæological matters and rendered many more services to learning than have come to light. He was also one of the most warm-hearted of friends, with a keen sense of humour and a great fund of varied information. His death at the age of 74 followed on a painful illness of six years' duration, borne with perfect courage and patience; and only those who knew him well can tell what they have lost by it. His widow, formerly Miss Alice Mary Meymott, daughter of the late Charles Meymott, M.R.C.S., of Sydney, N.S.W., survives him.

F. LEGGE.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

It has been suggested that the title of the subject for the Public School Gold Medal Competition be altered from Tipú Sahib to Tipú Sultán. The President and Committee have agreed to this change.

By an unfortunate error the name of H.H. the Maharajah of Udaipur was placed on the list of those members who had not paid their subscriptions. The Secretary much regrets the mistake.

Society Biblical Archaeology.—Will any members present or sell vols. i-x of the *Proceedings*?

China Review.—Will members present or sell any of the following numbers in order that the Library may complete its set? Odd numbers from vols. i-iv, vol. ix, and vols. xiv to the end of the series.

During August the exterior of the premises of the Society has been re-painted and done up.

Lectures.—The President opened the Session in October with a paper entitled "Some Indian Nuns and others"; Professor E. G. Browne will speak on "A Persian Library" in November; and Mr. Blagden lectures on "The Malay Peninsula" in December.

The Secretary begs to remind Non-Resident Members in the British Isles that according to the new rule their subscription for 1923 will be £2 2s.

TRIENNIAL MEDAL PRESENTATION

At a largely attended meeting of the Society on 4th July the Triennial Gold Medal was presented to Professor Herbert A. Giles, Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge.

The President, Lord Chalmers, read a letter from Viscount Peel expressing his extreme regret that as he had to take charge of the Irish Constabulary Bill in the House of Lords the same afternoon he was compelled to ask to be excused from making the presentation.

Mr. L. C. Hopkins said that his task in speaking of the qualifications of Professor Giles to receive the medal was most welcome and grateful, but he confessed he could not carry it out in a spirit of entirely judicial dispassionateness. As his former official subordinate, as for many years his spiritual pupil, so to speak, and as from the first his unchanging friend, he naturally could not claim absolute and theoretic impartiality. If he were asked to formulate in a sentence the special mark and merit of Professor Giles's lifelong labours, he would say that beyond all other living scholars he had humanized Chinese studies. He had by his writings made more readers know more things about China, things that were material, things that were vital—he had diffused a better and a truer understanding of the Chinese intellect, its capabilities and achievements, than any other scholar. By his insight, his sympathetic appreciation, and his unflagging industry through something like fifty laborious years, he had been largely instrumental in lifting us out of that arrogant foolishness typified in Charles Lamb's story of the Chinese who burnt his house down in order to have roast pork for dinner. (Laughter.) From that dismal slough of despond the Western world was gradually shaking itself free, and one great cause was the slow but sure influence of such writers as Professor Giles and the late Eduard Chavannes, by the compulsion of rational explanation. (Cheers.)

Sir Charles Addis said it would be impossible to exaggerate the influence which Dr. Giles exercised on Chinese affairs with increasing force as the years went on. It was significant of the thoroughness with which he had done his work that he had provided for the continuance of the succession of scholars he was following in the persons of his distinguished family. Speaking as a banker, he would say that banking and trading must depend in China, as elsewhere, for their success upon the degree of security on which their foundations were laid. The real source of insecurity, that which made trading and banking in China specially difficult, was just the misunderstanding and to some extent the misrepresentation which created a cleavage between East and West, and prevented a uniting of their forces. For years Dr. Giles had been an interpreter between Britain and China. It was not sufficient for the Chinese to understand something about us; it was equally incumbent if unity was to be attained that we should know something of the Chinese. (Applause.) Unfortunately the number of Chinese who had taken the pains to make themselves acquainted with our language, life, and literature contrasted most markedly with the small number of English people who had really taken any pains at all to acquaint themselves in any degree with any one of these things in regard to China. Professor Giles had done all he could to remove this reproach and to interpret to this country the ideas of the Chinese mind, but in no direction had he done better work than in the example he had set, especially to the younger members of the Anglo-Chinese community of a long life devoted with exhaustless zeal, self-sacrificing labour, and purity of ideals to the study and interpretation of the Chinese mind.

Sir John Jordan said he gladly paid his tribute to Dr. Giles as a member of the service to which he considered he still belonged—the Consular Service in China. While the foreigner in China generally failed to take advantage of the opportunities to study Chinese language and thought, he would make an

exception in the case of the Consular Service, which might fairly claim to have done its duty in this respect. This was largely due to the wise policy of the British Government in establishing student interpreterships, whereby all men recruited to the Consular Service in China spent two years on probation in Peking. He believed that Dr. Giles was one of the earliest batch of men to come under this most useful system, which had produced a great number of excellent scholars. He hoped that Sir Charles Addis and other heads of great banking and business concerns in China would do more than hitherto to encourage young men designated for service there to avail themselves of the splendid opportunities offered by the School of Oriental Studies. He added that he had always been a great admirer of the wonderful felicity of Dr. Giles's translations. He always felt that nothing could be better. (Cheers.)

The President said, the Royal Asiatic Society was founded ninety-nine years ago on the joint initiative of Henry Thomas Colebrooke and of Sir George Thomas Staunton, the latter of whom was a Sinologue and, indeed, the first Englishman to publish (in 1810) a translation from the Chinese. In this room there is a portrait of Staunton as a boy of 12—already able to talk Chinese—holding the train of Lord Macartney at the audience with the Emperor of China on 14th September, 1793; and opposite there is another portrait of him in 1807 at the trial of the fifty-two sailors of the *Neptune*. We are therefore closing the first century of our corporate life by what is incidentally almost a pious form of ancestor worship, in awarding to-day our triennial gold medal for Chinese studies, of which our co-founder was a pioneer.

This medal, founded in 1897 by the efforts of Sir Arthur Wollaston, "in recognition of distinguished services in Oriental research," has already been awarded eight times—the first recipient being my old friend and master, Professor E. B. Cowell, for Sanskrit studies. His successors were E. W. West, for Pahlavi, William Muir, for Arabic, G. U. Pope, for

Tamil, Sir George Grierson, for Indian languages, J. F. Fleet, for Indian Epigraphy, Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson (jointly), for Syriac, Vincent Smith, for Indian History, and now Herbert Giles, for Chinese—truly a catholic list befitting a Society with the motto of “*quot rami tot arbores*”.

I, who am not a Sinologue, cannot vie with the learned Mr. Hopkins in appraising the scholarship of our Gold Medallist, nor have I that intimate acquaintance with men and things in China which informed so happily the meed of personal praise of Professor Giles as a man, which we have just heard from my friend, Sir Chas. Addis. But, though I am not a Sinologue, and have never set foot in China, I, in common with you all, am the grateful debtor of Professor Giles for opening to English readers the treasure chambers of Chinese history, literature, and thought. Let me quote to you the opening words of the Professor's preface to his delightful “*Gems of Chinese Literature*”, written now forty years ago :

“English readers will search in vain for any work leading to an acquaintanceship, however slight, with the general literature of China. Dr. Legge's colossal labours have indeed placed the canonical books of Confucianism within easy reach of the curious ; but the immense bulk of Chinese authorship is still virgin soil and remains to be efficiently explored. I have therefore (he says) ventured to offer an instalment of short extracts from the works of the most famous writers of all ages, upon which time has set an approving seal.”

If I do not lead you to the Professor's “*Tower of Contentment*”, or to his “*Peach Blossom Fountain*”, it is because I ask you to view with me for a very brief space one general aspect of Chinese poetry, which is an aspect also of the life work of the Professor himself, namely, the interweaving of the practical life of governing with the literary life. Yesterday I was reading again Lord Rosebery's *Statesmen and Bookmen*, in the course of which he remarks that “nowhere in history so far as I know is there an instance of so intensely

bookish a man as Mr. Gladstone—who was at the same time so consummate a man of affairs.”

Thanks to our Medallist, who has broadened our outlook by introducing us to immemorial China, I take leave to differ, for we now know that many of China's greatest poets were also her greatest statesmen, particularly under the Tang Dynasties. I quote the following interesting passage from Chuang Tzu, to show “how the men of ancient China attained their dual citizenship and achieved greatness in two worlds through the doctrine of the guarded life: “Outwardly you may adapt yourself, but inwardly you must keep to your own standard. In this there are two points to be guarded against. You must not let the outward adaptation penetrate within, nor the inward standard manifest itself without.”

And of those who carried out these precepts, Chuang Tzu finely remarks that: “They seemed to be of the world around, while proudly treading beyond its limits.”

I am not in a position to say how far Chinese statesmen of to-day maintain the life-standard of their Augustan age, and, amid the crowding cares of office, habitually burst into deathless song. A possible clue to the poetic fecundity of some, at least of their predecessors, is furnished by the recurrent periods of spacious leisure which was theirs when dismissed from office or exiled from their homes. Be this as it may as regards China, it is certain that in the West—whether you take ancient Greece and Rome or modern Europe—we fail to find the great poets among the great statesmen. In the sub-acid words of Lord Crewe: “‘Mute inglorious Miltons’ may rest in the country churchyard, but not on the benches of the House of Commons,” nor—he might have added—of the House of Lords. (Laughter.)

But if we turn from the first rank of statesmen to their lieutenants in the business of government, we come at once on a galaxy of names of high poetic rank. For this country I need cite three names only—Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton.

And outside poetry, in the realm of belles-lettres and the humanities at large, we are fortunate indeed in our long roll of famous men who to service to the State have added abiding service to literature and thought. It is pertinent here to quote the words of Carlyle—adopted by Professor Giles himself as a motto for one of his books—"what work nobler than to transplant foreign thought?" And this brings me directly to the object of our meeting here to-day.

Professor Giles, it is now my privilege to hand to you our Triennial Gold Medal, the highest honour which it is in the Society's power to confer. We ask you to accept it from us as our tribute to the ripe scholarship and literary insight with which, amid the exacting duties of an honourable career as Consul in China, you have garnered for us so abundant a harvest from over half a century's labours in the field of Chinese language, Chinese history, and Chinese literature. (Cheers.)

Professor Giles, who was received with hearty applause, said he had to thank the Society in two senses for the honour conferred on him. The first sense was a purely personal one; but he would ask their attention more intimately to the second sense, in which he would offer them, if possible, still warmer thanks. He continued:—

This is the first occasion on which the Royal Asiatic Society has allotted its gold medal for Chinese studies. It will be a great encouragement to future students, who have little to look forward to at the present day in the way either of emolument or of honorary distinction. There are, of course, those dazzling stipends paid to Professors of Chinese by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and, I believe, Manchester (laughter); while that of the Professor at the Oriental School in London soars, I am given to understand, into quite phenomenal figures. (Renewed Laughter.)

I am tired of calling Chinese the Cinderella of languages. Luckily, however poorly remunerated, to the genuine student this language is like blood to a tiger; once really tasted,

always a man-eater—or a Sinologue, as the case may be. (Cheers and laughter.) For the benefit of those to whom this term may not be familiar in all its bearings, I may say that in China a Sinologue is generally regarded as a wild man whose judgment and other faculties have been seriously impaired by laborious days, and even nights, devoted to the study of Chinese. (Laughter.)

Many years ago, my old friend, L. C. Hopkins, openly declared that to speak of a man as a Sinologue was to think of him as a fool. (Laughter.) But, as the poet tells us, "Time at last sets all things even"; and Mr. Hopkins, a member of your Society, is now himself widely known as one of the most eminent Sinologues in Europe. (Laughter and cheers.)

Fears have been expressed of late, in public prints, that no new students are coming forward to take the places of those older ones who must soon disappear from the field. This is a view which, in my opinion, is only fit to be bound up with the pessimistic utterances which fall daily from the lips of the gloomy dean. I cannot see that the genus Sinologue is at all likely to become extinct. Rather would I say that Sinologues are—

Like the waves of the summer, as one dies away,
Another as sweet and as shining comes on.

There was the primeval wave, which carried on its crest—I am dealing only with British Sinologues—Morrison, Marshman, Medhurst, followed by the wave of Edkins, Legge, Wylie, Chalmers, McClatchie, Eitel, Mayers.

We have still with us some survivors from the later Victorian wave, with another huge tidal wave rolling up behind them so that it is difficult to say where one ends and the other begins—Parker, Hopkins, Soothill, Hillier, Brewitt-Taylor, Werner, Couling, Johnston, Steele, Warren, Fletcher, Waley, Arlington, Moule, Yetts, Hopkyn Rees, Woodward, McGovern, Morley, Hutson, Chatley, and many others, including that *rara avis* in Sinology, a woman, Mrs. Florence Ayscough.

Thus, to me, the future seems full of promise. I feel that some day Chinese will have a triumphant innings, and my only regret is that I shall not be present to witness the realization of my dreams. (Loud cheers.)

The Chinese Chargé d'Affaires (Mr. Choa-Hsin Chu), in proposing a vote of thanks to the President, said that the Royal Asiatic Society was one of the oldest of such institutions to devote some of its attention to China. He would like to stress the value to China of the life work of such a scholar as the one they honoured that day. There were far too few students of Chinese literature and history, and it was almost an unknown field in the West, except for the initiated few. He was only following in the footsteps of those who had preceded him at the Legation in pressing for a better understanding in this country of things Chinese. Good relations could not be better promoted than by mutual study of the writings and ideas of their respective leaders of thought. He had always claimed that it was as easy for the Westerner to study Chinese as it was for the Chinese to study a Western language. He presumed that Professor Giles agreed with him on this point, but very few Englishmen believed it. The Chinese had seen with keen interest and gratitude the suggestions that the British Government should ear-mark certain sums over which they had control and which came from the Far East for the purpose of promoting Anglo-Chinese education (cheers), to be administered in such a way as to promote the interests of nationals of both countries. He trusted the Society would never lose any opportunity to help in bringing about a better understanding between the two countries, a bringing together of the older and new civilizations for which they stood. (Cheers.)

THE CENTENARY OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE

The Centenary of our sister society, founded in 1822, was celebrated in Paris with great éclat on July 10-13. In addition to two mornings devoted to the reading of Addresses and papers the proceedings included a public commemoration at the Sorbonne in the presence of the President of the Republic, a reception at the Hotel de Ville, a preliminary meeting at the Musée Guimet, a ceremony in honour of Champollion at the Louvre, evening receptions by M. Émile Senart, President of the Société Asiatique, and by Prince Bonaparte, and a concluding banquet. There was a large assemblage of delegates from Societies and institutions, European, American, and Asiatic, interested in Oriental studies. The Royal Asiatic Society was represented by the Hon. Secretary, Dr. F. W. Thomas, and by Dr. Cowley, Dr. Hall, Professor Langdon, Mr. Perowne, Sir E. D. Ross, Members of the Council, most of whom were present on behalf also of other bodies; also Dr. Pinches, Professor Rapson, Mr. Lee Shuttleworth, and Mr. Weld-Blundell. In addition to the reading of the Address printed below the Hon. Secretary was called upon to deliver a locution at the Sorbonne. The whole of the proceedings will, it is understood, be recorded by the Société Asiatique in print. A volume dealing with the progress in various branches of orientalism during the century and edited by M. Finot has already appeared under the title *Le Livre du Centenaire*.

We cannot refrain from tendering to M. Senart, upon whom the greatest responsibility fell, and to his colleagues and all our French friends, our sincere congratulations upon the success of the celebration and our warmest thanks for their public and private cordiality and hospitality.

Advantage was taken of the occasion to hold meetings of delegates of the Entente Societies for the discussion of matters connected with the contemplated *Dictionary of Buddhism*.

TO THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE

(Founded 1822)

Engaged in Celebrating the Centenary of its Institution

In tendering to the Société Asiatique its hearty felicitations the Royal Asiatic Society is fully aware that it is not commemorating the Centenary of French orientalism. Not to recur to times as remote as the thirteenth century, when Albertus Magnus was lecturing in Paris on the philosophy of Avicenna and Averroes, or even to the sixteenth, when there was a Chair of Arabic at the Collège de France, it cannot forget that the seventeenth century is illuminated by the names of Bernier, Chardin, and d'Herbelot, while the eighteenth discloses a constellation of scholars such as Du Halde, De Mailla, Renaudot, and Anquetil Duperron. At the moment when the recently founded Royal Asiatic Society was contemplating the agencies whence it would look for co-operation in its great task it was conscious of the commanding position of France :—

“ France,” it was remarked in a report published in 1828, “ from the very early encouragement which she gave to the study of Oriental literature ; from the value and number of the Oriental works in her libraries ; from her early intercourse with Siam ; from the able men she has had in her different factories in Asia Minor ; from the researches made by La Bourdonnais and Dupleix into every branch of the trade and politics of India ; from the works of Commerçon, Lechenarde de la Tour and Gentil on the science and natural history of India and the Indian seas ; from the knowledge acquired by the French Institute, while in Egypt, relative to that country and its connection with Asia ; and finally from her having established at Paris a Society, whose sole object is to carry on researches relative to the literature and science of Asia, must be considered as one of the most able and efficient coadjutors which the Royal Asiatic Society of

Great Britain and Ireland can have in prosecuting the researches for which it was instituted."

In no case, however, can the foundation of a Society such as yours fail to be momentous for the studies to which it is dedicated. It is not merely that such an association serves to focus the scattered rays emitted by the isolated planets and stars of genius; nor that it is able to maintain a standard, to instil a method, and to foster a spirit; nor even that it encourages the collaboration of workers in different, if adjacent, fields. Beyond all this it is apparent that a great society has a personality of its own; and in its degree it becomes an expression of intuitions which do not through being corporate or national lose their value as apprehensions of truth.

It is with profound satisfaction that the Royal Asiatic Society records the fact that the personality of the *Société Asiatique* has ever been congenial to its own. No cloud of war or peace has dimmed their initial cordiality. With ready co-operation the two Societies have opened the pages of their journals to mutual contributions of research; they have celebrated the notable achievements of each other; and they have at all times rejoiced to recognize by such titles as were at their command the outstanding figures in their respective memberships.

It would be vain to attempt even the most general estimate of the services rendered by your Society to the cause of Orientalism. The very first volume of your journal, with its articles above such names as Chézy, Jules Saint Martin, Abel-Rémusat, Silvestre de Sacy, Klaproth, Langlois, Garcin de Tassy, seems to map out wide spheres of influence dominated by great masters. And, when we pass from volume to volume and from series to series, and some names no longer recur, there are always successors who may not fear comparison with them, a Burnouf, a Stanislas Julien, a Quatremère, a Biot, a Caussin de Perceval, a De Slane, a Reinaud, a Botta, an Oppert, a Barbier de Meynard, a Barth, a Chavannes. To the living we must not refer by name; but we cannot be blind to the fact

that your Society includes a group of scholars, representative of almost all branches of Oriental study, which in penetrating insight and in conscientious erudition is unsurpassed in any centre of learning.

There is no fear that the series will be interrupted. The field of our studies becomes ever vaster and more complex; and research not only discovers new spheres of work, but even, as in the case of Central Asia, creates them. These hundred years have witnessed large advances in our comprehension of the mentality and civilizations of Asiatic peoples from the earliest times. But the goal will not be attained until it becomes possible to discern, and feel, beneath all these developments the response of the one sole humanity to diverse environment.

The Royal Asiatic Society cannot on this occasion fail to evince its gratification at the thought that the close of the first century of joint existence finds the two bodies united in a special intimacy. The compact made five years ago was dictated by a feeling of friendship which was not long in taking a wider range. It was none the less designed as an act of constructive statesmanship for the advancement of learning. Force lay in the conviction that the edifice of orientalism could in the future be supported only on the solid basis of corporations of scholars. The recent multiplication of societies in countries east and west serves to confirm the principle; and we may look forward in time to an organization adequate to the burden of our many-sided undertaking.

Signed on behalf of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,

CHALMERS OF NORTHAM,
President.

7th July, 1922.

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- 1922 *ALI, S. Barkat, Quarashi, Chief Maulvi Board of Examiners, 1st Council House Street, Calcutta.
- 1909 ALLAN, J., M.A., British Museum, W.C. 1.
- 1904 *ALVAREZ, Justin C. W., I.S.O., H.B.M. Consul, Tripoli; Union Club, Malta.
- 1904 §AMEER ALI, Rt. Hon. Syed, C.I.E., LL.D., 2 Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.
- 1919 *AMILHAU, V., Château du Boucheron, Bosnie, Hts. Vienne, France.
- 1921 ANDERSON, Frederick, 54 Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
- 40 1915 *ANTANI, Pandit Rati Lal M., B.A., Appellate Judge, Jhalawar State, Jhalrapatan, Rajputana.
- 1922 *ANWAR-UL-HAQQ, Zia-ul-Ulum, M.A., Mufti, Munshi-Farzil, Director of Pub. Instruction, Bhopal State.
- 1921 †*ARMERUSTER, Maj. Chas. H., M.A., O.B.E., Sinkat S.C.S., Sudan.
- 1921 *AYSCOUGH, Mrs. F., c/o Scott, Harding & Co., 6 Pekin Road, Shanghai, China.
- 1922 *AYYAR, R. Satyamurti, M.A., M.L., Munsif, Tiruvalur, Tanjore.
- 1921 *AZAR, Prof. Sirajuddin, M.A., Islamia Coll., Lahore, Panjab.
- 1922 *AZIZ, Abdul, Mir Munshi, Old Fort, Jullunder City, Panjab.
- 1918 *BA, Saya Maung, Head Master, A.B. High School, Ahlone, Rangoon, Burma.
- 1917 BADDELEY, J. F., 34 Bruton St., W. 1.
- 1920 *BAGCHI, Phanibhusan, B.A., Vidgabhushan Zamindar, 9 Nithak, P.O. Kakina, Rangpur, N. Bengal.
- 50 1903 §BAILEY, Rev. T. Grahame, D.Litt., B.D., M.A., Sch. of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.
- 1918 *BAKER, Lt. Chas. C., Box 296, Lancaster, Cal., U.S.A.
- 1919 *BALL, Chas. Edw., 52 Croydon Grove, W. Croydon.
- 1917 *BAMANDASJI, Ragvaid Sri, Kaviraj, 152 Harrison Rd., Calcutta.
- 1921 *BAMBER, Chas. A., 32 Stanley Av., Sefton Pk., Bristol.
- 1921 *BANERJEA, Babu A. C., Pleader, 3 Soorah 1st Lane, Beliaghatta, Calcutta.

- 1910 *BANERJEE, Dr. Rasbihari, M.B., F.I.A.Sc., *Santi Cootir, Bally, Howrah, Bengal.*
- 1922 *BANERJEE, Dr. B. K., M.B., *P. Office, Dhakuria, S. Calcutta.*
- 1917 *BANERJEE, Babu Kedareswar, B.A., *Asst. Engineer, P.O. Nabadvip, Bengal.*
- 1921 *BANERJEE, Babu Satya Kishore, M.A., *Zamindar, 85 Up. Circular Rd., Calcutta.*
- 60 1921 *BANERJI, A. K., M.A., B.L., *Pleader, Judge's Ct., Alipur, 106/4 Amherst St., Calcutta.*
- 1921 *BANERJI, A. P., M.A., *Sastri, 30 Warwick St., Oxford.*
- 1920 *BANERJI, Dr. Debi Pada, M.B., *The Santi Pharmacy, 133 Up. Chitpur Rd., Calcutta.*
- 1920 *BANERJI, P. N., *57 Chakrabas Road North, Bhawanipur, Calcutta.*
- 1919 *BANERJI, R. N., B.Sc., *Phys.-in-Charge, Chemical Laboratory, 13 Edmonstone Rd., Allahabad.*
- 1918 *BARAKET-ULLAH, M.A., *Prof. of Philosophy, Forman Christian College, Lahore.*
- 1912 *BARNARD, J. T. O., C.I.E., *Asst. Commissioner, Myit Kyina, Burma.*
- 1904 §BARNETT, Lionel D., Litt.D., *Prof. of Sanskrit, University College; British Museum, W.C. 1.*
- 1890 *†BARODA, H.H. Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar Bahadur, G.C.S.L., G.C.I.E., *Maharaja of.*
- 1921 *BASAK, Radhagovinda, M.A., *Lecturer Dacca Univ., 3-4 Mahajanpur Lane, Dacca.*
- 70 HON. 1906 BASSET, René, *Prof. of Arabic, Villa Louise, Rue Denfort, Rochersau, Algiers.*
- 1921 *BASU, Hemchandra, M.A., B.L., *Vakil High Ct., Palm Villa, Fort Monohyr, Calcutta.*
- 1920 *BASU, Praphullachandra, *Prof. of Economics, Holkar College, Indore.*
- 1922 *BASU, Babu Upendra Mohan, c/o Rai P. Mohan Basu, *Dy. Collector and Magistrate, Mymensingh, Bengal.*
- 1881 *†BATE, Rev. J. Drew, *23t Portadown Rd., W. 9.*
- 1909 *BAYANANDAM PILLAI, S., *Diwan Bahadur, Ananda Baugh, Vepery, Madras.*
- 1907 *BRAZLEY, Prof. C. Raymond, D.Litt., *The University, Edmund St., Birmingham.*
- 1919 BELL, George, *55 Walpole St., Kew, Victoria, Australia.*
- 1901 BELL, Miss Gertrude, *95 Sloane St., S.W. 1.*
- 1921 *BELSHAH, Haji A. Mejid, *Sch. of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.*
- 80 1913 *†BELVALKAR, Shripad K., M.A., Ph.D., *Prof. of Sanskrit, Deccan College, Bilvakunja, Bhamburda, Poona.*
- 1913 *BERNARD, Pierre A., *Shastri, Box 27, 662 West End Av., New York, U.S.A.*
- 1892 *BEVAN, A. A., M.A., *Lord Almoner's Reader in Arabic, Trinity College, Cambridge.*
- 1893 §BEVERIDGE, H., *53 Campden House Road, W. 8.*
- 1899 ‡BEVERIDGE, Mrs. H., *53 Campden House Road, W. 8.*
- 1882 *†BHABHA, Rev. Shapurje D., M.D., *8 Drakefell Rd., S.E. 14.*

- 1920 *BHANDARE, Sadānand T., J.P., F.S.A., Rao Bahadur, 410 Thakurdwar,
Post No. 2, Bombay.
- 1921 *BHANDARI, M. Chand, Chief Sec. to Rana Sahib of Kunihar State,
Simla Hills.
- HON. 1885 BHANDARKAR, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal, K.C.I.E., LL.D.,
Sangamastrama, Poona, Bombay.
- 1920 *BHARADWAJA, Prof. Yajnavalkya, M.Sc., St. John's College, Agra, U.P.
- 90 1920 *BHARDVAJ, Dattatreya K., B.A., Vidyabhusan, Prof. of Ind. Hist. and
Sanskrit, E. I. Tilak Sindesh, Mangalore, S. India.
- 1918 *BHAT, V. G., B.A.
- 1922 *BHATNAGAR, Raghubar D., Sen. Sub. Dy. Inspector of Schools, Dist.
Hamirpur, U.P.
- 1921 *BHATTACHARYA, Benoytosh, M.A., 26 Pataldanga St., Calcutta.
- 1909 *BHATTACHARYA, Babu Biswar, Dep. Magistrate, 4 Madhan Chatterjee's
2nd Lane, Elgin Road P.O., Calcutta.
- 1912 *BHATTACHARYA, Babu Jyotish Chandra, M.A., Vidyalkar, Vakil
High Court, Purnea, Bihar, India.
- 1921 *BHUSHAN, Bibbuti, Rai Chandhuri, 20 Formosa St., W. 9.
- 1919 *BISWAS, Nagendranath, B.A., The Brahmacharya Vidyalyaya, Ranchi,
B. & O.
- 1921 *BIVAR, H. G. S., c/o Grindlay & Co., 11 Hastings Street, Calcutta.
- 1911 *BLACKMAN, A. M., Litt.D., 24 Bardwell Rd., Oxford.
- 100 1895 §BLAGDEN, C. Otto, 57 Earl's Court Sq., S.W. 5.
- 1909 *BLUNT, E. A. H., I.C.S., c/o Secretariat, Allahabad, U.P.
- 1922 *BOBINSKY, Count Alexis, B.A., c/o H. S. King & Co., 65 Cornhill, E.C.2.
- 1921 *BONNERJEE, Rai Sahib Pandit G. L., B.A., Kaviratna Board of
Examiners, 11 Patuatola Lane, Calcutta.
- 1922 *BONUCCI, Prof. Alessandro, Univ. of Siena, 2 via Baldeschi, Perugia,
Italy.
- 1920 *BOWRA, Cecil A. V., Chief Sec., Inspectorate Gen. of Customs, Peking,
China.
- 1921 *BOWSTEAD, J., Ranchi, Chota Nagpur.
- 1911 *BOYER, M. l'Abbé A. M., 114 Rue du Bac, Paris, VIIc.
- 1921 BRIDGE, Maj. W. Cyprian, R.E., Penthryn, Camberley, Surrey.
- 1907 §BROWN, R. Grant, I.C.S. (ret.), HON. TREASURER, East India United
Service Club, St. James's Sq., S.W. 1.
- 110 1921 *BROWN, S. M., D.F.C.
- 1917 BROWN, Thos., La Roque, Overton Road, Sutton, Surrey.
- 1889*†§BROWNE, Edw. G., M.A., F.B.A., Adams Prof. of Arabic; Pembroke
College; Firwood, Trumpington Rd., Cambridge.
- 1919 BROWNE, G., F.C.S., Christchurch, Hants.
- 1922 BRUCE-LOW, Robert, Ministry of Health, S.W. 1.
- 1907 *BRUNTON, Major Chisholm D., 6 Learmouth Place, Edinburgh.
- 1908 *BÜCHLER, Dr. A., Jenos' Coll. : 261 Goldhurst Terrace, N.W. 6.
- 1919 BUDGE, Sir E. A. Wallis, Litt.D., F.S.A., British Museum, W.C. 1.
- 1906 *†BURDWAN, Hon. Maharajadhiraj Sir Bijay Chand M. Bahadur, Maharaja
of, I.O.M., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., The Palace, Burdwan, Bengal.
- 1921 BUCHIA, Shapurji N., B.E., Shakespeare Hut, Keppel St., W.C. 1.
- 120 1919 BURKITT, Prof. F. C., D.D., West Road Corner, Cambridge.

- 1897 *BURN, Richard, C.S.I., c/o Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament St., S.W. 1.
 1918 *BURROWES, Major H. O. A. D., c/o Melbourne C. of E. Gram. School,
 Domain Rd., S. Yarra, Victoria, Australia.
- HON. 1920 CALAND, Prof. W., Koningslaan 78, Utrecht, Holland.
 1921 *CAMPBELL, J. S. F., Christ Church College, Oxford.
 1921 *CARDEILLAC, Pierre, Directeur de la Banque Russo-Asiatique, 2 rue
 du Pradeau, Tarbes, Htes. Pyrénées, France.
 1921 *CARMICHAEL, Wm. B. G., Balliol College, Oxford.
 1890 *CARPENTER, Rev. J. Estlin, D.Litt., 11 Marston Ferry Rd., Oxford.
 1919 CARR, R. C. Culling, O.B.E., I.C.S. (ret.), 5 Fitzjames Av., W. 14.
 1888 HON. 1919 CASARTELLI, Rt. Rev. L. C., Bishop of Salford, St. Bede's
 College, Manchester.
- 130 1921 *CHAKLADAR, H. C., M.A., Lecturer in Ancient Ind. Hist., Univ. of
 Calcutta, 25 Sahangar Rd., Kalighat, Calcutta.
 1917 *CHAKRAVARTI, Phani B., B.A., Sub-Dep. Magistrate 1st Class, Howrah,
 Bengal.
 1899 *CHAKRAVARTI, Rai Bahadur M. Mohun, M.A., 14 Palmer Bazar Rd.,
 P.O. N. Intally, Calcutta.
 1921 *CHAKRAVARTY, Satis Chandra, Zemindar, Dholla P.O., Mymensingh,
 Bengal.
 1922 CHALMERS, Lord, G.C.B., P.C., PRESIDENT, 3 Cornwall Mansions,
 Kensington Court, W. 8.
 1877 *CHAMBERLAIN, Basil Hall, Hôtel Richmond, Geneva, Switzerland.
 1895 *†CHAND, Dewan Tek, O.B.E., I.C.S., Commissioner, Ambala Division,
 Ambala Cantt., Panjab.
 1921 *CHAND, Tara, M.A., Prof. of History, Kayastha Pathshala College, c/o
 National Provincial & Union Bank of England, Oxford.
 1919 *CHANDA, Prof. Rama Prasad, 37a Police Hospital Rd., Intally P.O.,
 Calcutta.
 1919 *CHANDRA, Ram, B.A., LL.B., Prof. Gurukul Univ., 14/41 Orderly
 Bazar, Benares Cantt., U.P.
- 140 1919 *CHANDRA, Ram, M.A., M.B.E., Brookhurst Lodge, Simla.
 1920 *CHANDAN, Shyama, Rai, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, Chhindwara, C.P.
 1920 *CHAPENTIER, Jarl, Ph.D., Götgatan 12, Upsala, Sweden.
 1914 *†CHATHOORBHOOJADASS, Dewan Bahadur Govindass, 459 Mint St.,
 George Town, Madras, E.C.
 1912 *CHATTERJEE, Babu Arun Chandra, Medical Practitioner, Nabadwip,
 Nadia, Bengal.
 1920 *CHATTERJEE, Basanta K., Insp. of Post Offices, Dhanabad, Manbhoon,
 B. & O.
 1915 *CHATTERJEE, Hon. Mr. M. Atul Chandra, I.C.S., Board of Industries
 & Munitions, Simla.
 1921 *CHATTERJEE, Rai Sahib N. C., Supt. Board of Examiners, 1 Council
 House St., Calcutta.
 1921 *CHATTERJEE, Babu Nalini Mohan, B.L., M.A., Pleader, Cossipore P.O.,
 Tala, Calcutta.
 1921 *CHATTERJEE, Nirmal Chandra, M.A., B.L., Lecturer Calcutta Univ.,
 52 Haris Mukerji Road, Calcutta.

- 150 1921 *CHATTERJEE, Sadhou P., *c/o B. Murray & Co., 30 Clive St., Calcutta.*
 1919 *CHATURVEDI, Pandit Gulzari Lal, *Rais, Kaimganj, Farrukhabad, U.P.*
 1915 *CHATURVEDY, Pandit Shiv Kumar, B.A., *Sec., Jhalawar State Council, Jhalrapatan, Rajputana.*
 1914 *CHAUDHURI, Charu Ch., *Rai Bahadur, Zamindar & Hon. Magistrate, Sherpur Town P.O., Mymensingh, Bengal.*
 1915 *CHAUDHURI, Babu Hemanga Ch., *Zamindar & Hon. Magistrate, Sherpur Town P.O., Mymensingh, Bengal.*
 1914 *CHAUDHURI, Babu Gopaldas, *Zamindar, 32 Beadon Row, Calcutta.*
 1916 *CHAUDHURI, Umes Ch. Sinha, *Asst. Master Dutt H.E. School, Netrakona P.O., Mymensingh, Bengal.*
 1922 *CHAUDHURY, D. Nath Ray, I.D.S.M., B.A., *161s Bakulbagan Road, Calcutta.*
 1915 *CHAUDHURY, Babu Hirankumar Roy, *Zamindar, Basanta, Barisal, Bengal.*
 1921 *CHEEMA, M. S., B.A., *9 Walton Street, Oxford.*
 160 1921 CHELMSFORD, Viscount, G.C.M.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., *116 Eaton Square, S.W. 1.*
 1921 *†CHETTY, O. A. O. K. Chidambaram, *Banker, Pallatur, S. India.*
 1918 *CHIZEN-ARAMUNA, *Shin-shu Otani, Daigaku, Kuramaguchi, Kyoto, Japan.*
 1914 *CHOLMELEY, N. G., C.S.I., I.C.S. (ret.), *Uphill, Bude, Cornwall.*
 1920 *CHOPRA, R. L., M.A., *11 George Sq., Edinburgh.*
 1921 *CHOWDHURI, Dr. P. Nath, *Ghazi pore, U.P.*
 1922 *CHOWDHURY, K. K., L.M.P., *The Town Medical Hall, Pegu, Burma.*
 1919 *CLARK, Dr. Walter E., *Prof. of Sanskrit, Univ. of Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.*
 1912 CLAUSON, Capt. Gerard L. M., O.B.E., *39a Clanricarde Gdns., W. 2.*
 1904 *CLEMENTI, C., *Colonial Secretariat, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
 170 HON. 1920 CLERMONT-GANNEAU, Prof. Ch., *Membre de l'Institut, 1 Av. de l'Alma, Paris, XIVe.*
 1911 *CLIFTON, Rev. Edw. Jas., O.B.E., *Hon. C.F., "Sandown," Chorleywood, West Herts.*
 1907 *†COCHIN, H.H. Maharaja Sri Sir Rama Varma, G.C.I.E., *of, S. India.*
 1907 *COCHRAN, Alexander Smith, *Yonkers, N.Y., U.S.A.*
 1910 *†CODRINGTON, Humphrey W., *c/o Secretariat, Colombo, Ceylon.*
 1920 *COEDÈS, George, *Librarian Vajiravudha Nat. Library, Bangkok, Siam.*
 1909 *COHEN, Samuel J., *11 Peter St., Manchester.*
 1908 COLDSTREAM, W., I.C.S. (ret.), *69 W. Cromwell Rd., S.W. 5.*
 1912 *COLLINS, Godfrey F. S., I.C.S., *c/o Grindlay & Co., Bombay.*
 1920 COOK, S. A., Litt.D., *26 Lensfield Rd., Cambridge.*
 180 1919 COOKE, Richard, *The Croft, Delling, Maidstone.*
 1906 *†COOMARASWAMY, A. K., D.Sc., *Keeper of Indian Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*
 HON. 1893 CORDIER, Prof. Henri, *8 Rue de Siam, Paris, XVIe.*
 1921 *COTTERILL, W. S., *Govt. Officer, Treasury, Miri, Sarawak, via Singapore.*
 1888 COUSENS, Henry, *c/o Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament St., S.W. 1.*
 1919 COUSLAND, Mrs. (Gertrude), *17 Cholmeley Crescent, N. 6.*
 1915 *§COWLEY, A. E., M.A., D.Litt., *Bodley's Librarian; Magdalen College; 94 St. Aldate's, Oxford.*

- 1919 *CRAWFORD, Samuel J., B.A., B.Litt., *Prof. of English Philology, Christian College, Madras.*
- 1912 *CRESWELL, Capt. K. A. C., 12 Regent's Park Rd., N.W. 1.
- 1919 CRUM, W. E., 13 Cavendish Rd., Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.
- 190 1915 CUMMING, Sir John Ghest, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., 83 Hodford Rd., N.W. 11.
- 1909 CURZON OF KEDLESTON, Marquess, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S.,
1 Carlton House Terrace, S.W. 1.
- 1908 *DAICHES, Dr. Samuel, *Prof. Jews' College, Guildford St., W.O. 1.*
- 1891 *†D'ALVINELLA, Comte Goblet, *Palais des Académies, Brussels.*
- 1921 *DANBY, Rev. Herbert, *St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem.*
- 1909 *DANDAY, Rev. G., S.J., *St. Mary's, Kurseong.*
- 1921 *DAR, Mukat B. Lal, B.Sc., LL.B., *Dep. Collector, Banda, U.P.*
- 1921 *DAENVALLA, Jehangir D., *Waldorf Hotel, W.O. 2.*
- 1922 *DAS, Ajit Nath, 24A South Road, *Entally, Calcutta.*
- 1920 *DAS, Babu Tarak Ch., *P.O. Ujancharbazar, Ujanchar, Tippera, Bengal.*
- 200 1921 *DAS, Jatindra N., B.A., *Sch. of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.*
- 1916 *DAS-GUPTA, Nibaranchandra, B.A., *Asst. Revaluation Off., Dinajpur P.O., Bengal.*
- 1921 *DAS-GUPTA, S. N., M.A., Ph.D., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
- 1920 *DATTA, Prof. Bhava, Shastri, *Govt. College, Ajmer.*
- 1922 *DATTA, B. K., B.Sc., *Indrani Villa, Pauchgram, Bengal.*
- 1913 *DATTA, Jnanendra Nath, *Supt. of Post Offices, Hooghly Div., Howrah, Bengal.*
- 1915 *DAVAR, Amolak Raj, 4 Buckingham Court, 113a Ripon St., *Calcutta.*
- 1904 *DAVAR, M. B., M.A., Ph.D., 89 Lamington Rd., *Bombay.*
- 1915 *DAVIES, Rev. A. W., *St. John's College, Agra, U.P.*
- 1894 *†DAVIES, Rev. T. Witton, B.A., Ph.D., D.D., *Prof. of Semitic Languages, Univ. Coll. of North Wales, Bryn Haul, Bangor.*
- 210 1920 *DAVIS, C. Noel, M.D., *Med. Off. Municipal Health Dept., Shanghai, China.*
- 1920 *DAYAL, Raghobar, M.A., M.O.L., *Principal Sanatana Dharma College, Lahore, Panjab.*
- 1921 *DE, Sushil Kumar, 30-1 Beadon Row, *Calcutta.*
- 1921 *DEANE, Lady (Harold), 72 Overstrand Mans., *S.W. 11.*
- 1922 *DEB, Sri G. N., Tatwanidhi, M.B., D.M., *Second Prince of Tekkali, Tekkali P.O., Ganjam, Madras.*
- 1920 *DEB, Kumar Harit K., *Sorabazar, Rajbati, Calcutta.*
- 1919 *†DEBBARMAN, Pyari Mohan, B.Sc., *Botanical Survey India, R. Botanical Gdns., Botanical Gdns. P.O., Howrah, Bengal.*
- HON. 1908 DELITZSCH, Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Friedrich, *Süßstr. 47^{II} Leipzig, Saxony.*
- 1921 *DENT, Capt. R. B., *c/o Nat. Bank of India, 26 Bishopsgate, E.O. 2.*
- 1920 *DEO, Maharajkumar Sri Sudhansu S. Sing., *Sonpur Feudatory State, P.O. Sonpur Raj, via Sambalpur.*
- 220 1908 *DENIKA-CHAU, Diwan Bahadur T., *High Court Vakil, Cantonment, Trichinopoly, Madras.*
- 1896 *DEUSSEN, Prof. P., 39 Bessler-allee, *Kiel, Germany.*
- 1912 *DEVA, Prof. Rama, *The Gurukula, Mahavidyala, Kangri, P.O. Shampur, Bijnor, U.P.*

- 1920 *DEVONSHIRE, Mrs. R. L., *Maadi, nr. Cairo.*
 1904 *DEWHURST, Robert Paget, M.A., I.C.S., 106 Abingdon Rd., *Oxford.*
 1915 *DEY, Kumud Lall, *Hon. Magistrate, Barabazar, Chinsurah, Hooghly, Bengal.*
 1908 *DHANINIVAT, Mom Chow, *Talat Noi House, Bangkok, Siam.*
 1920 *DHAR, Babu Gokulnath, B.A., *Librarian, Presidency Coll., Calcutta.*
 1914 DICKINSON, Miss M. Lowes, *Shottersley, Haslemere, Surrey.*
 1922 *DICKSON, Percy L., *Western House, The Park, Nottingham.*
 230 1908 *†DIN, Malik Muhammad, *Gen. Manager, Estates of the Nawab, Karnal, Panjab.*
 1894 *D'OLDENBURG, Serge, Ph.D., *Prof. of Sanskrit, The University, Petrograd, Russia.*
 1919 DONALDSON, Rev. E., *Pyworthy Rectory, Holsworthy, Devon.*
 1920 *DONIACH, A. S., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
 1910 *DRAKE-BROCKMAN, D. L., I.C.S., *c/o T. Cook & Son, Bombay.*
 1920 *DRIVER, G. R., M.A., *Magdalen College, Oxford.*
 1921 *DUBE, Pandit Kailas Narayan, B.A., LL.B., *Chief Judge, Barwani, Cent. India.*
 1917 *DURAI, Samuel Abraham, B.A., *Law College, Fort, Bombay.*
 1907 §DURAND, Rt. Hon. Sir H. Mortimer, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., *Penmayne House, Rock, St. Mincer, Cornwall.*
 1917 *DUTT, Prof. Anukul C., *College House, Barcilly, U.P.*
 240 1922 *DUTT, H. N., B.A., 11 *Kailas Bose's Lane, Howrah, Bengal.*
 1919 *DUTT, Kamala P., M.A., B.L., *Off. in Charge Revenue Dept., Tippera State, Agartala P.O., Hill Tippera.*
 1917 *DUTT, Lalita Prasad, 181 *Maniktola St., Calcutta.*
 1921 *DUTTA, Pandit Brahma, *Shastri, Prof. Arya Samaj School, Saraswati Nivasa, Gur-ki-Mandi, Agra.*
 1921 *EDEN, Robert F., *Christ Church, Oxford.*
 1921 *EDWARDS, Mrs. C., 309 *West 91st Street, New York, U.S.A.*
 1905 *EDWARDS, E., *Oriental Books & MSS. Dept., British Museum, W.C. 1.*
 1919 *EDWARDS, S. M., I.C.S. (ret.), *Meraldene, Chislehurst, Kent.*
 1919 *EFFENDI, Sirdar Abdul G. K., M.A., 14 *Race Courses Road, Lahore.*
 1921 ELGOOD, Cyril L., 19 *Greencroft Gdns., N.W. 6.*
 250 1905 *ELIOT, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., C.B., *British Embassy, Tokyo, Japan.*
 1921 *ELLIOT, Mrs. A. de Zoete, *Whirlow, Leigh-on-Sea.*
 1897 §ELLIS, Alex. George, M.A., *HON. LIBRARIAN, 32 Willow Rd., N.W. 3.*
 1919 ELLIS, Miss M. F., 15 *Waterloo Square, Bognor, Sussex.*
 1919 ELY, Alex. Kirkpatrick, *Very Rev. Dean of, The Deanery, Ely.*
 1907 *ENTHOVEN, R. E., C.I.E., I.C.S., *Barlavington Manor, Petworth, Sussex.*
 1904 ETTINGHAUSEN, Maurice L., 29 *Downside Crescent, N.W. 3.*
 1921 *EVANS, I. H. N., *Perak Museum, Taiping, F. M. States.*
 1921 *EVANS, J. H. F., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
 1919 EVE, Ella, Lady, *The Alexandra Club, 12 Grosvenor St., W. 1.*
 260 1922 *FAIRWEATHER, Wallace C., 62 *Saint Vincent St., Glasgow.*
 1902 FANSHAWE, Herbert Chas., C.S.I., 72 *Philbeach Gdns., S.W. 5.*

- 1881 *†FARGUES, J.
 1880 *†FARIDŪN-JANG, Bahadur, Nawab Sir, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., *Sadr-ul-Mahām to H. Ex. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, Deccan.*
 1921 *FARMER, Henry, 102 Byres Rd., Glasgow.
 1916 *FARQUHAR, J. N., D.Litt., 5 Russell St., Calcutta.
 1914 *FATAH, Moulvi Syed A., K.-i-H., Zamindar, Rangpur, Bengal.
 1914 *FERGUSON, John C., Ph.D., Peking, China.
 1901 *FERGUSON, J. C., I.C.S., c/o H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1907 *FERRAR, Major M. L., c/o Grindlay & Co., Bombay.
 270 1893 *FINOT, Louis, *Directeur de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi, Indo-China.*
 1921 *FISH, Rev. Thos., *St. Edmund's House, Cambridge.*
 1909 §FOSTER, Wm., C.I.E., *Registrar & Supt. of Records, India Office, S.W. 1.*
 HON. 1918 FOUCHER, A., 286 Boul. Raspail, Paris, XIVe.
 1921 *FRAMPTON, H. J., I.C.S., 56 Hurst St., Iffley Rd., Oxford.
 1907 *FRASER, Chas. L., *Council Office, W. Montreal, Canada.*
 1916 FRAZER, Sir J. G., 1 Brick Court, Middle Temple, E.C. 4.
 1918 FRAZER, Mrs. R. W., *The Hollies, Balcombe, Sussex.*
 1919 †FREER, Maj. W. J., V.D., F.S.A., *Stonygate, Leicester.*
 1921 *FREEBY, Alfred, 5 South Road, Kendal, Westmorland.
 280 1912 *FULTON, A. S., *Oriental Books & MSS. Dept., British Museum, W.O. 1.*
 1918 *FURLANI, Giuseppe, Ph.D., LL.D., *S. Lorenzo di Mossa, Italy.*
 1921 *FURNIVAL, J. S., c/o Scott & Co., Rangoon, Burma.
 1921 †*GAJENDRAGADKAR, A. B., M.A., *Prof. of Sanskrit, Elphinstone College, Bombay.*
 1920 *GAHLOT, Sri Jagdish Singh, *Insp. of Forests & Ed. "Saini Shubh-chintak", Gahlot House, Jodhpur.*
 1899 GAIT, Sir Edward A., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., *The Croft, Park Hill, W. 5.*
 HON. 1921 GANAPATI SASTRI, T. Mahamahopadhyaya, *Curator for Dept. for Publication of Sanskrit MSS., Trivandrum, Travancore.*
 1919 *GANESHER, T. S., M.A., L.T., *Maharaja's Collegiate School, Mysore.*
 1916 *GANGOOLY, O. C., B.A., 12/1 Gangoly's Lane, Calcutta.
 1912 *GANGULY, Babu Manomohan, *District Engineer, 50 Raja Rajbullu's Street, Calcutta, India.*
 290 1919 *GARRETT, Colin Campbell, C.I.E., I.C.S., c/o Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament St., S.W. 1.
 1919 GARDINER, Alan H., 9 Lansdowne Rd., W. 11.
 1915 *GARR, Banarsi Lal, B.Sc.
 1890 §GASTER, M., Ph.D., 193 Maida Vale, W. 9.
 1922 *GAUTAM, Thakur L. S., B.A., *Kanyatirtha, Tarighat, Ghazipore.*
 1912 *GEDEN, Rev. A. S., *Royapettah, Harpenden, Herts.*
 1921 *GEHLOT, Babu C. Bhuj, D.D.R., *Supt. of Forests, near Gulab Sagar, Jodhpur, Rajputana.*
 1906 *†GHEL, Wm. E., M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., *Doylestown, Pa., U.S.A.*
 1919 *GETTY, Miss Alice, 75 Av. des Champs Elysées, Paris.
 1921 *GHATAK, J. C., M.A., *Prof. Diocesan Coll., 5 Baloram Bose Ghat Road, Bhawanipore P.O., Calcutta.*
 300 1921 *GHEE, O. Thyé, 39-2 Dickson Road, Singapore.

- 1920 *GHORPADAY, Madhavrao H., 273 Somwar Peth, Anand Bhuran, Poona.
 1920 *GHOSAL, Haripada, Head Master, Raj H.E. School, P.O. Mahishadal, Midnapore, Bengal.
 1918 *GHOSE, Nagendra Nath, B.A., Central Municipal Office, 5 Corporation Street, Calcutta.
 1920 *GHOSH, Dr. Sarada C., F.C.P.S., 8 Sitaram Ghosh's St., Calcutta.
 1920 *GHOSH, Sushil Kumar, B.A., 7 Ragendra Dutt Lane, Calcutta.
 1908 *GHOSH, Wopendranath, Rai Bahadur, 13 Madhal Lane, Bhawanipur P.O., Calcutta.
 1921 *GIBANI, Sayid Aulad Ali, B.A., Oak Grove, Jharipani P.O., Dehra Dun, U.P.
 1921 GILBERTSON, Maj. G. W., 373 Holmedale Rl., S.E. 25.
 1921 *GILDER, Framroz N., Shakespeare Hut, Keppel Street, W.C. 1.
 310 1919 §GILES, Lionel, M.A., D.Litt., Dept. of Oriental Books, British Museum, W.C. 1.
 1912 *GIPPERICH, H., German Legation, Peking, China.
 1916 *GODDARD, Rev. W. G., M.S.A., Wesley Manse, S. Brisbane, Queensland, Australia.
 HON. 1893 GOLDSIEHR, Prof. Ignaz, 7 Holló-Utca, Budapest, Hungary.
 1921 *GOODIER, Most Rev. A., S.J., Archbishop of Bombay, Archbishop's House, Wodehouse Road Fort, Bombay.
 1919 *GOPALAKRISHNAN, S. S., Basel Mission College, Calicut.
 1920 *GOPINATH, Pandit P., M.A., C.I.E., Rai Bahadur, Member of State Council, Jaipur, Rajputana.
 1884 *†GORPARSHAD, Thakur, Talukdar of Bainwar, Aligarh.
 1922 *GOURLAY, W. R., Sec. to Governor of Bengal, Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.
 1910 *GRAHAM, W. A., Adviser to Ministry of Agriculture, Bangkok, Siam.
 320 1919 †GRAVES, R. E., 6 Grange Park, W. 5.
 1916 *GRAY, Rev. G. Buchanan, D.Litt., 33 Norham Rd., Oxford.
 1919 GREEN, F. W., Whitefield, Great Shelford, Cambridge.
 1918 GREENSHIELDS, Robert S., I.C.S. (ret.), 35 Clarges St., W. 1.
 1893 *GREENUP, Rev. Albert W., D.D., The Principal's Lodge, St. John's Hall, Highbury, N. 5.
 1884 §GRIERSON, Sir George A., K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., I.C.S. (ret.), VICE-PRESIDENT, Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey.
 1919 GRIFFITH, F. Ll., 11 Norham Gdns., Oxford.
 1919 GRÉY, M. L., Recteur à l'Université, 10 Rue La Fontaine, Angers, N. et L. France.
 1897 §GUEST, A. Rhuvon, 1a, Thornton Hill, S.W. 19.
 HON. 1898 GUIDI, Prof. Ignace, 24 Botteghe Oscure, Roma.
 330 1921 *GUILLAUME, Rev. Prof. A., 43 North Bailey, Durham.
 1910 *GUNAWARDHANA, W. F., Dept. of Public Instruction, Rose Villa, Mt. Lavinia, Ceylon.
 1921 *GUPTA, B. L. Sen, B.A., 13-4 Ram Kanta Bose's Street, Baghbar, Calcutta.
 1920 *GUPTA, Babu Kshetro M., M.B., Chief Med. Off., Mohishadal Raj, Bengal.
 1915 *GUPTA, Kumud Bandhu Das, B.A., 4th Presidency Magistrate, 2 Bank-shah St., Calcutta.
 1921 *GUPTA, Pitam Lal, M.Sc., LL.B., Prof. of Mathematics, Raja Ram College, Kolhapur.

- 1913 *GUPTA, Saurindra Kumar, B.A., B.L., B.Litt., Ph.D., *Barr.-at-Law, Bar Library, Calcutta.*
- 1919 *GUPTA, Babu Shiva Prasad, *Seva Upavana, Benares.*
- 1894 *GURDON, Lt.-Col. Philip R. T., C.S.I., I.A., c/o H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
- 340 1921 *GURNER, Cyril W., I.C.S., c/o King, Hamilton & Co., Calcutta.
- 1918 *GURÚ, Kanhaya Lal, M.A., *Inspector of Schools, Chattisgarh Circle, Raipur, C.P.*
- 1920 *GURU, Kamta P., *Garha Phatak, Jubbulpore, C.P.*
- 1921 *GWYNN, R. M., M.A., *Prof. of Hebrew, Trinity College, Dublin.*
- 1910 *GYI, Maung Maung, *Inspector of Excise, Opium Shop, Mandalay.*
- 1921 *HABIB, M., B.A., *Dali Bagh, Butler Road, Lucknow.*
- 1902 *HAGOPIAN, Prof. G., 25 Chesilton Rd., S.W. 6.
- 1920 *HAIDARI, M. A. Khan, *Akbar Manzil, Delhi.*
- 1911 *HAIG, Kerest, *Alloa, Seaford, Sussex.*
- 1898 *HAIG, Lt.-Col. Sir T. Wolsley, C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., *North Lodge, St. Leonards-on-Sea.*
- 1919 *HAJELA, Kripa Shankar, M.Sc., LL.B., *Prof. of Mathematics, Raja Ram College, Kolhapore.*
- 350 1922 *HALDAE, Babu Satya Charan, c/o Lale Babu K. Lal Haldæ, *Sub-Dy. Magistrate, Sandip, Noakali, Bengal.*
- 1919 HALL, H. R., M.A., F.S.A., D.Litt., *British Museum, W.C. 1.*
- 1909 *HALLIDAY, Robert, *Mount Pleasant, Moulmein, Burma.*
- 1921 HAMID, Ungku Abdul, of Johore, 31 St. George's Rd., N.W. 6.
- 1920 *HANDIQUI, Krishna K., M.A., c/o Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament St., S.W. 1.
- 1904 *HANSON, Rev. O., Litt.D., *Kachin Mission, Namkham, via Bhamo, Up. Burma.*
- 1920 *HAQ, Prof. A., 116 Southmoor Rd., Oxford.
- 1920 *HAQQ, Prof. Qazi Fazl-i., M.A., *Govt. College, Lahore.*
- HON. 1921 HARAPRASAD SHASTRI, Mahamahopadhyaya, C.I.E., M.A., *Prof. Univ. of Dacca.*
- 1921 *HARDEN, Rev. T. M., LL.D., *The Hostel, St. John's Hall, Highbury, N. 5.*
- 360 1915 *HAROBRAVES, H., *Supt. of Archaeology, Lahore.*
- 1910 *HARLEY, A. H., M.A., *Principal, Madrasah College, Calcutta.*
- 1913 *HARPER, Rev. Robert, M.D., *N. Shan States, Namkham, via Bhamo, Up. Burma.*
- 1921 *HARRIS, Rev. E. N., *American Baptist Paku Karen Mission, Toungoo, Burma.*
- 1919 HARRIS, Dr. Rendel, 172 Wellington Road, *Whalley Range, Manchester.*
- 1919 HARRISON, Edgar E., 12 Leopold Rd., W. 5.
- 1919 HARTLAND, Ernest, *Hardwick Court, Cheltenham.*
- 1920 *HASAN, A. N. M. Ali, M.A., *Lecturer in Arabic & Persian, Patna College, Bengal.*
- 1919 *HASAN, Majid-ul., c/o Y. H. Khan, *Dep. Insp. Gen. of Police, Gosha Mahal, Hyderabad.*
- 1920 *†HASSAN-KHAN, Haji M. Ghulam, 4 Sadar Bazar Lines, *Camp Karachi.*
- 370 1921 HAY, George E., 96 Olive Rd., N.W. 2.

- 1921 HAYASHI, H. E. Baron, *Japanese Ambassador*, 10 Grosvenor Sq., W. 1.
 1918 *HAYES, Rev. Herbert E. E., *Missionary*, C.M.S. House, Menouf, Egypt.
 *†HEMING, Lieut.-Col. Dempster.
 1911 *HERTEL, Prof. Johannes, *Leisnigerstr. 24, Grossbauchlitz bei Döbeln, Saxony*.
 1912 *HILDITCH, John, *Minglands, Crumpsall Lane, Crumpsall, Manchester*.
 1901 *HILL, Rev. J. R., *S.P.G. Mission, Banda, U.P.*
 1913 HILL, S. C., *Ind. Educ. Serv. (ret.)*, 36 West Heath Drive, N.W. 3.
 1885 †HIPPLISLEY, Alfred E., *late Commissioner Chinese Customs*, 8 Herbert Crescent, S.W. 1.
 1891 *HIRSCHFELD, H., Ph.D., *Lecturer on Semitics at Jews' Univ. Colleges*; 14 Randolph Gdns., N.W. 6.
 380 1920 †HITCHCOCK, Rev. George S., D.D., *Greenfields, Frindsbury, Rochester*.
 1921 HOBSON, R. L., *British Museum, W.C. 1*.
 1919 *HOCART, A. M., *Anuradhapura, Ceylon*.
 1919 HODGKINSON, Rev. J. P., 13 Swinley Rd., Wigan, Lancs.
 1918 *HOGG, J. Drummond, *H.B.M. Consulate General, Saigon, Cochin China*.
 1919 HOLLINGWORTH, E. W., *Rearsby, St. Peter's Rd., Broadstairs*.
 1915 HOLMWOOD, Lady, 21 Courtfield Road, S.W. 7.
 1919 *HOLMYARD, E. J., B.A., *The Brou, Clevedon, Somerset*.
 1911 *HOPKINS, E. Washburn, *Prof. of Sanskrit, Yale University*, 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
 1889 §HOPKINS, Lionel Charles, I.S.O., *The Garth, Haslemere*.
 380 1908 HORNELL, Wm. Woodward, *Ind. Educ. Serv., Office of Director of Public Instruction Bengal, Writers' Bldgs., Calcutta*.
 1919 *HOSAIN, Agher Hyder, *A.D.C. to H.H. the Maharajah of Patiala*.
 HON. 1902 HOUTSMA, Prof. M. T., *Mahistraat 6, Utrecht, Holland*.
 1917 *HOWARTH, Major L. A., *Political Agent, Muscat, Persian Gulf*.
 1919 §HOWORTH, Sir Henry H., K.C.I.F., D.C.L., F.R.S., 45 Lexham Gdns., W. 8.
 1919 *HOYTEMA, D. van, *Valeriusstraat, 92, Amsterdam*.
 1922 *HUQUE, Shah Syed Emdadul, M.L.C., *Madagarganj P.O., Comilla, Tipperah, Bengal*.
 1921 *HUTTON, J. H., C.I.E., I.C.S., *Kohima, Naga Hills, Assam*.
 1908 *†HYDE, James H., *Pavillon de l'Ermitage, 7 rue de l'Ermitage, Versailles, Seine et Oise, France*.
 1921 *HYMAN, A., *Wadham College, Oxford*.
 400 1922 *IKEDA, Chotatsu, 21 Yamabushi-chō, Shitaya-ku, Tokyo, Japan.
 1921 INGRAMS, Capt. Wm. H., *Chake Chake, Pemba, Zanzibar*.
 1921 *IRWELL, Mrs. H., 8f Bickenhall Mans., W. 1.
 1918 ISPAHANI, M. H., 21 Mincing Lane, E.C. 3.
 1920 *IVANOW, W., *c/o Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1 Park St., Calcutta.
 1921 *IVES, C. St. John, *Mailoor Estate, Kullakamby, Nilgiri Hills, S. India*.
 1920 *IYENGAR, M. H. Krishna, *Educ. Dept., Mysore*.
 1919 *IYENGAR, Prof. T. R. Sessa, 65 Coral Merchant St., Madras.
 1916 *IYER, K. Ramaswami, "New Home," Brahmins Club Road, Trivandrum, Travancore.

- 1906 *JACKSON, A. V. Williams, LL.D., Litt.D., *Prof. Indo-Iranian Languages, Columbia University, New York, U.S.A.*
- 410 HON. 1912 JACOBI, Dr. Hermann, *Geb. Regierungsrat, Sanskrit Prof., 59 Niebuhrstr., Bonn, Germany.*
- 1920 *JAGOB, Lt. H. E., K.A., 31 Mountain Battery, c/o Lucknow House, *Outram Rd., Addiscombe, Surrey.*
- 1922 *JAIN, Prof. S. P., M.A., *Principal St. Stephen's College, Delhi.*
- 1916 *JAINI, Jagmandir Lal, M.A., *Bar.-at-Law, Saharanpur, U.P.*
- 1901 *JARDINE, W. E., C.I.E., *The Residency, Gwalior.*
- 1920 *JASHPUR, Jubraj Deo S. Singh, Deo of, *P.O. Jashpur, via Ranchi, C.P.*
- 1883 *†JAYAMOHUN, Thakor Singh, *Tahsildar of Seori Narayan, Bilaspur, C.P.*
- 1922 *JAYASWAL, K. P., M.A., *Mirzapur, U.P.*
- 1918 *JAYATILAKA, Don B., B.A., *Advocate of Supreme Court Ceylon, Law Library, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1920 *JEFFERY, Rev. Arthur, M.A., *American University, 113 Kasr-el-Aini, Cairo, Egypt.*
- 420 1914 *JHA, Gangaranatha, *Prof. of Sanskrit, Sanskrit College, Benares.*
- 1911 *†JHALAWAR, H.H. Maharaj-Rana Sir Bhawani Singh, Bahadur, *K.C.S.I. of Jhalrapatan, Rajputana.*
- 1882 *†JINAYARAYANNA, Rev. P. C., *Buddhist Bhikshu (formerly Prince Priedang), Dipaduttama Arāma, Kofahena, Colombo.*
- 1921 *JOHN, Miss G. M.
- 1909 *JOHNSTON, Edw. Hamilton, c/o Grindlay & Co., *Calcutta.*
- 1904 *JOHNSTON, Reginald F., C.B.E., *Chang Wang Hutung, Peking.*
- HON. 1904 JOLLY, Prof. Julius, *The University, Würzburg, Bavaria.*
- 1919 JONES, H. Sefton, 18 Pembroke Gdns., *W. 8.*
- 1921 *JONES, Kenneth C., *King Kothi Road, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
- 1908 *JOPP, Chas. H. Keith, M.A., I.C.S. (ret.), *Reader in Marathi, 16 Linton Rd., Oxford.*
- 430 1922 *JOSHI, Pandit Ram Datta, B.A., *Almora, U.P.*
- 1911 *JOWETT, Rev. Hardy, *Govt. Offices, Weihaiwei, N. China.*
- JUDD, George H., F.R.C.S., 48 Chestnut Rd., *S.E. 27.*
- 1919 *JUNG, Rabbi Leo, 10416 Columbia Av., *Cleveland, O., U.S.A.*
- 1918 *KAK, Ram Chandra, c/o Arch. Supt., *Srinagar, Kashmir.*
- 1917 *KALLA, D. R., M.B.E., *Ferozapore, Panjab.*
- 1920 *KANSHALA, Prof. Ram S., *Vidyabhusan, D.Litt., B.A., Ambala, Panjab.*
- 1922 *KAUL, Pandit V. Nath, B.A., *Naya Bazar, Gwalior, C. India.*
- 1917 *KĀVYANIDHI, Babu Kali K., *Vidyabinode, Parkatali Village, Mahamuni P.O., Ohittagong, Bengal.*
- 1909 *KEITH, Alan Davidson, *Prof. of English, Rangoon College, Burma.*
- 440 1919 †KEITH, C. P., 308 Walnut St., *Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.*
- 1921 KEMP, Miss G. E., 26 Harley House, *N.W. 1.*
- 1895 *KENNEDY, Miss Louise, *Fairacre, Concord, Mass., U.S.A.*
- 1909 *KENNEDY, Pringle, M.A., c/o Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament St., *S.W. 1.*
- 1922 *KENNEDY, Mrs. Wallace, 3 Florence Terrace, *Londonderry.*
- 1914 *KENT, A. S., c/o Chinese Post Office, *Mukden, Manchuria.*
- 1907 *KEONJHAR, Raja Gopinath Narayan Bhunj Deo of, *Orissa.*

- 1908 *KESTEVEN, Sir Chas. H., *Royal Insurance Buildings, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.*
- 1921 *†KHAIRPUR, H.H. Ali Namoz Khan Talpur, Mir of, G.C.I.E., *Mirs Sind, India.*
- 1916 *KHAN, Hon. Chaudhuri Moh. Ismail, *Zamindar of Barisal, Bengal.*
- 450 1922 *KHAN, Debendra Lal, M.L.C., *Kumar of Naringole, Gope Palace, Midnapore, Bengal.*
- 1921 *KHAN, J. S. Shahbaz, M.B.E., *Bombay House, 2393 East Street, Poona.*
- 1911 *KHAN, Mahomed Hasan, Khan Bahadur, *Asst. Acct. General, 116 Olive Rd., Allahabad, U.P.*
- 1921 *KHAN, Haji Malik S. Wali, Khan Bahadur, *Rais & Hon. Magistrate, Old City, Bareilly, U.P.*
- 1921 *KHAN, The Imam Mustapha, *The Mosque, Woking.*
- 1909 *KINGAID, C. A., C.V.O., I.C.S., *Sec. to Govt. Bombay, Political & Judicial Depts.; c/o Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament St., S.W. 1.*
- 1884 *KING, Sir L. W., Kt., C.S.L., LL.D., F.S.A., I.C.S. (ret.), *Craig Keigh, Aboyne, Aberdeenshire.*
- 1921 *KISHORE, Pandit C. B., *Astrologer and Astronomer, Alwar, Rajputana.*
- 1884 *†KITTS, Eustace John, *Dudley Hotel, Hove, Sussex.*
- 1919 KNOX-SHAW, C., *Waverley, Oxley, Surrey.*
- 460 1914 *KO, Maung Ba, *Extra Asst. Commissioner, Prome, Burma.*
- 1916 *KOCHAR, D. R., B.Sc., *Executive Engineer, Alola, Berar.*
- 1916 *KONOW, Prof. Dr. Sten, *Ethnographic Museum, Kristiania, Norway.*
- 1906 *KRENKOW, Fritz, *1 Trinity Avenue, Westcliff-on-Sea.*
- 1920 *KRISHNA, Pandit Gopal, M.A., *Head Master, Sanatan Dharm High Sch., Etawah, U.P.*
- 1921 *KRISHNA RAO BRONSLK, R., Rao Sahib, *Stone Gift, Vepery, Madras.*
- 1921 *KRISHNAGAR, H.H. Maharaja Kshatrinish Chanda Roy Bahadur of, *The Palace, Krishnagar, Nadia.*
- 1919 *KRISHNAMACHARIAR, K., B.A., *Head Master, Mission High School, Vani Vihar, Tirupati, Madras.*
- 1913 *KRISHNAMACHARIAR, M., M.A., M.L., Ph.D., *Bapalla, Guntur, Madras.*
- 1922 *KRISHNASWAMI, K., B.A., *Sen. Asst. Master, Madrasa-i-aizza, 750 Kannilal Bagh, Residency Road, Hyderabad.*
- 470 1911 *KROM, N. J., Ph.D., *Prof. of Javanese Archaeology at the University, Groenhovenstratz, Leiden, Holland.*
- 1909 *KULANDAISWAMI, R. P., *Head Master, St. Joseph's High School, Trivandrum, Travancore.*
- 1921 *KUNIHAR, Rana Hardeo Singh, Saheb Bahadur, *Chief of, Kunihar State, Simla Hills.*
- 1913 *KUNWAR, Har Pratap Singh, B.Sc., *1 Turkoganj Road, Indore.*
- 1912 *†LABBERTON, Dr. D. van Hinloopen, *Lecturer Indonesian Linguistics, Govt. Coll., 1 Blavatsky Park, Weltevreden, Java.*
- 1920 *LADDU, Pandit D. K., *833 Sadashiva Path, Poona.*
- 1919 *LAL, Brij B., B.A., LL.B., *Munsif, Phaphand, Etawah, U.P.*
- 1904 *LAL, Hira, Rai Bahadur, B.A., *Dep. Commissioner, Wardha, C.P.*
- 1919 *LAL, Lala Mohan, M.A., *Head Master, Dt. Board High School, Rahon, Jullundar, Panjab.*

- 1904 *LAL, Raja Madho, C.S.I., Chowkhumba, Benares.
- 480 1910 *LAL, Shyam, M.A., LL.B., Dep. Collector, Nawabganj, Cawnpore.
- 1915 *LAMB, Miss M. Antonia, 212 South 46th St., Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- 1902 *LANDBERG, Count C., 2 Av. Desambrois, Nice, France.
- 1917 *§LANGDON, S., Ph.D., Prof. of Assyriology, 17 Northmoor Rd., Oxford.
- 1880 HON. 1902 LANMAN, Chas. R., Prof. of Sanskrit, Harvard University, 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1911 *LAUFER, Dr. Berthold, Field Museum, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- 1914 *LAW, Bimala C., M.A., B.A., Zamindar, 24 Sookeas St., Calcutta.
- 1901 *LEADBEATER, Rt. Rev. C. W., 4 Raymond Rd., Neutral Bay, Sydney, Australia.
- 1900 *LECHMERE-OERTEL, Hon. Mr. F. O.
- 1899 §LEGGE, F., F.S.A., 6 Gray's Inn Square, W.C. 1.
- 490 1896 *LEIGH, Col. H. P. P., C.I.E., Grosvenor House, Bath.
- 1878 *†LEPPER, C. H.
- 1910 *LESNÝ, Dr. V., Lecturer in Sanskrit, Prag University, Smichov, Zborovská, 66, Prague, Czechoslovakia.
- 1880 †LE STRANGE, Guy, 63 Panton St., Cambridge.
- 1921 *LETT, H. N., D.F.C., Queen's College, Oxford.
- 1890 *LEVESON, Henry G. A., I.C.S., 2 Edwardes Place, W. 8.
- 1921 *LEVI, Louis, 17 Robert St., N.W. 1.
- HON. 1917 LÉVI, Sylvain, 9 Rue Guy de la Brosse, Paris.
- 1912 *LEVONIAN, Prof. Loofty, American Bible House, Constantinople.
- 1921 *LEVY, R., Jesus College, Oxford.
- 500 1885 †LEWIS, Mrs. A. S., LL.D., Castlebrae, Cambridge.
- 1921 *LEWIS, Rev. J. Vernon, M.A., B.D., The Manse, Brynamman, Caermarthenshire.
- 1897 *LINDSAY, Rev. James, M.A., D.D., B.Sc., Annick Lodge, Irvine, Ayrshire.
- 1912 *LIPSHYTZ, Rev. C. T., Gorrings Park House, Mitcham, Surrey.
- 1879 *LOCKHART, Sir J. H. Stewart, K.C.M.G., Commissioner Weihaiwei, N. China.
- 1919 LONGDON, Miss C. M., 124 Osmaston Rd., Derby.
- 1914 *†LORIMER, Maj. D. L. R., C.I.E., I.A., Political Agency, Gilgit, Kashmir.
- 1915 *LORIMER, Miss F. M. G., c/o Postmaster, Srinagar, Kashmir.
- 1919 LOXTON, S. E., Icknield, Little Aston, nr. Sutton Coldfield, Staffs.
- 1904 *LUDARD, Lt.-Col. C. Eckford, M.A., I.A., c/o Grindlay & Co., Bombay.
- 510 1909 *LÜDERS, Prof. Dr. H., 20 Sybelstr., Charlottenburg, Berlin.
- 1914 LUMSDEN, Miss Mary, c/o The Librarian, Girton College, Cambridge.
- 1918 *LUSY, Marino M., Architect, Casa Lusy, via Lazzaretto Vecchio, No. 11, Trieste.
- 1910 *MACAETNEY, C. H. H., Foxhold, Crookham, nr. Newbury, Berks.
- 1919 MCCLURE, Rev. Canon Edmund, 80 Eccleston Sq., S.W. 1.
- 1900 *MACDONALD, Duncan B., Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.
- 1921 *MACDONALD, Rev. John L., Berhampore, Ganjam.
- 1882*†§MACDONELL, Arthur A., M.A., Ph.D., F.B.A., Boden Prof. of Sanskrit, Fellow of Balliol, 20 Bardwell Rd., Oxford.
- 1887 *MCDOUALL, Wm., Palmers Moor House, Iwer, Bucks.

- 1919 MACGREGOR, Rev. W., *Bolehall Manor House, Tamworth.*
- 520 1919 *MACIVER, Capt. David R., M.A., c/o Brown, Shipley & Co., 123 Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
- 1894 *MACLAGAN, Hon. Sir E. D., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., *Governor of Panjab, Lahore.*
- 1917 *MAHAJAN, Suryya Prasad, *Rais, Banker & Zamindar, Murapore, Gaya, Bihar.*
- 1921 *MAITRA, Jogendra Nath, B.Sc., 58a Colootola St., *Calcutta.*
- 1921 *MAITRA, Babu Ramesh C., *Zamindar, Nalore, Rajshahi, Bengal.*
- 1916 *MAJID, Abdul, B.A., F.O.U., *P.O. Daryabad, Bara Banki.*
- 1921 *MAJUMDAR, N. G., 70 Russa Rd., *N. Bhawanipore, Calcutta.*
- 1913 *MAJUMDAR, Prof. Ramesh Chandra, M.A., *Calcutta University.*
- 1922 *MAL, Babu Churni, M.A., LL.B., *Vakil High Court, Sikanderabad, U.P.*
- 1921 *MANGALIK, Murari Saran, B.A., *Editor of "Lalita," Sevd Sadan, Meerut.*
- 530 1906 *MANN, Fairman Rackham, *Staff Surgeon, R.N., Greenlands, Nelson Rd., Sheringham, Norfolk.*
- 1920 *MANN, Jacob, M.A.
- 1916 *MANUCHA, Moti Lal, *Oudh Commercial Bank, Ltd., Fyzabad, U.P.*
- 1889 *MARGOLIOUTH, D. S., M.A., F.B.A., D.Litt., *Prof. of Arabic, 88 Woodstock Rd., Oxford.*
- 1914 *†MARIELLE, Madame, 1132 W. 36th Place, *Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.*
- 1921 *MARMORSTEIN, Dr. A., 36 Goldhurst Terrace, *N.W. 6.*
- 1904 *MARSDEN, E., *Ind Educ. Serv., 12 Ellerdale Rd., N.W. 3.*
- 1917 *MARSHALL, Rev. H. I., M.A., *President Karen Theological Seminary, Insein, Burma.*
- 1901 *§MARSHALL, Sir John, C.I.E., M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A., *Director-Gen. of Archaeology, Benmore, Simla.*
- 1914 *MARTIN, Rev. E. Osborn.
- 540 1920 *MARTIN, Rev. John, *Ingleside, Bunnington Rd., Stockport.*
- 1921 *MARTERTON-SMITH, Capt P. F., M.C., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
- 1920 *MATHUR, Lakshmi N., B.A., *Head Master J.A.S. High Sch., Khurja, U.P.*
- 1920 *MATHUR, Omrao Behari, B.Sc., *Naib Suba, Bhilsa, Gwalior State.*
- 1904 *†MAWJEE, Purshotam Vishram.
- 1898 *MAXWELL, W. George, *Carcosa, Selangor, Malay Peninsula.*
- 1921 *MAYDELL, Baron Gérard de, *Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales, 2 rue de Lille, Paris.*
- 1921 *MAZHARY, Shafi Ahmad, M.A., M.S.P., *Prof. Oriental Languages, Anjuman-i-Islam, Hornby Road, Bombay.*
- 1905 *MAZUMDAR, Babu Bijaya Chandra, *High Court Vakil, 33/1e Lansdowne Rd., Calcutta.*
- 1921 *MAZUMDAR, Babu J., *Palong P.O., Tulasar, Faridpur.*
- 550 1921 MEAD, G. R. S., 9 *Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W. 7.*
- 1912 *MEAD, John P., *Forest Dept., Kuchin, Sarawak, via Singapore.*
- 1907 *MEADEN, Rev. H. Anderson, *Barton Rectory, Nottingham.*
- 1918 *MENZIES, Capt. Rev. Jas. M., B.A., B.Sc., c/o *For. Missions Bd., Presbyterian Ch. in Canada, Confederation Life Bldg., Toronto.*
- 1919 *MERCER, Rev. Prof. S. A. B., Ph.D., D.D., 2738 *Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.*

- 1899 *MESTON, Lord, K.C.S.I., LL.D., *Hurst, Cookham Dene, Berks.*
 1921 MILLER, W., 21 *Minster Rd., N.W. 2.*
 1921 *MILLS, J. P., I.C.S., c/o King, Hamilton & Co., 4-5 *Koila Ghat Street, Calcutta.*
 1909 *MILNE, Mrs. Leslie, c/o T. & J. W. Barty, *County B'dgs., Dumblane, Scotland.*
 1922 *MINGANA, Prof. Alphonse, D.D., *John Rylands Library, Manchester.*
 560 1921 *MINHAS, M. Abdul Aziz, M.A., LL.B., *Pleader, Gujranwala, Panjab.*
 1921 *MISRA, Pandit B. P., M.A., *Executive Officer, Improvement Trust, Allahabad.*
 1920 *MISRA, Pandit Lakshmi, B.A., *Dep. Magistrate & Coll., Patna, B. & O.*
 1913 *MISRA, Pandit Shyam Behari, M.A., *Dep. Commissioner, Gonda.*
 1918 *MITRA, Prof. Satis Chandra, B.A., *Hindu Academy, Daulatpur, Khulna, Bengal.*
 1903 MITRA, S. M., 6 *Hayes Avenue, Queen's Park, Bournemouth, Hants.*
 1914 *MITRA, Surendranath, *G. T. Survey Dept., Dehradun, U.P.*
 1921 *MOHAMMAD, S. Taj, M.A., M.Sc., *Dy. Accountant-General, Posts and Telegraphs, Calcutta.*
 1882 *†MOHANLAL VISHNULAL PANDIA, Pandit.
 1922 *MOHIDEEN, C. S., B.A., *Maulavi, Headmaster Kham-mam-meth, Warangal, Deccan.*
 570 1919 *MOHI-UD-DIN, Ghulam, Sufi, M.A., *Supt. Normal Sch., Amraoti, Berar.*
 1908 *MONAHAN, F. J., I.C.S., *Commissioner Assam Valley Dts., c/o H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, S.W. 1.*
 1919 MOND, R., *Coombe Bank, nr. Sevenoaks.*
 1912 *MOOKERJI, Prof. Radhakumud K., M.A., Ph.D., *Vidyasaibhara, The University, Lucknow.*
 1916 MORELAND, W. H., C.S.I., C.I.E., *Bengeo Old Vicarage, Hertford.*
 1918 *MORENO, Prof. H. W. B., M.A., D.Litt., *Central College, 12 Wellesley St., Calcutta.*
 1919 *MORGENSTIERNE, Dr. Georg, *Vettakollen, pr. Kristiania, Norway.*
 1921 *MORRIS, Capt. C. J., 2-3 *Gurkha Rifles, c/o Grindlay & Co., Calcutta.*
 1882 *†MORSE, H. Ballou, LL.D., *Arden, Camberley, Surrey.*
 1920 *MUDALIAR, D. B., Ramachandra, *Supt. Govt. Printing, Rama Mandiram, Bangalore.*
 580 1919 *MUDALIAR, K. D., 11 *George Sq., Edinburgh.*
 1920 *MUDALIAR, K. Narayana Swami, 75 *Singannachethy St., Chintradripet, Madras.*
 1916 *MUHAMMAD-SADIQ, Mufti, *Prof. of Hebrew Language & Literature, 74 Victor Av., Highland Park, Mich., U.S.A.*
 1921 *MUKERJEA, Harendra Nath, 12 *Ananta Ram Mukerjee Lane, Ram-krishtipure, Howrah, Bengal.*
 1911 *MUKERJEA, Babu Manmatha Nath, M.A., *Dep. Magistrate & Collector, Chinsura, Hooghly, Bengal.*
 1882 *MUKERJI, Phanibhusan, *Director State Education, 55 Gariahat Rd., Ballygunge, Calcutta.*
 1921 *MUKHERJEE, Braja Lal, 12 *Old Post Office St., Calcutta.*
 1916 *MUKHERJEE, Santosh Kumar, *Vidyabhusana, Ed. "The Bansari," 52 Chaulpati Rd., Bhowanipur, Calcutta.*

- 1895 *MULLER-HESS, Dr. E., *Prof. of Sanskrit, Bern: University, 47 Effingerstr., Berne, Switzerland.*
- 1921 *MULLICK, A. P., 33 Nilmoney Mullick Lane, Howrah, Bengal.
- 590 1908 *MURRAY, John, C.V.O., M.A., F.S.A., 50a Albemarle St., W. 1.
- 1912 *MUSHBAN, Pandit Sundar N., Old Kotha Parcha St., Farrukhabad, U.P.
- 1919 †MYRES, Prof. J. L., 101 Banbury Rd., Oxford.
- 1898 *MYSORE, Col. H. H., Maharaja Sir Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., of, The Palace, Bangalore.
- 1911 *†NABHA, H.H. Farzand-i-Arjumand, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh Malvendra Bahadur, of, Panjab.
- 1921 *NADAR, Arumuga, P.K.S.A., Banker, Suakasi, India.
- 1917 *NADGOWDA, Shrimant N. K., Mundargi, Dharwar, Bombay.
- 1920 *NAG, Abinash Chandra, B.A., B.L., Asst. Senior Judge, Gaya, Bihar.
- 1915 *NAHAR, Puran Chand, M.A., B.L., Zamindar, 48 Indian Mirror St., Calcutta.
- 1918 *NAIDU, Mallem Chengalvarayulu, Barr.-at-Law, 18 Merchant St., Rangoon, Burma.
- 600 1918 *NAIR, Dr. Tellicherry Madhavan, Asst. Medical Officer, Burma Mines, Ltd., Nanttu, Burma.
- 1921 *NANDI, Babu N. C., Sub-Insp. of Schools, Karimganji, Sylhet, Assam.
- 1907 *NARASIMHACHAR, R., Rao Bahadur, M.A., Off. in charge of Arch., Mysore; Malleswaram, Bangalore.
- 1920 *NARAYAN, Brij, M.A., Akal Bhawan, Simla, W.C.
- 1900 *NARIMAN, G. K., Mazgaon P.O., Bombay.
- EXT. 1910 NASIR-UL-MULK, H.E. Sir Abul Kasim Khan, G.C.M.G., c/o Persian Legation, 47 Bramhan Gdns., S.W. 5.
- 1920 *NATESA, Eli Yurkar K. G., Sastri, Vaidya Visarda, 2/30 Nachiappa Chetty St., Mylapore, Madras.
- 1920 *NATH, Babu Pirithi, Rais, Bhojpur, Farrukhabad, U.P.
- 1922 *NATH, Pandit Surendra, M.A., LL.B., High Court Vakil, Moradabad, U.P.
- 1921 *NATH, Yogindra, M.A., LL.B., Vakil High Court, Ghazipore, U.P.
- 610 1920 *NAVAGIRE, B. N., M.A., c/o Navagire & Co., Trimbak Parasaram Street, 6th Kumbharwada, Post No. 4, Bombay.
- 1877 HON. 1895. NAVILLE, Edouard, D.C.L., Prof. of Egyptology, Geneva University; Malagny, nr. Geneva, Switzerland.
- 1900 *NEVILL, Col. H. R., I.C.S., C.I.E., O.B.E., Gen. Staff, Army Headquarters, India.
- 1919 NEWTON, Miss Frances E., 156 Sloane St., S.W. 1.
- 1895 *NICHOLSON, R. A., Litt.D., 12 Harvey Rd., Cambridge.
- 1919 *NICHOLSON, Rev. Sydney, London Mission, Cuddapah, Madras.
- HON. 1890. NÖLDEKE, Prof. Theodor.
- 1919 *NORDEN, Walter M. van, 7 W. 57th St., New York, U.S.A.
- 1913 *NORTON, E. L., I.C.S., Gorakhpur, U.P.
- 1920 *NOWLE, V. M., Ph.D., Ed. "Social Servant," c/o Novell & Co., Poona.
- 620 1914 *NOYCE, Frank, I.C.S., c/o Grindlay & Co., Bombay.
- 1919 *O'CONNELL, Rev. F. W., M.A., B.D., D.Litt., Lecturer in Celtic Languages & Literature, Queen's University, Belfast.

- 1921 *OJHA, Pandit Rambhadra, M.A., LL.B., *Insp. Gen. of Education, Alwar State.*
- 1919 †OKE, A. W., 32 Denmark Villas, Hove, Sussex.
- 1912 *OLDHAM, J. H., M.A., *Ed. International Review of Missions, 18 Succoth St., Edinburgh.*
- 1918 *†ORMEROD, Rev. E. W., *Christchurch S.P.G. Mission, Cawnpore, U.P.; 25 Upper Wimpole St., W. 1.*
- 1917 *OSBURN, Lt.-Col. A., R.A.M.C., D.S.O., *Winsley, Emsworth, Hants.*
- 1921 *OULSNAM, H. J., *St. John's College, Cambridge.*
- 1909 *PAIRA-MALL, M.D., *c/o Nat. Bank of Ind., Amritsar, Panjab.*
- 1920 *PAL, Fakirchand, *Consulting Engineer, 18 Hastings St., Calcutta.*
- 630 1920 *PAL, Babu Kshitish C., B.A., "B" M.T. Column, *Accounts, Dera Ismail Khan, N.W.F.*
- 1922 *PANALAR, T. K., *Tamilagam, Chintadripet, Madras.*
- 1902 *PARASNIS, Dattatraya B., *Rao Bahadur, Happy Vale, Satara, Bombay.*
- 1921 PARBURY, Miss F., 53 Egerton Gardens, *S.W. 3.*
- 1893 *PARBITTER, F. E., M.A., I.C.S. (ret.), *VICE-PRESIDENT, 12 Charlbury Rd., Oxford.*
- 1921 *PARIHAR, KUNWAR S. Singh, *The Indian Glass Works, P.O. Ferozabad, Agra, U.P.*
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- 640 1911 *†PATIALA, H.H. Maharajdhiraja Sir Bhupindar Singh, *Mahindar Bahadur, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., G.B.E., of, Patiala State, Panjab.*
- 1922 *PATKAR, P. M., *Shakespeare Hut, Keppel Street, W.C. 1.*
- 1919 PATON, David, *Univ. Library, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.*
- 1916 *PATTERSON, Lieut. W. R., *Security Section (E), c/o Military Governor, Cologne, Germany.*
- 1919 *Pè, Maung Tun, B.A., *Lecturer, Judson College, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1919 PENZER, Norman M., B.A., 12 Clifton Hill, *N.W. 8.*
- 1918 *PERRA, Edward Walker, *Member of Council Ceylon Branch R.A.S., Walawwa, Koffe, Ceylon.*
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- 1906 *§PHILLOTT, Lt.-Col. D. C., M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., *The Bury, Felsted, Essex.*
- 1919 PILCHER, E. J., 43 Charlwood St., *S.W. 1.*
- 1921 *PILLAI, M. R. Rama Krishna, *Indian Students' Hostel, Keppel Street, W.C. 1.*
- 1919 *PILLAY, G. Hurry K., 2 Phayre St., *Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1919 *PILLAY, N. Padmanabha, *Barr.-at-Law, Karnagapally, Travancore.*
- 1919 PILTER, Rev. W. T., 25 De Cham Rd., *St. Leonards-on-Sea.*

- 1911 *PIM, Alan Wm., I.C.S.
 1881 §PINCHES, Theophilus G., LL.D., 10 Oxford Rd., N.W. 6.
 660 1920 *PITHAWALLA, Manock B., *Principal Parsi Virbaiji H. Sch.*, 20 Victoria Rd., Karachi.
 1895 *PITT, St. George L. Fox, *Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.*
 1921 *PLATTS, Capt. Arnold, 65 Marshfield Rd., Chippenham, Wilts.
 1921 *PLOWES, Wm. R., F.S.A., *Chapel Allerton, Leeds.*
 1919 PLUNKET, Hon. Emmeline M., 19 The Grove, S.W. 10.
 1893 *§PLUNKETT, Lt.-Col. G. T., R.E., C.B., *Belvedere Lodge, St. Mary's Rd., S.W. 19.*
 1920 POLHILL, C. C., 35 Fitzroy Rd., N.W. 1.
 1916 *POPE, Miss Amina Ethel, M.A., c/o The Postmaster, Shahjahanpur, U.P.
 1922 POPE-HENNESSY, Dane Una, D.B.E., 2 Albert Terrace, N.W. 1.
 1921 *POROV, Babu J. Saran, Zamindar, Katghar, Moradabad, U.P.
 670 1893 HON. 1920 *POUSSIN, Louis de la Vallée, *Prof. à l'Université de Gand, 66 Av. Molière, Uccle, Brussels.*
 1918 *POYNTER, Capt. H. E., A.S.C., *Baldwin's Canadian Steel Corporation, Ltd., Toronto, Ontario, Canada.*
 1909 *PRASAD, Pandit Ganga, M.A., *Dep. Collector, Andarkot, Meerut, U.P.*
 1914 *PRICE, Morgan P., *Beckerstr. 24, Friedenau, Berlin.*
 1905 *PROCTOR, Henry, 146 Mallenon Rd., S.W. 12.
 1913 *PROSADA, Siva, Rai Bahadur, Jun. Sec., *Bd. of Revenue, Allahabad, U.P.*
 1912 *PURSER, Rev. W. C. B., M.A., *St. Michael's Mission, Kemendine, Burma.*
 1920 *QURESHI, Shuraib, *Brasenose College, Oxford.*
 1922 *RADHA-KRISHNAN, Dr. K. M., *Virudupatti, Ramnag, S. India.*
 1920 *RAFFAELI, Saml., *American Zionist Med. Unit, Jerusalem.*
 680 1920 *RAGHAVAN, S. Srinivasa, B.A., B.L., *High Court Vakil, 33-35 Singarachari St., Triplicane, Madras.*
 1922 *RAHIMUDDIN, M. Md., M.A., *Prof. Osmania Univ. Coll., Kachiguda, Hyderabad, Deccan.*
 1921 *RAJA, C. Kunhan, B.A., c/o Barclay's Bank, Ltd., 54 Cornmarket St., Oxford.
 1922 *RAJAGOPALACHARIAR, M. K., F.C.I., *Public Accountant and Auditor, P. Box 1001, Kilpauk, Madras.*
 1922 *RAJAGOPALAN, Mrs. M. J., B.A., *Post Box 1001, Kilpauk, Madras.*
 1874 *†RAJANATTAYANUHAR, H.E. Phya.
 1899 *RAM, Lal Sita, F.A.U., *Dep. Collector (ret.), 203 Muthiganj, Allahabad.*
 1920 *RAMABHADRA, Kadayam R., Sastry, B.A., *Sub. Asst. Insp. of Schools, Dharmapudi, Salem, Madras.*
 1921 *RAMALINGAM, K., Sannadhi St., *Kullidaiturichi P.O., Tinnevely.*
 1919 *RAMANA-SASTRIN, V. V., Ph.D., *Vedaraniyam, Tanjore.*
 690 1909 *RAMANATHAN, P., B.A., *Solicitor, High Court, Manonmani Vilas, Chintadripet, Madras.*
 1874 *†RAMASVAMI, Iyengar B.
 1915 *RANDLE, Prof. Herbert Niel, M.A., I.E.S., c/o Cook & Sons, *Ludgate Circus, E.C. 4.*

- 1922 *RANKIN, J. Thomson, I.C.S. Commissioner, Dacca Division, c/o Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
- 1869 †RANSOM, Edwin, 24 Ashburnham Rd., Bedford.
- 1921 *RAO, T. Raja Gopala, B.A., Ed. "S. Indian Research," Vepery, Madras.
- 1917 *RAO, T. Suryanarayana, Sanskrit Coll., Kovur, Godavery Banks, Madras.
- 1888 *RAPSON, E. J., M.A., Prof. of Sanskrit, 8 Mortimer Rd., Cambridge.
- 1921 *RASHID, Dr. M. A., Afzulganj, Hyderabad, Deccan.
- 1914 *RAWLINSON, Prof. H. G., L.E.S., Principal Karnatak College, Dharwar, Bombay.
- 700 1917 *RAY, Babu Jitendra N., B.A., Post Box 738, Calcutta.
- 1916 *RAY, Jamini Bhushan Kabiraj, M.A., M.B., 46 Beadon St., Calcutta.
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- 1919 READ, F. W., 65 Harley Rd., N.W. 10.
- 1921 *REES, W. H., D.D., Sch. of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.
- 1921 *REGE, Dattatraya Vaman, B.A., Asst. Commissioner, Buldana, C.P., India.
- 1921 *REHMAN, Md. Jamilur, M.A., Prof. Osmania Univ. Coll., Hyderabad, Deccan.
- 710 1921 *REHMAN, Md. Naimur, M.A., Prof. of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, 15 Tippu Sahib Street, Mount Road, Madras.
- 1921 *REU, Pandit Bisheshwar Nath, Supt. Sardar Museum, Chandpole Gate, Jodhpur.
- 1897 *REUTER, J. N., Ph.D., 21 Fabriksgatan, Helsingfors, Finland.
- 1879 RICE, B. Lewis, C.I.E., Greenhalgh, Maxted Pk., Harrow.
- 1910 *RICHARDS, F. J., M.A., I.C.S., c/o Binnie & Co., Madras.
- 1919 RICKETT, C. B., 27 Kendrick Rd., Reading.
- 1896 *RICKMERS, Mrs. W. R., Herrlichkeit 5, Bremen, Germany.
- 1892 †RIDDING, Miss C. Mary, University Library, Cambridge.
- 1893 *†RIDDING, Rev. W. Caldecott, Bradley Rectory, Ashbourne, Derbyshire.
- 1872 *†RIVETT-CARNAC, Col. J. H., C.I.E., F.S.A., Hôtel des Trois Couronnes, Vevey, Switzerland.
- 720 1920 *RIEWI, Syed Abul H., B.A., LL.B., Asst. Income Tax Officer, Civil Lines, Aligarh, U.P.
- 1922 ROBERTS, Miss H. A. E., 18 Merton Rd., W. 8.
- 1910 *ROBERTSON, Rev. Alexander, M.A., United Free Church Mission, 1 Staveley Rd., Poona.
- 1919 ROCKSTRO, F. Braine, 12 Edge Hill, S.W. 19.
- 1921 *ROEMICH, Geo. N., 1678 Massachusetts Av., Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
- 1919 ROOKE, Mortimer, 54 Eccleston Square, S.W. 1.
- 1905 *ROSE, H. A., I.C.S. (ret.), Milton House, La Haule, Jersey.
- 1894 §ROSS, Sir Ed. Denison, Kt., C.I.E., Ph.D., Sch. of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2.

- 1912 *ROSS, G. R. T., M.A., I.E.S., *Prof. of Philosophy, Rangoon College, Burma.*
- 1891 *†ROUSE, W. H. D., Litt.D., *Head Master, Perse School, Cambridge.*
- 730 1922 *ROY, Lt. Bijoy Prasad Singh, M.L.C., *Chakdighi, Burdwan, Bengal.*
- 1919 *ROY, Halodhur, *Zamindar, 22 Bonomali Sircar's St., Calcutta.*
- 1921 *ROY, Kumar Shib S., of Rajshahi, *26 Ballyganj Circular Rd., Calcutta.*
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- 1921 *ROY, Raja M. N., Chaudhury of Santosh, *1 Alipore Park Road, E. Alipore, Calcutta.*
- 1916 *ROY, Srijut Jamini Kishore, M.A., *Munsif, Sandip, Noakali, Bengal.*
- 1921 RUBENSTEIN, B., *5 Portland Place, W. 1.*
- 1872 *†RUSTOMJI, C.
- 1918 §RYLANDS, W. Harry, F.S.A., *1 Campden Hill Place, W. 11.*
- 740 HON. 1887 SACHAU, Geh. Regierungsrat, *Prof. Eduard, Wormser Str. 12, Berlin, W.*
- 1918 *SAHA, Babu Joymongol, B.A., B.L., *Asst. Head Master, K.N.H.E. School, P.O. Ujanchar, Tippera, Bengal.*
- 1917 *SAHA, Dr. Radhika N., *Chowmatha, Chinsurah, Bengal.*
- 1918 *SAHAL, Vidyanath, *Prof. Dyal Singh Coll., Lahore, Panjab.*
- 1919 *SAKSENA, Debi Prasad, *Sub-Dep. Insp. of Schools, Lalitpur, Jhansi, U.P.*
- 1920 *SAKSENA, Ram Babu, M.A., LL.B., *Dep. Collector & Magistrate, Saharanpur, U.P.*
- 1917 *SALARAYA, Sardar Gurdial Singh, *Amritsar, Panjab.*
- 1919 SALLAWAY, W. J. S., *49 Fellows Rd., N.W. 3.*
- 1915 *SAMADDAR, Prof. Jogindranath, *Patna Coll., Bankipore, B. & O.*
- 1922 SAMUEL, Miss M., *19 Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.*
- 750 1921 *SANDAPAN, S., *5 Lansdowne Place, W.C. 1.*
- 1916 *SANYAL, Jitendranath, B.A., *Zamindar, Sanyal House, Bally P.O., Howrah, Bengal.*
- 1895 *SARAWAK, H.H. Rancee of, *Grey Friars, Ascot.*
- 1891 *†SARDA, Har Bilas, B.A., *Guardian to H.H. Maharawal of Jaisalmer, Ajmer.*
- 1921 *SARIF, N., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
- 1920 *SARKAR, Prof. Subimal C., *18 Worcester Pl., Walton St., Oxford.*
- 1908 *SARKAR, Suresh Chandra, M.A., *Sub-Div. Officer, Sadar, Motihari, Bihar.*
- 1904 *SARRUF, Dr. Y., *Ed. al-Mukataf, Cairo.*
- 1902 †SASSOON, David S., *32 Bruton St., W.1.*
- 1920 *SASTRI, V. L., *Oriental Encyclopaedi: Pub. Co., Box 473, Vepery, Madras.*
- 760 1880 HON. 1906 §SATOW, Rt. Hon. Sir Ernest M., G.C.M.G., Ph.D., *Beaumont, Ottery St. Mary, Devon.*
- 1922 *SATHANIVAM, M., *Public Works Dept., Johore Bahru, India.*
- 1919 *SATTIANADHAN, Mrs. K., M.A., *5 Denning Rd., N.W. 3.*
- 1919 SAYCE, Rev. A. R., *Field Place, Weybridge.*

- 1874 †§SAYCE, Rev. A. H., D.Litt., LL.D., D.D., HON. VICE-PRESIDENT,
*Prof. of Assyriology, Queen's College Oxford; 8 Chalmers Crescent,
Edinburgh.*
- 1920 *SCHOMBERG, Lt.-Col. R. C. F., D.S.O., 2nd Batt. Seaforth Highlanders,
Meerut, India.
- 1905 *SCHRADER, F. Otto, Ph.D., *Hollenauestr. 69, Kiel, Germany.*
- 1921 *SCOTLAND, Patrick J., M.A., I.C.S., 17 Minard Rd., Partickhill, Glasgow.
- 1903 *SEDDON, Charles N., *Baroda, India.*
- 1913 SEESODIA, Thakor Shri Jeebajisinhji, 17 Bury St., W.C. 1.
- 770 1921 SEFT, A., *Lecturer in Arabic, Sch. of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus,
E.C. 2.*
- 1887 *SELL, Rev. Canon E., K.-i-H., *Church Mission House, Vepery, Madras.*
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 Glasgow : Mitchell Library.
 Goteborg, Sweden : Librarie Wittergren.
 Gottingen : Universitäts Bibliothek.
 Gwalior State : Inspector of Archaeology.

- Hankow : Hankow Club.
 Haverford, U.S.A. : College Library.
 Hosokawa, M., Esq., Tokyo.
 Hyderabad : Nizam's College.
 Hyderabad : Nizam's State Library.
 Hyderabad : Osmania University College.
 Indianapolis, U.S.A. : College of Missions.
 Ishihama, J., Esq., Osaka.
 Ithaca : Cornell University Library.
 Jingu Kogakukwan, Japan.
 Junagadh Archaeological Society, Kathiawar.
 Kanazawa, Japan : Fourth High School.
 Khartoum : Director of Education.
 Kyoto : Indian Philosophy.
 Lahore : Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College.
 Lahore : Dyal Singh Library Trust.
 Lahore : Forman Christian College.
 Lahore : Panjab Public Library.
 Lahore : Panjab University.
 Lahore : Tilak School of Politics.
 Liverpool : The Athenæum.
 Liverpool : Institute of Archaeology.
 London : Science Library.
 Athenæum Club.
 British Museum.
 East India United Service Club.
 London Library.
 Louisville, U.S.A. : S. Baptist Theological Seminary.
 Lucknow : Canning College.
 Lucknow : Provincial Museum.
 Lucknow : Public Library.
 Lund : Kungl. Universitets Biblioteket.
 Lyon : University Library.
 Madras : Archaeological Survey.
 Madras : Connemara Public Library.
 Madras : Kumbakonam College.
 Madras : National College of Commerce.
 Madras : Oriental Manuscripts Library.
 Madras : Presidency College.
 Manchester : Free Reference Library.
 Manchester : John Rylands Library.
 Manchester : Lancashire Independent College.
 Manchester University (Victoria).
 Manchuria : " Chosabu."
 Manila : Bureau of Science.
 Maynooth : St. Patrick's College.
 Meadville, U.S.A. : Alleghany College Library.
 Melbourne : Victoria Public Library.
 Michigan University.
 Minneapolis Athenæum.
 Montreal : McGill University.
 Muzaffarpur : Greer Bhumihar Brahman College.
 Mysore Archaeological Researches Office.
 Mysore : Government Oriental Library.
 Mysore : University Library.
 Nanking : National South-Eastern University.
 Newcastle-on-Tyne : Public Library.
 New York : Metropolitan Museum of Art.
 New York : Jewish Theological Seminary.
 New York : Missionary Research Library.
 New York : Public Library.
 New York : Union Theological Seminary.
 Niigata : Koto-Gakko.
 Ottawa : Library of Parliament.
 Oxford : Indian Institute.
 Paris : Institut de France.
 Patna : B. & O. Research Society.
 Pavia : Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia.
 Peshawar : Archaeological Survey, Frontier Circle.
 Philadelphia : Commercial Museum.
 Philadelphia Library Company.
 Pittsburg : Carnegie Library.
 Pittsburg : Western Theological Seminary.
 Poona : Archaeological Survey, Western Circle.
 Poona : Fergusson College.
 Princeton : Theological Seminary.
 Princeton University Library.

Santiniketan : Ashrama.	Brahmacharya-	Tokyo : Institute of History, Imperial University.
Seattle : University of Washington.		Tokyo : Dr. G. E. Morrison Library.
Simla : Bureau of Education.		Tokyo : Noshomu.
Srinagar : Sri Pratap Singh Museum.		Tokyo : Shikyo-daigaku Library.
Stationary Office.		Toronto Reference Library.
Stockholm : Nordiska Bokhandel.		Trichinopoly : St. Joseph's College.
Stockholm : Royal Library.		Utrecht : University Library.
Strasbourg : Bibliothèque Uni-		Valkenberg : Ignatius College.
versitaire et Regionale.		Vizianagram : Maharajah's Sanskrit College.
Suga, Mr. T.		Winnipeg : University of Manitoba.
Sylhet : Murarichand College.		Zurich : Bibliothèque Centrale.
Timnevely : Hindu College.		

Note.—There are other libraries which subscribe through the booksellers. The Secretary would be much obliged by the Librarians of such libraries sending their names to be added to the above list.

SUMMARY

	June 1, 1921.	June 1, 1922.
Resident Members	153	135
Resident Compounders	8	13
Non-resident Members	632	737
Non-resident Compounders	62	64
Library Members	1	1
Honorary and Extraordinary Members	27	27
	883	971
Subscribing Libraries, etc.	169	170
Total	1052	1141





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